This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 1,314,533

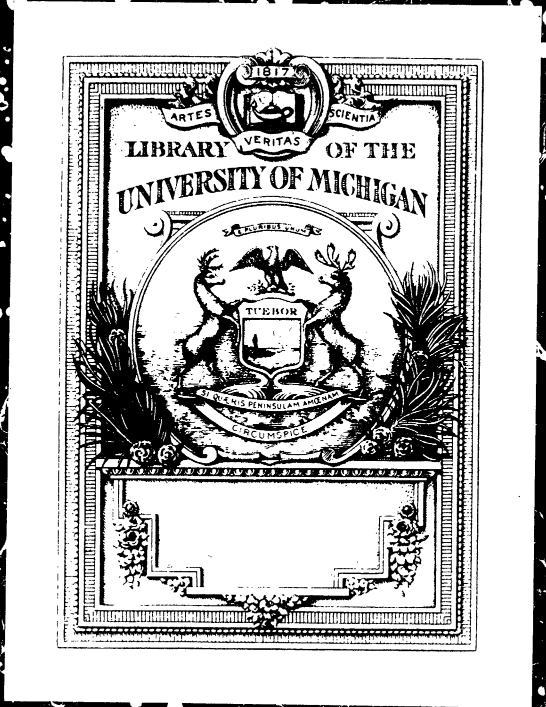
NARRATIVE
AND CRITICAL
HISTORY
OF AMERICA

E
18
.W78
cop.2

WINSOR

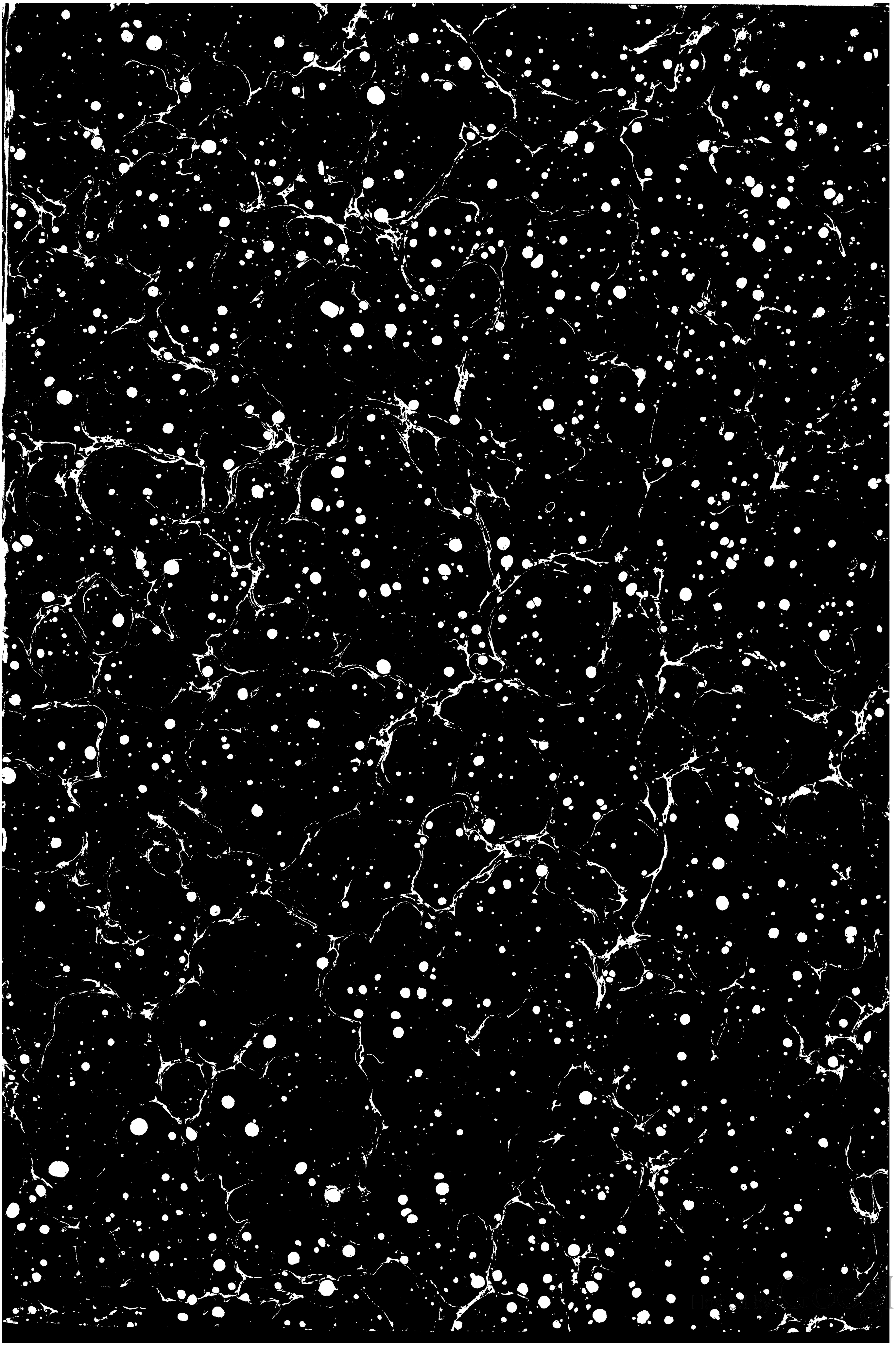
VOL. II.
PART I.

Digitized by Google



LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

E
18
.W78
cop. 2

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

Spanish
Explorations and Settlements
In America
FROM THE
Fifteenth to the Seventeenth
Century

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

EDITED

BY JUSTIN WINSOR
LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. II.—PART I.

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge

Copyright, 1886,
By Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

All rights reserved.

The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Printed by H. O. Houghton & Company.

Lib.
E. Grant
6-1-36
72337
8v. in 16
add. cop.

CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[*The Spanish arms on the title are copied from the titlepage of Herrera.*]

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EARLY SPANISH-AMERICAN HISTORY. *The Editor* . i

CHAPTER I.

COLUMBUS AND HIS DISCOVERIES. *The Editor* 1

ILLUSTRATIONS: Columbus' Armor, 4; Parting of Columbus with Ferdinand and Isabella, 6; Early Vessels, 7; Building a Ship, 8; Course of Columbus on his First Voyage, 9; Ship of Columbus' Time, 10; Native House in Hispaniola, 11; Curing the Sick, 11; The Triumph of Columbus, 12; Columbus at Hispaniola, 13; Handwriting of Columbus, 14; Arms of Columbus, 15; Fruit-trees of Hispaniola, 16; Indian Club, 16; Indian Canoe, 17; Columbus at Isla Margarita, 18; Early Americans, 19; House in which Columbus died, 23.

CRITICAL ESSAY 24

ILLUSTRATIONS: Ptolemy, 26, 27; Albertus Magnus, 29; Marco Polo, 30; Columbus' Annotations on the *Imago Mundi*, 31; on Æneas Sylvius, 32; the Atlantic of the Ancients, 37; Prince Henry the Navigator, 39; his Autograph, 39; Sketch-map of Portuguese Discoveries in Africa, 40; Portuguese Map of the Old World (1490), 41; Vasco da Gama and his Autograph, 42; Line of Demarcation (Map of 1527), 43; Pope Alexander VI., 44.

NOTES 47

A, First Voyage, 46; B, Landfall, 52; C, Effect of the Discovery in Europe, 56; D, Second Voyage, 57; E, Third Voyage, 58; F, Fourth Voyage, 59; G, Lives and Notices of Columbus, 62; H, Portraits of Columbus, 69; I, Burial and Remains of Columbus, 78; J, Birth of Columbus, and Accounts of his Family, 83.

ILLUSTRATIONS: Fac-simile of first page of Columbus' Letter, No. III., 49; Cut on reverse of Title of Nos. V. and VI., 50; Title of No. VI., 51; The Landing of Columbus, 52; Cut in German Translation of the First Letter, 53; Text of the German Translation, 54; the Bahama Group (map), 55; Sign-manuals of Ferdinand and Isabella, 56; Sebastian Brant, 59; Map of Columbus' Four Voyages, 60, 61; Fac-simile of page in the Giustiniani Psalter, 63; Ferdinand Columbus' Register of Books, 65; Autograph of Humboldt, 68; Paulus Jovius, 70. Portraits of Columbus, — after Giovio, 71; the Yanez Portrait, 72; after Capriolo, 73; the Florence picture, 74; the De Bry Picture, 75; the Jomard Likeness, 76; the Havana Medallion, 77; Picture at Madrid, 78; after Montanus, 79. Coffer and Bones found in Santo Domingo, 80; Inscriptions on and in the Coffer, 81, 82; Portrait and Sign-manual of Ferdinand of Spain, 85; Bartholomew Columbus, 86.

POSTSCRIPT 88

THE EARLIEST MAPS OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES. *The Editor* 93

ILLUSTRATIONS: Early Compass, 94; Astrolabe of Regiomontanus, 96; Later Astrolabe, 97; Jackstaff, 99; Backstaff, 100; Pirckeymerus, 102; Toscanelli's Map, 103; Martin Behaim, 104; Extract from Behaim's Globe, 105; Part of La Cosa's Map, 106; of the Cantino Map, 108; Peter Martyr Map (1511), 110; Ptolemy Map (1513), 111; Admiral's Map (1513), 112; Reisch's Map (1515), 114; Ruysch's Map (1508), 115; Stobnicza's Map (1512), 116; Schöner, 117; Schöner's Globe (1515), 118; (1520), 119; Tross Gores (1514–1519), 120; Münster's Map (1532), 121; Sylvanus' Map (1511), 122; Lenox Globe, 123; Da Vinci Sketch of Globe, 124–126; Carta Marina of Frisius (1525), 127; Coppo's Map (1528), 127.

CHAPTER II.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI. *Sydney Howard Gay* 129

ILLUSTRATIONS: Fac-simile of a Letter of Vespucci, 130; Autograph of Amerrigo Vespuche, 138; Portraits of Vespucci, 139, 140, 141.

NOTES ON VESPUCIUS AND THE NAMING OF AMERICA. *The Editor* 153

ILLUSTRATIONS: Title of the Jehan Lambert edition of the *Mundus Novus*, 157; first page of Vorsterman's *Mundus Novus*, 158; Title of *De Ora Antarctica*, 159; title of *Von der neu gefunden Region*, 160; Fac-simile of its first page, 161; Ptolemy's World, 165; Title of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, 167; Fac-simile of its reference to the name of America, 168; the Lenox Globe (American parts), 170; Title of the 1509 edition of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, 171; title of the *Globus Mundi*, 172; Map of Laurentius Frisius in the Ptolemy of 1522, 175; American part of the Mercator Map of 1541, 177; Portrait of Apianus, 179.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF POMPONIUS MELA, SOLINUS, VADIANUS, AND APIANUS. *The Editor* 180

ILLUSTRATIONS: Pomponius Mela's World, 180; Vadianus, 181; Part of Apianus' Map (1520), 183; Apianus, 185.

CHAPTER III.

The Companions of Columbus. *Edward Channing* 187

Illustrations: Map of Hispaniola, 188; Castilia del Oro, 190; Cartagena, 192; Balbóa, 195; Havana, 202.

Critical Essay 204

Illustration: Juan de Grijalva, 216.

THE EARLY CARTOGRAPHY OF THE GULF OF MEXICO AND ADJACENT PARTS. *The Editor* 217

Illustrations: Map of the Pacific (1518), 217; of the Gulf of Mexico (1520), 218; by Lorenz Friess (1522), 218; by Maiollo (1527), 219; by Nuño Garcia de Toreno (1527), 220; by Ribero (1529), 221; The so-called Lenox Woodcut (1534), 223; Early French Map, 224; Gulf of Mexico (1536), 225; by Rotz (1542), 226; by Cabot (1544), 227; in Ramusio (1556), 228; by Homem (1558), 229; by Martines (1578), 229; of Cuba, by Wytfliet (1597), 230.

CHAPTER IV.

Ancient Florida. *John G. Shea* 231

Illustrations: Ponce de Leon, 235; Hernando de Soto, 252; Autograph of De Soto, 253; of Mendoza, 254; Map of Florida (1565), 264; Site of Fort Caroline, 265; View of St. Augustine, 266; Spanish Vessels, 267; Building of Fort Caroline, 268; Fort Caroline completed, 269; Map of Florida (1591), 274; Wytfliet's Map (1597), 281.

Critical Essay 283

Illustrations: Map of Ayllon's Explorations, 285; Autograph of Narvaez, 286; of Cabeza de Vaca, 287; of Charles V., 289; of Biedma, 290; Map of the Mississippi (sixteenth century), 292; Delisle's Map, with the Route of De Soto, 294, 295.

CHAPTER V.

Las Casas, and the Relations of the Spaniards to the Indians. *George E. Ellis* 299

Critical Essay 331

Illustrations: Las Casas, 332; his Autograph, 333; Titlepages of his Tracts, 334, 336, 338; Fac-simile of his Handwriting, 339.

Editorial Note 343

Illustrations: Autograph of Motolinia, 343; Title of Oviedo's *Natural Hystoria* (1526), 344; Arms of Oviedo, 345; his Autograph, 346; Head of Benzoni, 347.

CHAPTER VI.

CORTÉS AND HIS COMPANIONS. *The Editor* 349

ILLUSTRATIONS: Velasquez, 350; Cannon of Cortés' time, 352; Helps's Map of Cortés' Voyage, 353; Cortés and his Arms, 354; Gabriel Lasso de la Vega, 355; Cortés, 357; Map of the March of Cortés, 358; Cortés, 360; Montezuma, 361, 363; Map of Mexico before the Conquest, 364; Pedro de Alvarado, 366; his Autograph, 367; Helps's Map of the Mexican Valley, 369; Tree of Triste Noche, 370; Charles V., 371, 373; his Autograph, 372; Wilson's Map of the Mexican Valley, 374; Jourdanet's Map of the Valley, *colored*, 375; Mexico under the Conquerors, 377; Mexico according to Ramusio, 379; Cortés in Jovius, 381; his Autograph, 381; Map of Guatemala and Honduras, 384; Autograph of Sandoval, 387; his Portrait, 388; Cortés after Herrera, 389; his Armor, 390; Autograph of Fuenleal, 391; Map of Mexico after Herrera, 392; Acapulco, 394; Full-length Portrait of Cortés, 395; Likeness on a Medal, 396.

CRITICAL ESSAY 397

ILLUSTRATION: Autograph of Icazbalceta, 397.

NOTES 402

ILLUSTRATIONS: Cortés before Charles V., 403; Cortés' Map of the Gulf of Mexico, 404; Title of the Latin edition of his Letters (1524), 405; Reverse of its Title, 406; Portrait of Clement VII., 407; Autograph of Gayangos, 408; Lorenzana's Map of Spain, 408; Title of *De insulis nuper inventis*, 409; Title of Gomara's *Historia* (1553), 413; Autograph of Bernal Diaz, 414; of Sahagun, 416; Portrait of Solis, 423; Portrait of William H. Prescott, 426.

DISCOVERIES ON THE PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA. *The Editor* 431

ILLUSTRATIONS: Map from the Sloane Manuscripts (1530), 432; from Ruscelli (1544), 432; Nancy Globe, 433; from Ziegler's *Schondia* (1532), 434; Carta Marina (1548), 435; Vopellio's Map (1556), 436; Titlepage of Girava's *Cosmographia*, 437; Furlani's Map (1560), 438; Map of the Pacific (1513), 440; Cortés' Map of the California Peninsula, 442; Castillo's Map of the California Gulf (1541), 444; Map by Homem (1540), 446; by Cabot (1544), 447; by Freire (1546), 448; in Ptolemy (1548), 449; by Martines (155-?), 450; by Zaltieri (1566), 451; by Mercator (1569), 452; by Porcacchi (1572), 453; by Furlani (1574), 454; from Molineaux' Globe (1592), 455; a Spanish Galleon, 456; Map of the Gulf of California by Wytfliet (1597), 458; of America by Wytfliet (1597), 459; of Terre de Iesso, 464; of the California Coast by Dudley (1646), 465; Diagram of Mercator's Projection, 470.

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF NEW MEXICO. *Henry W. Haynes* 473

ILLUSTRATIONS: Autograph of Coronado, 481; Map of his Explorations, 485; Early Drawings of the Buffalo, 488, 489.

Critical Essay 498

Editorial Note 503

CHAPTER VIII.

Pizarro, and the Conquest and Settlement of Peru and Chili. *Clements R. Markham* 505

Illustrations: Indian Rafts, 508; Sketch-maps of the Conquest of Peru, 509, 519; picture of Embarkation, 512; Ruge's Map of Pizarro's Discoveries, 513; Native Huts in Trees, 514; Atahualpa, 515, 516; Almagro, 518; Plan of Ynca Fortress near Cusco, 521; Building of a Town, 522; Gabriel de Rojas, 523; Sketch-map of the Conquest of Chili, 524; Pedro de Valdivia, 529, 530; Pastene, 531; Pizarro, 532, 533; Vaca de Castro, 535; Pedro de la Gasca, 539, 540; Alonzo de Alvarado, 544; Conception Bay, 548; Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, 550; Peruvians worshipping the Sun, 551; Cusco, 554; Temple of Cusco, 555; Wytfliet's Map of Peru, 558; of Chili, 559; Sotomayor, 562; Title of the 1535 Xeres, 565.

Editorial Notes 573

Illustration: Prescott's Library, 577.

THE AMAZON AND ELDORADO. *The Editor* 579

Illustrations: Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, 580; Sketch-map, 581; Castellanos, 583; Map of the Mouths of the Orinoco, 586; De Laet's Map of Parime Lacus, 588.

CHAPTER IX.

Magellan's Discovery. *Edward E. Hale* 591

Illustrations: Autograph of Magellan, 592; Portraits of Magellan, 593, 594, 595; Indian Beds, 597; South American Cannibals, 598; Giant's Skeleton at Porto Desire, 602; Quoniambec, 603; Pigafetta's Map of Magellan's Straits, 605; Chart of the Pacific, showing Magellan's Track, 610; Pigafetta's Map of the Ladrones, 611.

Critical Essay 613

INDEX 619

INTRODUCTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EARLY SPANISH-AMERICAN HISTORY.

THE earliest of the historians to use, to any extent, documentary proofs, was Herrera, in his *Historia general,* first published in 1601.[1] As the official historiographer of the Indies, he had the best of opportunities for access to the great wealth of documents which the Spanish archivists had preserved; but he never distinctly quotes them, or says where they are to be found.[2] It is through him that we are aware of some important manuscripts not now known to exist.[3]

The formation of the collections at Simancas, near Valladolid, dates back to an order of Charles the Fifth, Feb. 19, 1543. New accommodations were added from time to time, as documents were removed thither from the bureaus of the Crown Secretaries, and from those of the Councils of Seville and of the Indies. It was reorganized by Philip II., in 1567, on a larger basis, as a depository for historical research, when masses of manuscripts from other parts of Spain were transported thither;[4] but the comparatively small extent of the Simancas Collection does not indicate that the order was very extensively observed; though it must be remembered that Napoleon made havoc among these papers, and that in 1814 it was but a remnant which was rearranged.[5]

---

[1] See further on Herrera *post,* p. 67.

[2] J. C. Brevoort, on "Spanish-American documents, printed or inedited," in *Magazine of American History,* March, 1879; Prescott, *Mexico,* ii. 91.

[3] "Of all the narratives and reports furnished to Herrera for his History, and of which he made such scanty and unintelligent use, very few have been preserved." — Markham, *Rites and Laws of the Yncas,* p. vii.

[4] An overcrowding of archives in the keeping of the Council of the Indies was sometimes relieved by sending part of them to Simancas. Bancroft, *Central America,* i. 281. Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb,* i. 33, says all, or nearly all, the papers relating to Columbus have been removed to Seville.

[5] Some of the documents at Simancas and in other repositories, beginning with 1485, have been edited in the Rolls Series (published for the English Government) by G. A. Bergenroth and by Gayangos (London, 1862–1879), in the *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers relating to Negotiations between England and Spain,* contained in five volumes. Vol. i. comes through 1509; and the second paper in it is a complaint of Ferdinand and Isabella against Columbus, a French Admiral, for aiding the piracies of the French in 1485. Various documents from the archives of Simancas are given in Ala-

Dr. Robertson was the earliest of the English writers to make even scant use of the original manuscript sources of information; and such documents as he got from Spain were obtained through the solicitation and address of Lord Grantham, the English ambassador. Everything, however, was grudgingly given, after being first directly refused. It is well known that the Spanish Government considered even what he did obtain and make use of as unfit to be brought to the attention of their own public, and the authorities interposed to prevent the translation of Robertson's history into Spanish.

In his preface Dr. Robertson speaks of the peculiar solicitude with which the Spanish archives were concealed from strangers in his time; and he tells how, to Spanish subjects even, those of Simancas were opened only upon a royal order. Papers notwithstanding such order, he says, could be copied only by payment of fees too exorbitant to favor research.[1] By order of Fernando VI., in the last century, a collection of selected copies of the most important documents in the various depositories of archives was made; and this was placed in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

In 1778 Charles III. ordered that the documents of the Indies in the Spanish offices and depositories should be brought together in one place. The movement did not receive form till 1785, when a commission was appointed; and not till 1788, did Simancas, and the other collections drawn upon, give up their treasures to be transported to Seville, where they were placed in the building provided for them.[2]

Muñoz, who was born in 1745, was commissioned in 1779 by the King with authority[3] to search archives, public and family, and to write and publish a *Historia*

---

man's *La República Mejicana*, three volumes, 1844–1849. We get glimpses in the *Historia* of Las Casas of a large number of the letters of Columbus, to which he must have had access, but which are now lost. Harrisse thinks it was at Simancas, that Las Casas must have found them; for when engaged on that work he was living within two leagues of that repository. It seems probable, also, that Las Casas must have had use of the Biblioteca Colombina, when it was deposited in the convent of San Pablo (1544–1552), from whose Dominican monks Harrisse thinks it possible that Las Casas obtained possession of the Toscanelli map. He regrets, however, that for the personal history of Columbus and his family, Las Casas furnishes no information which cannot be found more nearly at first hand elsewhere. See Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 122, 125–127, 129, 133.

[1] Robertson prefixes to his *History* a list of the Spanish books and manuscripts which he had used.

"The English reader," writes Irving in 1828, when he had published his own *Life of Columbus*, "hitherto has derived his information almost exclusively from the notice of Columbus in Dr. Robertson's *History;* this, though admirably executed, is but a general outline." — *Life of Irving*, ii. 313.

[2] Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 35. He also refers to the notarial records preserved at Seville, as having been but partially explored for elucidations of the earliest exploration. He found among them the will of Diego, the younger brother of Columbus (p. 38). Alfred Demersay printed in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, June, 1864, a paper, "Une mission geographique dans les archives d' Espagne et de Portugal," in which he describes, particularly as regards their possessions of documents relating to America, the condition at that time of the archives of the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon (of which, after 1842 and till his death, Santarem was archivist); those of the Kingdom of Aragon at Barcelona, and of the Indies at Seville; and the collections of Muñoz, embracing ninety-five vols. in folio, and thirty-two in quarto, and of Mata-Lanares, included in eighty folios, in the Academy of History at Madrid. He refers for fuller details to Tiran's *Archives d'Aragon et de Simancas* (1844), and to João Pedro Ribeiro's *Memorias Authenticas para a Historia do real Archivo*, Lisbon, 1819.

[3] This authority to search was given later, in 1781 and 1788.

del nuevo mundo. Of this work only a single volume,[1] bringing the story down to 1500, was completed, and it was issued in 1793. Muñoz gave in its preface a critical review of the sources of his subject. In the prosecution of his labor he formed a collection of documents, which after his death was scattered; but parts of it were, in 1827, in the possession of Don Antonio de Uguina,[2] and later of Ternaux. The Spanish Government exerted itself to reassemble the fragments of this collection, which is now, in great part, in the Academy of History at Madrid,[3] where it has been increased by other manuscripts from the archives at Seville. Other portions are lodged, however, in ministerial offices, and the most interesting are noted by Harrisse in his *Christophe Colomb*.[4] A paper by Mr. J. Carson Brevoort on Muñoz and his manuscripts is in the *American Bibliopolist* (vol. viii. p. 21), February, 1876.[5] An English translation of Muñoz's single volume appeared in 1797, with notes, mostly translated from the German version by Sprengel, published in 1795. Rich had a manuscript copy made of all that Muñoz wrote of his second volume (never printed), and this copy is noted in the *Brinley Catalogue*, no. 47.[6]

AUTOGRAPH OF MUÑOZ.

"In the days of Muñoz," says Harrisse in his *Notes on Columbus*, p. 1, "the great repositories for original documents concerning Columbus and the early history of Spanish America were the Escurial, Simancas, the Convent of Monserrate, the colleges of St. Bartholomew and Cuenca at Salamanca, and St. Gregory at Valladolid, the Cathedral of Valencia, the Church of Sacro-Monte in Granada, the convents of St. Francis at Tolosa, St. Dominick at Malaga, St. Acacio, St. Joseph, and St. Isidro del Campo at Seville. There may be many valuable records still concealed in those churches and convents."

The originals of the letters-patent, and other evidences of privileges granted by the Spanish monarchs to Columbus, were preserved by him, and now constitute a part of the collection of the Duke of Veraguas, in Madrid. In 1502 Columbus caused several attested copies of them and of a few other documents to be made, raising the number of papers from thirty-six to forty-four. His care in causing these copies to be distributed among different custodians evinces the high importance which he held them to have, as testimonials to his fame and his prominence in the world's history.

---

[1] This volume is worth about five dollars.

[2] It was he who allowed Irving to use them.

[3] J. C. Brevoort, in the *Magazine of American History*, March, 1879. Cf. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1873), ii. 508, and his *Mexico*, preface.

[4] Vol. i. p. 66, referring to Fuster's "Copia de los manuscritos que recogió D. Juan Bautista Muñoz," in *Biblioteca Valenciana*, ii. 202–238.

[5] Harrisse, in his *Notes on Columbus*, p. 5, describes a collection of manuscripts which were sold by Obadiah Rich, in 1848 or 1849, to James Lenox, of New York, which had been formed by Uguina, the friend of Muñoz. There is in the Academy of History at Madrid a collection of documents said to have been formed by Don Vargas Ponçe.

[6] Harrisse (*Christophe Columb*, i. 65) refers to an unpublished fragment in the Lenox Library. The *Ticknor Catalogue* (p. 244) shows a discourse on Muñoz read before the Academy of History in 1833, as well as a criticism by Iturri on his single volume. Harrisse (*Christophe Colomb*, i. 65) gives the titles of other controversial publications on the subject of Muñoz's history. Muñoz died in 1799. It is usually said that the Spanish Government prevented the continuation of his work.

One wishes he could have had a like solicitude for the exactness of his own statements. Before setting out on his fourth voyage, he intrusted one of these copies to Francesco di Rivarolo, for delivery to Nicoló Odérigo, the ambassador of Genoa, in Madrid. From Cadiz shortly afterwards he sent a second copy to the same Odérigo. In 1670 both of these copies were given, by a descendant of Odérigo, to the Republic of Genoa. They subsequently disappeared from the archives of the State, and Harrisse[1] has recently found one of them in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris. The other was bought in 1816 by the Sardinian Government, at a sale of the effects of Count Michael-Angelo Cambiasi. After a copy had been made and deposited in the archives at Turin, this second copy was deposited in a marble custodia, surmounted by a bust of Columbus, and placed in the palace of the Doges in Genoa.[2] These documents, with two of the letters addressed (March 21, 1502, and Dec. 27, 1504)[3] to Odérigo, were published in Genoa in 1823 in the *Codice diplomatico Colombo-Americano*, edited with a biographical introduction by Giovanni Battista Spotorno.[4] A third letter (April 2, 1502), addressed to the governors of the Bank of St. George, was not printed by Spotorno, but was given in English in 1851 in the *Memorials of Columbus* by Robert Dodge, published by the Maryland Historical Society.[5]

The State Archives of Genoa were transferred from the Ducal Palace, in 1817, to the Palazzetto, where they now are; and Harrisse's account[6] of them tells us what they do not contain respecting Columbus, rather than what they do. We also learn from him something of the "Archives du Notariat Génois," and of the collections formed by the Senator Federico Federici (d. 1647), by Gian Battista Richeri (*circa* 1724), and by others; but they seem to have afforded Harrisse little more than stray notices of early members of the Colombo family.

Washington Irving refers to the "self-sustained zeal of one of the last veterans of Spanish literature, who is almost alone, yet indefatigable, in his labors in a country where at present literary exertion meets with but little excitement or reward." Such is his introduction of Martin Fernandez de Navarrete,[7] who was born in 1765, and as a young man gave some active and meritorious service in the Spanish navy. In 1789 he was forced by ill-health to abandon the sea. He then accepted a commission from Charles IV. to examine all the depositories of documents in the kingdom, and arrange the material to be found in illustration of the history of the Spanish navy.[1] This work he continued, with interruptions, till 1825, when he began at Madrid the publication of his *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV.*,[2] which reached an extent of five volumes, and was completed in 1837. It put in convenient printed form more than five hundred documents of great value, between the dates of 1393 and 1540. A sixth and seventh volume were left unfinished at his death, which occurred in 1844, at the age of seventy-eight.[3] His son afterward gathered some of his minor writings, including biographies of early navigators,[4] and printed (1848) them as a *Coleccion de opúsculos;* and in 1851 another of his works, *Biblioteca marítima Española*, was printed at Madrid in two volumes.[5]

---

[1] *Christophe Colomb*, i. 20.

[2] See *post*, p. 77. A third copy, made by Columbus' direction was sent to his factor in Hispaniola, Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal. This is not known; and Harrisse does not show that the archives of Santo Domingo offer much of interest of so early a date. A fourth copy was deposited in the monastery of the Cuevas at Seville, and is probably the one which his son, Diego, was directed to send to Gaspar Gorricio. Cf. Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 16–23, 41, 46.

[3] This letter is given in fac-simile in the Navarrete Collection, French translation, vol. iii.

[4] This book was reprinted at Genoa in 1857, with additions, edited by Giuseppe Banchero, and translated into English, and published in 1823 in London, as *Memorials of a Collection of Authentic Documents*, etc. A Spanish edition was issued at Havana in 1867 (Leclerc, nos. 134, 135). Wagner, in his *Colombo und seine Entdeckungen* (Leipsic, 1825), makes use of Spotorno, and translates the letters. These and other letters are also given in Torre's *Scritti di Colombo;* in the *Lettere autografe di Colombo*, Milan, 1863; and in Navarrete's *Coleccion*, vol. ii. following the text of those in the Veraguas collections. Cf. *North American Review*, xviii. 417; xxi. 398.

[5] Dodge also translated the other letters. Photographic fac-similes of these letters are in the Harvard College Library and in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See the *Proceedings* of the latter Society, February, 1870.

[6] *Christophe Colomb*, p. 11.

[7] Prescott, in the preface to his *Mexico*, speaks of him as "zealously devoted to letters; while his reputation as a scholar was enhanced by the higher qualities which he possessed as

The first two volumes of his collection (of which volumes there was a second edition in 1858) bore the distinctive title, *Relaciones, cartas y otros documentos, concernientes á los cuatro viages que hizo el Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon para el descubrimiento de las Indias occidentales*, and *Documentos diplomáticos.* Three years later (1828) a French version of these two volumes appeared at Paris, which Navarrete himself revised, and which is further enriched with notes by Humboldt, Jomard, Walckenaer, and others.[6] This French edition is entitled : *Relation des quatres voyages entrepris par Ch. Colomb pour la découverte du Nouveau Monde de 1492 à 1504, traduite par Chalumeau de Verneuil et de la Roquette.* It is in three volumes, and is worth about twenty francs. An Italian version, *Narrazione dei quattro viaggi*, etc., was made by F. Giuntini, and appeared in two volumes at Prato in 1840–1841.[7]

Navarrete's literary labors did not prevent much conspicuous service on his part, both at sea and on land; and in 1823, not long before he published his great Collection, he became the head of the Spanish hydrographic bureau.[8] After his death the Spanish Academy printed (1846) his historical treatise on the Art of Navigation and kindred subjects (*Disertacion sobre la historia de la náutica*[9]), which was an enlargement of an earlier essay published in 1802.

---

a man, — by his benevolence, his simplicity of manners, and unsullied moral worth."

[1] His projected work on the Spanish navy was never printed, though a fragment of it appeared in the *Memorias* of the Academy of History (*Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 247).

[2] Leclerc says it is "difficile à trouver," and prices it at 80 francs. The English price is from £2 to £3. A letter by Navarrete, descriptive of his *Coleccion*, is to be found in Zach's *Correspondance*, xi. 446. Cf. also Duflot de Mofras, *Mendoza et Navarrete*, Paris, 1845, quoted by Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 67.

[3] There is a memoir of him, with a catalogue of his works, in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, vol. vi.; and of those published and unpublished in his *Biblioteca marítima Española*, ii. 458–470. These sixth and seventh volumes have never been published. The sixth was to cover the voyages of Grijalva and Lopes de Villalobos. Harrisse (*Christophe Colomb*, i. 68) learned that the *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877) contains some parts of what was to appear in vol. vii.

[4] Columbus, Vespucius, Ojeda, Magellan, etc.

[5] It is an alphabetical (by Christian names, — a not uncommon Spanish fashion) record of writers on maritime subjects, with sketches of their lives and works.

[6] Cf. an article in the *North American Review*, xxiv. 265, by Caleb Cushing.

[7] These form vols. i. and ii. of Marmocchi's Collection (Leclerc, no. 133).

[8] Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 199.

[9] *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 247.

While Navarrete's great work was in progress at Madrid, Mr. Alexander H. Everett, the American Minister at that Court, urged upon Washington Irving, then at Bordeaux, the translation into English of the new material which Navarrete was preparing, together with his Commentary. Upon this incentive Irving went to Madrid and inspected the work, which was soon published. His sense of the popular demand easily convinced him that a continuous narrative, based upon Navarrete's material, — but leaving himself free to use all other helps, — would afford him better opportunities to display his own graceful literary skill, and more readily to engage the favor of the general reader. Irving's judgment was well founded; and Navarrete never quite forgave him for making a name more popularly associated with that of the great discoverer than his own.[1] Navarrete afforded Irving at this time much personal help and encouragement. Obadiah Rich, the American Consul at Valencia, under whose roof Irving lived, furnished him, however, his chief resource in a curious and extensive library. To the Royal Library, and to that of the Jesuit College of San Isidro, Irving also occasionally resorted. The Duke of Veraguas took pleasure in laying before him his own family archives.[2] The result was the *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus;* and in the Preface, dated at Madrid in 1827,[3] Irving made full acknowledgment of the services which had been rendered to him. This work was followed, not long after, by the *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus;* and ever since, in English and other languages, the two books have kept constant company.[4]

Irving proved an amiable hero-worshipper, and Columbus was pictured with few questionable traits. The writer's literary canons did not call for the scrutiny which destroys a world's exemplar. "One of the most salutary purposes of history," he says, "is to furnish examples of what human genius and laudable enterprise may accomplish," — and such brilliant examples must be rescued from the "pernicious erudition" of the investigator. Irving's method at least had the effect to conciliate the upholders of the saintly character of the discoverer; and the modern school of the De Lorgues, who have been urging the canonization of Columbus, find Irving's ideas of him higher and juster than those of Navarrete.

Henri Ternaux-Compans printed his *Voyages, relations, et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, between 1837 and 1841.[5]

---

[1] *Magazine of American History*, iii. 176. Cf., however, Navarrete's generous estimate of Irving's labors in the Introduction to the third volume of his *Coleccion*.

[2] The story of this undertaking is told in Pierre Irving's *Life of Washington Irving*, vol. ii. chaps. xiv., xv., xvi. The book was kindly reviewed by Mr. A. H. Everett in the *North American Review*, January, 1829 (vol. xxviii). Cf. other citations and references in Allibone's *Dictionary*, 942, and Poole's *Index*, p. 280. A portion, at least, of the manuscript of the book is in existence (*Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings*, xx. 201). Longfellow testified to Irving's devotion to his subject (*Proc.*, iv. 394). See *post*, p. 68.

[3] Irving also early made an abridged edition, to forestall the action of others.

[4] Their bibliography is fully given in Sabin, vol. ix. p. 150.

[5] It was completed in twenty volumes, and is now worth from 250 to 300 francs. See Leclerc, no. 562, for contents; Field's *Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,540; Alexander Young in *North American Review*, xlv. 222. Ternaux died in 1864 Santarem speaks of "the sumptuous stores of his splendid American library." Cf. H. H Bancroft, *Central America*, ii. 759.

This collection included rare books and about seventy-five original documents, which it is suspected may have been obtained during the French occupation of Spain. Ternaux published his *Archives des voyages*, in two volumes, at Paris in 1840;[1] a minor part of it pertains to American affairs. Another volume, published at the same time, is often found with it, — *Recueil de documents et mémoires originaux sur l'histoire des possessions Espagnoles dans l'Amérique*, whose contents, it is said, were derived from the Muñoz Collection.

The Academy of History at Madrid began in 1842 a series of documentary illustrations which, though devoted to the history of Spain in general (*Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*), contains much matter of the first importance in respect to the history of her colonies.[2] Navarrete was one of the original editors, but lived only to see five volumes published. Salvá, Baranda, and others have continued the publication since, which now amounts to eighty volumes, of which vols. 62, 63, and 64 are the famous history of Las Casas, then for the first time put in print.

In 1864 a new series was begun at Madrid, —*Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonizacion de las posesiones Españolas en América y Oceania, sacados, en su mayor parte, del Real Archivo de Indias.* Nearly forty volumes have thus far been published, under the editing of Joaquin F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza at the start, but with changes later in the editorial staff.[3]

Mr. E. G. Squier edited at New York in 1860 a work called *Collection of Rare and Original Documents and Relations concerning the Discovery and Conquest of America, chiefly from the Spanish Archives, in the original, with Translations, Notes, Maps, and Sketches.* There was a small edition only, — one hundred copies on small paper, and ten on large paper.[4] This was but one of a large collection of manuscripts relative to Central America and Mexico which Mr. Squier had collected, partly during his term as *chargé d'affaires* in 1849. Out of these he intended a series of publications, which never went beyond this first number. The collection "consists," says Bancroft,[5] "of extracts and copies of letters and reports of *audiencias*, governors, bishops, and various governmental officials, taken from the Spanish archives at Madrid and from the library of the Spanish Royal Academy of History, mostly under the direction of the indefatigable collector, Mr. Buckingham Smith."

Early Spanish manuscripts on America in the British Museum are noted in its *Index to Manuscripts*, 1854–1875, p. 31; and Gayangos' *Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii., has a section on America.[6]

---

[1] Now worth from $12 to $15.

[2] Cf. contents in *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 87.

[3] Cf. *Magazine of American History*, i. 256; ii. 256; (by Mr. Brevoort), iii. 175 (March, 1879); Sabin, *Dictionary*, vol. xiv. no. 58,072. Leclerc, *Bibliotheca Americana, Supplément*, no. 3,016, for 22 vols. (300 francs). Harrisse, referring to this collection, says: "It is really painful to see the little method, discrimination, and knowledge displayed by the editors." The documents on Columbus largely repeat those given by Navarrete.

[4] Sabin, *Dictionary*, vol. xiv. no. 58,270.

[5] H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 484; ii. 736.

[6] Collections like that of Icazbalceta on Mexico may be barely mentioned in this place, since their characteristics can better be defined in more special relations. Prescott had eight thousand manuscript pages of copies of docu-

Regarding the chances of further developments in depositories of manuscripts, Harrisse, in his *Notes on Columbus*,[1] says: "For the present the historian will find enough to gather from the Archivo General de Indias in the Lonja at Seville, which contains as many as forty-seven thousand huge packages, brought, within the last fifty years, from all parts of Spain. But the richest mine as yet unexplored we suppose to be the archives of the monastic orders in Italy; as all the expeditions to the New World were accompanied by Franciscan, Dominican, Benedictine, and other monks, who maintained an active correspondence with the heads of their respective congregations. The private archives of the Dukes of Veraguas, Medina-Sidonia, and Del Infantado, at Madrid, are very rich. There is scarce anything relating to that early period left in Simancas; but the original documents in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon are all intact."[2]

Among the latest contributions to the documentary history of the Spanish colonization is a large folio, *Cartas de Indias, publícalas por primera vez el ministerio de fomento,* issued in Madrid in 1877 under the auspices of the Spanish Government. It contains one hundred and eight letters, covering the period 1496 to 1586, the earliest date being a supposed one for a letter of Columbus which is without date.[3]

---

ments relating to Mexico and Peru. Cf. Preface to his *Mexico*. In 1792 Father Manuel de la Vega collected in Mexico thirty-two folio volumes of papers, in obedience to an order of the Spanish Government to gather all documents to be found in New Spain "fitted to illustrate the antiquities, geography, civil, ecclesiastical, and natural history of America," and transmit copies of them to Madrid (Prescott, *Mexico*, iii. 409).

[1] This book was privately printed (ninety-five copies) for Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, of New York. It has thrice, at least, occurred in sales (Menzies, no. 894, — $57.50; J. J. Cooke, vol. iii. no. 580; Brinley, no. 17). It is an extremely valuable key to the documentary and printed references on Columbus' career. To a very small number (nine) of a separate issue of the portion relating to the letters of Columbus, a new Preface was added in 1865. Cf. Ernest Desjardin's *Rapport sur les deux ouvrages de bibliographie Américaine de M. Henri Harrisse* (Paris, 1867, p. 8), extracted from the *Bullétin de la Société de Géographie*. The article on Columbus in Sabin's *Dictionary* (iv. 274, etc.) is based on Harrisse, with revisions. Cf. references in H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 238; Saint-Martin, *Histoire de la géographie* (1873), p. 319; F. G. Cancellieri's *Dessertazioni epistolari bibliografiche sopra Colombo*, etc. (Rome, 1809).

[2] The Archives of Venice, at the beginning of this century, contained memorials of Columbus which can no longer be found (Marin, *Storia civile e politica del commercio de' Veneziani*, Venezia, 1800; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Additions*, p. xxi). This is perhaps owing to the Austrian depredation upon the Venetian archives in the Frari and Marciana in 1803–1805, and in 1866. Not a little, however, of use has been preserved in the *Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Venice* published by the British Government, in the Rolls Series, since 1864. They primarily illustrate English history, but afford some light upon American affairs. Only six volumes (the last volume in three parts) have been printed. Mr. Rawdon Brown, who edited them, long a resident of Italy, dying at Venice, Aug. 25, 1883, at eighty, has sent, during his labors in this field, one hundred and twenty-six volumes of manuscript copies to the English Public Record Office.

[3] Of these, twenty-nine are also given in fac-simile; there are besides about two hundred and fifty fac-similes of autographs. The volume is priced at 150 marks and 300 francs. Cf. Leclerc, no. 2,688. H. H. Bancroft (*Mexico*, ii. 606) says of the volume: "There are about two hundred and twenty-four pages of geographical notes, vocabulary, biographical data, a glossary, and cuts, maps, and indexes. The letters and fac-similes, from the first to the last, are valuable in a historic sense, and the vocabulary is useful; but the biographical and historical data are not always reliable, numerous errors having been detected in comparing with official records and with memoranda of witnesses of the events related." Mr. Bancroft's own library is said to contain twelve hundred volumes of manuscript amassed for his own work; but a large portion of them, it is supposed, do not concern the Spanish history of the Pacific coast.

The late Mr. George Dexter,[1] who has printed[2] a translation of this letter (together with one of another letter, Feb. 6, 1502, and one of Vespucius, Dec. 9, 1508), gives his reasons for thinking the date should be between March 15 and Sept. 25, 1493.[3]

At Madrid and Paris was published, in 1883, a single octavo volume, — *Costa-Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el siglo XVI., su historia y sus limites segun los documentos del Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, del de Simancas, etc., recogidos y publicados con notas y aclaraciones históricas y geográficas, por D. Manuel M. de Peralta.*

The more special and restricted documentary sources are examined in the successive chapters of the present volume.

---

[1] Mr. Dexter, a graduate of Harvard in 1858, after most serviceable labors as Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, resigned that position on account of ill health, and died at Santa Barbara, California, Dec. 18, 1883. The *Proceedings* of the Society for January, 1884, contain tributes to his memory. Various communications in earlier volumes of the same *Proceedings* show the painstaking of his research, and the accuracy of his literary method. The first chapter in Vol. IV. of the present *History* was his last effort in historical study, and he did not live to correct the proofs. His death has narrowed the circle of those helpful friends who have been ever ready to assist the Editor in his present labors.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvi. 318; also issued separately. The letters of Columbus are also translated in the *Magazine of American History*, January, 1883, p. 53.

[3] An Italian version of the letters of Columbus and Vespucius, with fac-similes of the letters (*Tre lettere di Colombo ed Vespucci*), edited by Augusto Zeri, was printed (six hundred copies) at Rome in 1881. Cf. *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 642.

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

COLUMBUS AND HIS DISCOVERIES.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR,
The Editor.

BEYOND his birth, of poor and respectable parents, we know nothing positively about the earliest years of Columbus. His father was probably a wool-comber. The boy had the ordinary schooling of his time, and a touch of university life during a few months passed at Pavia; then at fourteen he chose to become a sailor. A seaman's career in those days implied adventures more or less of a piratical kind. There are intimations, however, that in the intervals of this exciting life he followed the more humanizing occupation of selling books in Genoa, and perhaps got some employment in the making of charts, for he had a deft hand at design. We know his brother Bartholomew was earning his living in this way when Columbus joined him in Lisbon in 1470. Previous to this there seems to be some degree of certainty in connecting him with voyages made by a celebrated admiral of his time bearing the same family name, Colombo; he is also said to have joined the naval expedition of John of Anjou against Naples in 1459.[1] Again, he may have been the companion of another notorious corsair, a nephew of the one already mentioned, as is sometimes maintained; but this sea-rover's proper name seems to have been more likely Caseneuve, though he was sometimes called Coulon or Colon.[2]

---

[1] Irving's *Life of Columbus*, app. no. vii.

[2] Ferdinand Columbus tried to make his readers believe that his father was of some kinship with this corsair. The story of Columbus escaping on an oar from a naval fight off Cape St. Vincent, and entering Portugal by floating to the shore, does not agree with known facts in his life of the alleged date. (Harrisse, *Les Colombo*, p. 36.) Allegri Allegretti, in his *Ephemerides Senenses ab anno* 1450 *usque ad* 1496 (in Muratori, xxiii. 827), gives a few particulars regarding the early life of Columbus. (Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 41.) Some of the latest researches upon his life previous to his appearing in Portugal are examined in Harrisse's *Fernan Colomb*, and in his essays in support of that book.

Columbus spent the years 1470–1484 in Portugal. It was a time when the air was filled with tales of discovery. The captains of Prince Henry of Portugal had been gradually pushing their ships down the African coast, and in some of these voyages Columbus was a participant. To one of his navigators Prince Henry had given the governorship of the Island of Porto Santo, of the Madeira group. To the daughter of this man, Perestrello,[1] Columbus was married; and with his widow Columbus lived, and derived what advantage he could from the papers and charts of the old navigator. There was a tie between his own and his wife's family in the fact that Perestrello was an Italian, and seems to have been of good family, but to have left little or no inheritance for his daughter beyond some property in Porto Santo, which Columbus went to enjoy. On this island Columbus' son Diego was born in 1474.

It was in this same year (1474) that he had some correspondence with the Italian *savant*, Toscanelli, regarding the discovery of land westward. A belief in such discovery was a natural corollary of the object which Prince Henry had had in view, — by circumnavigating Africa to find a way to the countries of which Marco Polo had given golden accounts. It was to substitute for the tedious indirection of the African route a direct western passage, — a belief in the practicability of which was drawn from a confidence in the sphericity of the earth. Meanwhile, gathering what hope he could by reading the ancients, by conferring with wise men, and by questioning mariners returned from voyages which had borne them more or less westerly on the great ocean, Columbus suffered the thought to germinate as it would in his mind for several years. Even on the voyages which he made hither and thither for gain, — once far north, to Iceland even, or perhaps only to the Faröe Islands, as is inferred, — and in active participation in various warlike and marauding expeditions, like the attack on the Venetian galleys near Cape St. Vincent in 1485,[2] he constantly came in contact with those who could give him hints affecting his theory. Through all these years, however, we know not certainly what were the vicissitudes which fell to his lot.[3]

It seems possible, if not probable, that Columbus went to Genoa and Venice, and in the first instance presented his scheme of western exploration to the authorities of those cities.[4] He may, on the other hand, have tried earlier to get the approval of the King of Portugal. In this case the visit to Italy may have occurred in the year following his departure from Portugal, which is nearly a blank in the record of his life. De Lorgues believes in the anterior Italian visit, when both Genoa and Venice rejected his plans; and then makes him live with his father at Savone, gaining a living by constructing charts, and by selling maps and books in Genoa.

---

[1] This name is sometimes given *Palestrello*.

[2] Rawdon Brown's *Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Venice*, vol. i. (1864).

[3] Prescott (*Ferdinand and Isabella*, ed. 1873, vol. ii. p. 123) says: "The discrepancies among the earliest authorities are such as to render hopeless any attempt to settle with precision the chronology of Columbus's movements previous to his first voyage."

[4] It cannot but be remarked how Italy, in Columbus, Cabot, and Vespucius, not to name others, led in opening the way to a new stage in the world's progress, which by making the Atlantic the highway of a commerce that had mainly nurtured Italy on the Mediterranean, conduced to start her republics on that decline which the Turk, sweeping through that inland sea, confirmed and accelerated.

It would appear that in 1484 Columbus had urged his views upon the Portuguese King, but with no further success than to induce the sovereign to despatch, on other pretences, a vessel to undertake the passage westerly in secrecy. Its return without accomplishing any discovery opened the eyes of Columbus to the deceit which that monarch would have put upon him, and he departed from the Portuguese dominions in not a little disgust.[1]

The death of his wife had severed another tie with Portugal; and taking with him his boy Diego, Columbus left, to go we scarcely know whither, so obscure is the record of his life for the next year. Muñoz claims for this period that he went to Italy. Sharon Turner has conjectured that he went to England; but there seems no ground to believe that he had any relations with the English Court except by deputy, for his brother Bartholomew was despatched to lay his schemes before Henry VII.[2] Whatever may have been the result of this application, no answer seems to have reached Columbus until he was committed to the service of Spain.

It was in 1485 or 1486 — for authorities differ[3] — that a proposal was laid by Columbus before Ferdinand and Isabella; but the steps were slow by which he made even this progress. We know how, in the popular story, he presented himself at the Franciscan Convent of Santa María de la Rábida, asking for bread for himself and his boy. This convent stood on a steep promontory about half a league from Palos, and was then in charge of the Father Superior Juan Perez de Marchena.[4] The appearance of the stranger first, and his talk next, interested the Prior; and it was under his advice and support after a while — when Martin Alonzo Pinzon, of the neighboring town of Palos, had espoused the new theory — that Columbus was passed on to Cordova, with such claims to recognition as the Prior of Rabida could bestow upon him.

It was perhaps while success did not seem likely here, in the midst of the preparations for a campaign against the Moorish kings, that his brother Bartholomew made his trip to England.[5] It was also in November, 1486, it would seem, that Columbus formed his connection with Beatrix Enriquez, while he was waiting in Cordova for the attention of the monarch to be disengaged from this Moorish campaign.

---

[1] Notwithstanding this disappointment of Columbus, it is claimed that Alfonso V., in 1474, had consulted Toscanelli as to such a western passage "to the land where the spices grow."

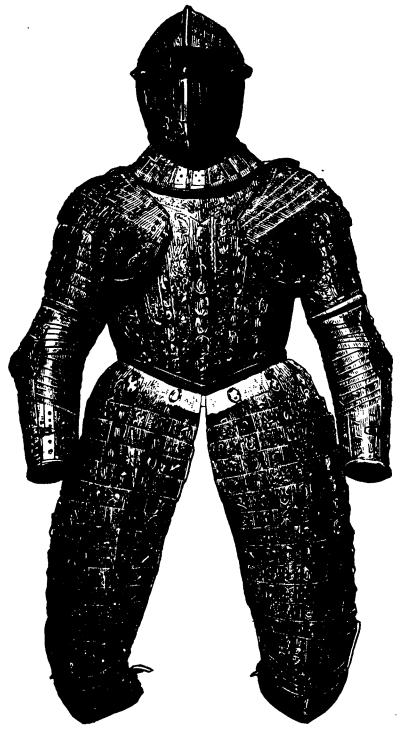
[2] There is great uncertainty about this English venture. Benzoni says Columbus's ideas were ridiculed; Bacon (*Life of Henry VII.*) says the acceptance of them was delayed by accident; Purchas says they were accepted too late. F. Cradock, in the Dedication of his *Wealth Discovered*, London, 1661, regrets the loss of honor which Henry VII. incurred in not listening to the project. (Sabin, v. 55.) There is much confusion of statement in the early writers. Cf. Las Casas, lib. i. cap. 29; Barcia, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 10; Herrera, dec. i. lib. 2; Oviedo, lib. i. cap. 4; Gomara, cap. 15; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 4.

[3] As, for instance, Oviedo and Bossi.

[4] The same whom Isabella advised Columbus to take "as an astrologer" on one of his later voyages. Cf. P. Augustin d'Osimo's *Christophe Colomb et le Père Juan Perez de Marchena; ou, de la co-opération des franciscains à la découverte de l'Amérique*, 1861, and P. Marcellino da Civezza's *Histoire générale des missions franciscaines*, 1863.

[5] Cf. Schanz on "Die Stellung der beiden ersten Tudors zu den Entdeckungen," in his *Englische Handelspolitik*.

Among those at this time attached to the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella was Alexander Geraldinus, then about thirty years old. He was a traveller, a man of letters, and a mathematician; and it was afterward the boast of his kinsman, who edited his *Itinerarium ad regiones sub æquinoctiali plaga constitutas*[1] (Rome, 1631), that Geraldinus, in one way and another, aided Columbus in pressing his views upon their Majesties. It was through Geraldinus' influence, or through that of others who had become impressed with his views, that Columbus finally got the ear of Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo. The way was now surer. The King heeded the Archbishop's advice, and a council of learned men was convened, by royal orders, at Salamanca, to judge Columbus and his theories. Here he was met by all that prejudice, content, and ignorance (as now understood, but wisdom then) could bring to bear, in the shape of Scriptural contradictions of his views, and the pseudo-scientific distrust of what were thought mere visionary aims. He met all to his own satisfaction, but not quite so successfully to the comprehension of his judges. He told them that he should find Asia that way; and that if he did not, there must be other lands westerly quite as desirable to discover. No conclusion had been reached when, in the spring of 1487, the Court departed from Cordova, and Columbus found himself left behind without encouragement, save in the support of a few whom he had convinced, — notably Diego de Deza, a friar destined to some ecclesiastical distinction as Archbishop of Seville.



COLUMBUS' ARMOR.[2]

---

[1] Stevens, *Historical Collection*, vol. i. no. 1,418; Leclerc, no. 235 (120 francs); Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 376; Sabin, vol. vii. no. 27,116; Murphy, no. 1,046. This book, which in 1832 Rich priced at £1 10*s*., has recently been quoted by Quaritch at £5 5*s*. Harrisse calls the book mendacious (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 37). The book was written in 1522; its author was born in 1465, and died in 1525 as bishop of Santo Domingo.

[2] This follows a cut in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 245. The armor is in the Collection in the Royal Palace at Madrid.

During the next five years Columbus experienced every vexation attendant upon delay, varied by participancy in the wars which the Court urged against the Moors, and in which he sought to propitiate the royal powers by doing them good service in the field. At last, in 1491, wearied with excuses of pre-occupation and the ridicule of the King's advisers, Columbus turned his back on the Court and left Seville,[1] to try his fortune with some of the Grandees. He still urged in vain, and sought again the Convent of Rabida. Here he made a renewed impression upon Marchena; so that finally, through the Prior's interposition with Isabella, Columbus was summoned to Court. He arrived in time to witness the surrender of Granada, and to find the monarchs more at liberty to listen to his words. There seemed now a likelihood of reaching an end of his tribulations; when his demand of recognition as viceroy, and his claim to share one tenth of all income from the territories to be discovered, frightened as well as disgusted those appointed to negotiate with him, and all came once more to an end. Columbus mounted his mule and started for France. Two finance ministers of the Crown, Santangel for Arragon and Quintanilla for Castile, had been sufficiently impressed by the new theory to look with regret on what they thought might be a lost opportunity. Isabella was won; and a messenger was despatched to overtake Columbus.

The fugitive returned; and on April 17, 1492, at Santa Fé, an agreement was signed by Ferdinand and Isabella which gave Columbus the office of high-admiral and viceroy in parts to be discovered, and an income of one eighth of the profits, in consideration of his assuming one eighth of the costs. Castile bore the rest of the expense; but Arragon advanced the money,[2] and the Pinzons subscribed the eighth part for Columbus.

The happy man now solemnly vowed to use what profits should accrue in accomplishing the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the Moslems. Palos, owing some duty to the Crown, was ordered to furnish two armed caravels, and Columbus was empowered to fit out a third. On the 30th of April the letters-patent confirming his dignities were issued. His son Diego was made a page of the royal household. On May 12 he left the Court and hastened towards Palos. Here, upon showing his orders for the vessels, he found the town rebellious, with all the passion of a people who felt that some of their number were being simply doomed to destruction beyond that Sea of Darkness whose bounds they knew not. Affairs were in this unsatisfactory condition when the brothers Pinzon threw themselves and their own vessels into the cause; while a

---

[1] There are two views of Seville in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*, published at Antwerp in 1572, and again at Brussels (in French) in 1574. In one of the engravings a garden near the Puerta de Goles is marked "Guerta de Colon;" and in the other the words "Casa de Colon" are attached to the top of one of the houses. Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, no. 712. The book is in the Harvard College Library.

[2] Santangel supplied about seventeen thousand florins from Ferdinand's treasury. Bergenroth, in his Introduction to the Spanish State Papers, removes not a little of the mellow splendor which admirers have poured about Isabella's character.

PARTING OF COLUMBUS WITH FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.[1]

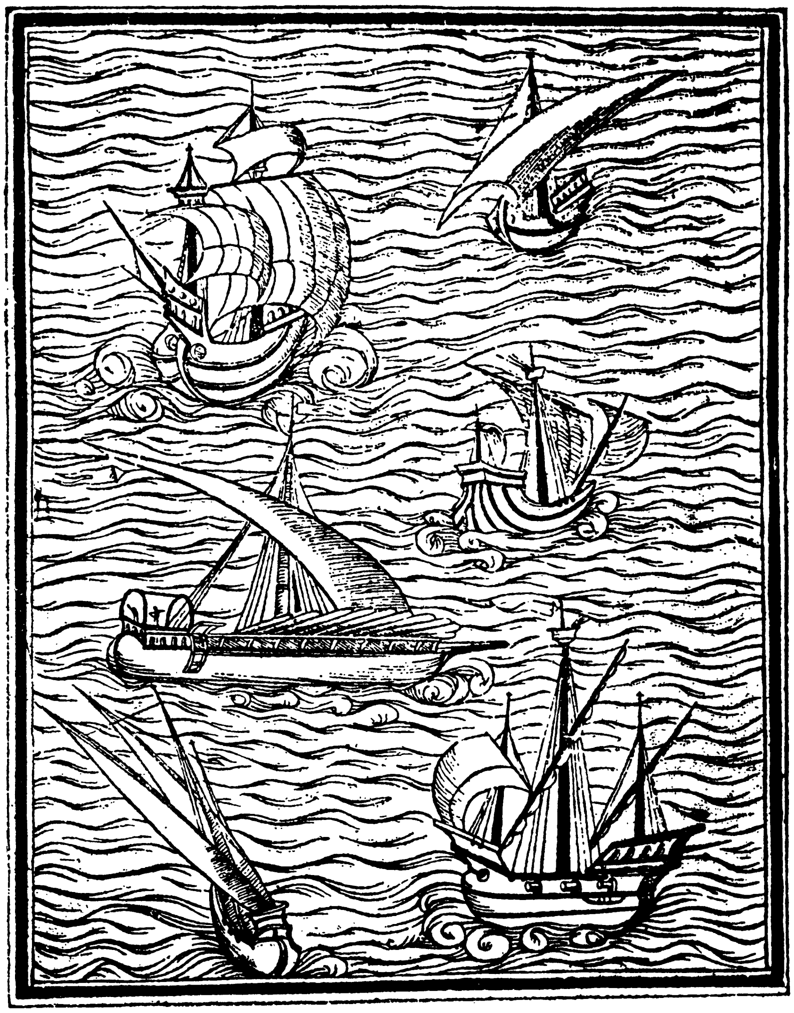
third vessel, the "Pinta," was impressed, — much to the alarm of its owners and crew.

And so, out of the harbor of Palos,[2] on the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus

---

[1] Fac-simile of the engraving in Herrera. It originally appeared in De Bry, part iv.

[2] Palos is no longer a port, such has been the work of time and tide. In 1548 the port is described in Medina's *Libro de grandezas y cosas de España*. (Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 281.) Irving described it in 1828. Its present unmaritime character is set forth by E. E. Hale in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 159; *Seven Spanish Cities*, p. 17; and *Overland Monthly*, Jan., 1883, p. 42.



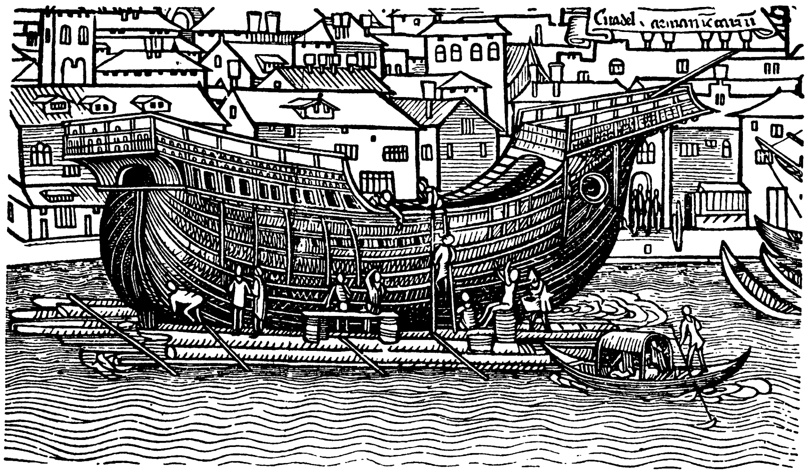
EARLY VESSELS.[1]

---

[1] This representation of the vessels of the early Spanish navigators is a fac-simile of a cut in Medina's *Arte de navegar*, Valladolid, 1545, which was re-engraved in the Venice edition of 1555. Cf. *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. i. nos. 137, 204; Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, pp. 240, 241; Jurien de la Gravière's *Les marins du XV^e^ et du XVI^e^ siècle*, vol. i. pp. 38, 151. In the variety of changes in methods of measurement it is not easy to find the equivalent in tonnage of the present day for the ships of Columbus's time. Those constituting his little fleet seem to have been light and swift vessels of the class called caravels. One had a deck amidships, with high forecastle and poop, and two were without this deck, though high, and covered at the ends. Captain G. V. Fox has given what he supposes were the dimensions of the larger one, — a heavier craft and duller sailer than the others. He calculates for a hundred tons, — makes her sixty-three feet over all, fifty-one feet keel, twenty feet beam, and ten and a half feet draft of water. She carried the kind of gun termed lombards, and a crew of fifty men. *U. S. Coast Survey Report*, 1880, app. 18; Becher's *Landfall of Columbus;* A. Jal's *Archéologie navale* (Paris, 1840); Irving's *Columbus*, app. xv.; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 187; *Das Ausland*, 1867, p. 1. There are other views of the ships of Columbus' time in the cuts in some of the early editions of his Letters on the discovery. See notes following this chapter.

sailed with his three little vessels. The "Santa Maria," which carried his flag, was the only one of the three which had a deck, while the other two, the "Niña" and the "Pinta," were open caravels. The two Pinzons commanded these smaller ships, — Martin Alonzo the "Pinta," and Vicente the "Niña."

The voyage was uneventful, except that the expectancy of all quickened the eye, which sometimes saw over-much, and poised the mind, which was alert with hope and fear. It has been pointed out how a westerly course from Palos would have discouraged Columbus with head and variable winds. Running down to the Canaries (for Toscanelli put those islands in the latitude of Cipango), a westerly course thence would bring him within the continuous easterly trade-winds, whose favoring influence would inspirit his men, — as, indeed, was the case. Columbus, however, was very glad on the 22d of September to experience a west wind, just to convince his crew it was possible to have, now and then, the direction of it favorable to their return. He had proceeded, as he thought, some two hundred miles farther than the longitude in which he had conjectured Cipango to be, when the urging of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the flight of birds indicating land to be nearer in the southwest, induced him to change his course in that direction.[2]



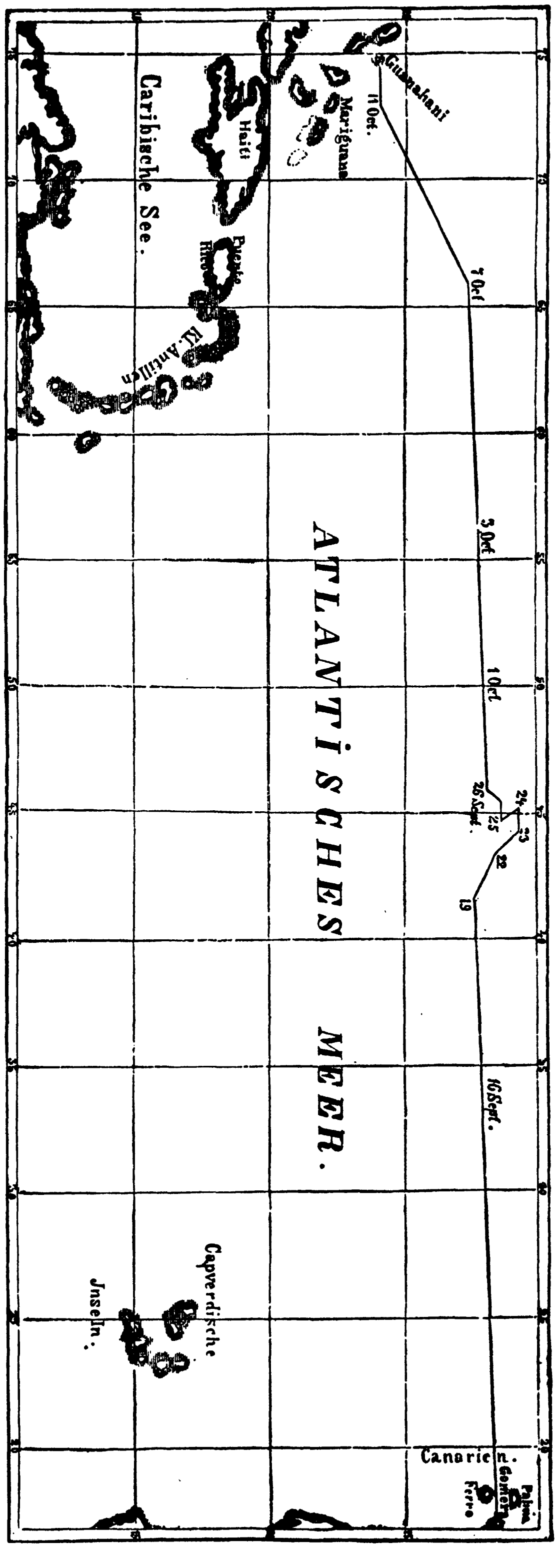
BUILDING A SHIP.[1]

---

[1] This follows a fac-simile, given in Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* p. 240, of a cut in Bernhardus de Breydenbach's *Peregrinationes*, Mainz, 1486.

[2] Cf. Irving, app. no. xvi., on the route of Columbus. Brevoort in his *Verrazano*, p. 101, describes the usual route of the early navigators from Spain to the West Indies. Columbus kept two records of his progress. One was an unworthily deceitful one (reminding us of an earlier deceit, when he tampered with the compass to mislead his crew), by which he hoped to check the apprehensions of his men arising from his increasing longitude; and the other a dead reckoning of some kind, in which he thought he was approximately accurate. The story of his capit-

About midnight between the 11th and 12th of October, Columbus on the lookout thought he saw a light moving in the darkness. He called a companion, and the two in counsel agreed that it was so.[1] At about two o'clock, the moon then shining, a mariner on the "Pinta" discerned unmistakably a low sandy shore. In the morning a landing was made, and, with prayer[2] and ceremony,



COURSE OF COLUMBUS ON FIRST VOYAGE.[3]

---

ulating to his crew, and agreeing to turn back in three days in case land was not reached, is only told by Oviedo on the testimony of a pilot hostile to Columbus.

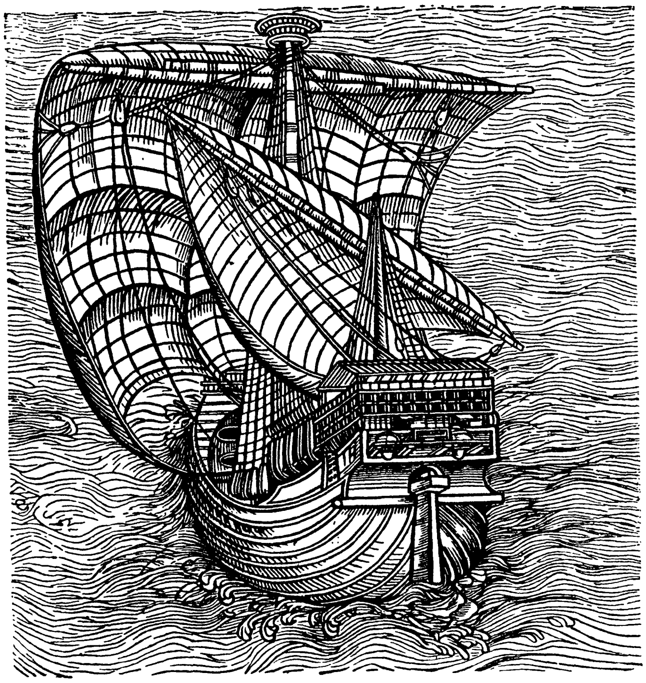
[1] It may have been on some island or in some canoe; or just as likely a mere delusion. The fact that Columbus at a later day set up a claim for the reward for the first discovery on the strength of this mysterious light, to the exclusion of the poor sailor who first actually saw land from the "Pinta," has subjected his memory, not unnaturally, to some discredit at least with those who reckon magnanimity among the virtues. Cf. *Navarrete*, iii. 612.

[2] The prayer used was adopted later in similar cases, under Balboa, Cortes, Pizarro, etc. It is given in C. Clemente's *Tablas chronologicas*, Valencia, 1689. Cf. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 140; Sabin, vol. iv. no. 13,632; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,376; Murphy, no. 599; and H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, i. 371.

[3] This follows a map given in *Das Ausland*, 1867, p. 4, in a paper on Columbus' Journal, "Das Schiffsbuch des

possession was taken of the new-found island in the name of the Spanish sovereigns.

On the third day (October 14) Columbus lifted anchor, and for ten days sailed among the minor islands of the archipelago; but struck the Cuban coast on the 28th.[1] Here the "Pinta," without orders from the Admiral, went off to seek some gold-field, of which Martin Alonzo Pinzon, its commander, fancied he had got some intimation from the natives. Pinzon returned bootless; but Columbus was painfully conscious of the mutinous spirit of his lieutenant.[2] The little fleet next found Hayti (Hispaniæ insula,[3] as he called it), and on its northern side the Admiral's ship was wrecked. Out of her timbers Columbus built a fort on the shore, called it "La Navidad," and put into it a garrison under Diego de Arana.[5]



SHIP OF COLUMBUS'S TIME.[4]

Entdeckers von Amerika." The routes of Columbus' four voyages are marked on the map accompanying the *Studi biografici e bibliografici* published by the Società Geografica Italiana in 1882. Cf. also the map in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 155, reproduced on a later page.

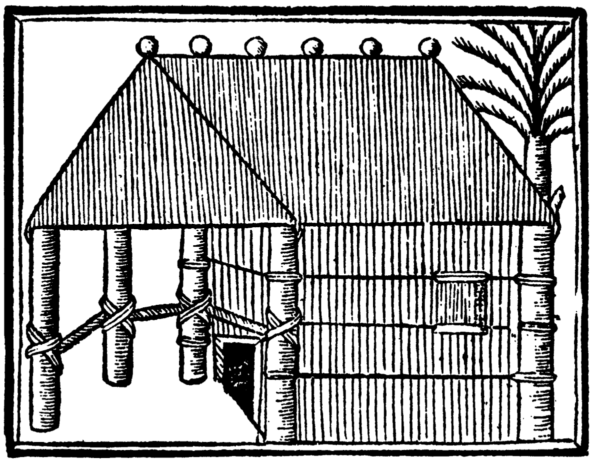
[1] Humboldt in his *Cosmos* (English translation, ii. 422) has pointed out how in this first voyage the descriptions by Columbus of tropical scenes convince one of the vividness of his impressions and of the quickness of his observation.

[2] Pinzon's heirs at a later day manifested hostility to Columbus, and endeavored to magnify their father's importance in the voyage. Cf. Irving, App. x. In the subsequent lawsuit for the confirmation of Columbus's right, the Pinzons brought witnesses to prove that it was their urgency which prevented Columbus from giving up the voyage and turning back.

[3] This Latin name seems to have been rendered by the Spaniards La Española, and from this by corruption the English got Hispaniola.

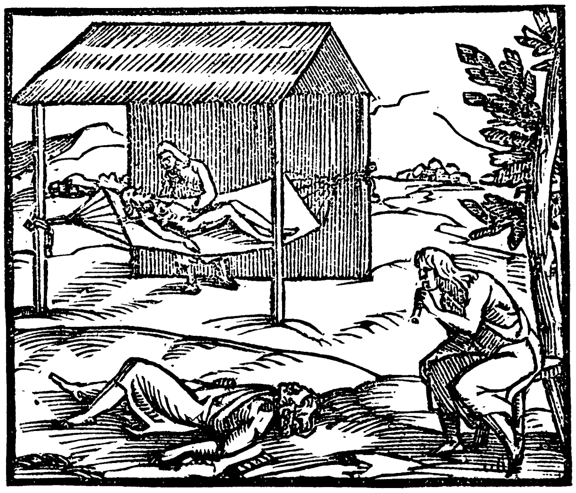
[4] This follows a fac-simile, given in Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 241, of a cut in Bernhardus de Breydenbach's *Peregrinationes*, Mainz, 1486.

[5] There is a wide difference as reported by the early writers as to the number of men which Columbus had with him on this voyage. Ferdinand Columbus says ninety; Peter Martyr, one hundred and twenty; others say one hundred and eighty. The men he left at Hayti are reckoned variously at thirty-nine, forty-three, forty-eight, fifty-five, etc. Major, *Select Letters*, p. 12, reckons them as from thirty-seven to forty. The



NATIVE HOUSE IN HISPANIOLA.[1]

With the rest of his company and in his two smaller vessels, on the 4th of January, 1493, Columbus started on his return to Spain. He ran northerly to the latitude of his destination, and then steered due east. He experienced severe weather, but reached the Azores safely; and then, passing on, entered the Tagus and had an interview with the Portuguese King. Leaving Lisbon on the 13th, he reached Palos on the 15th of March, after an absence of over seven months.



CURING THE SICK.[2]

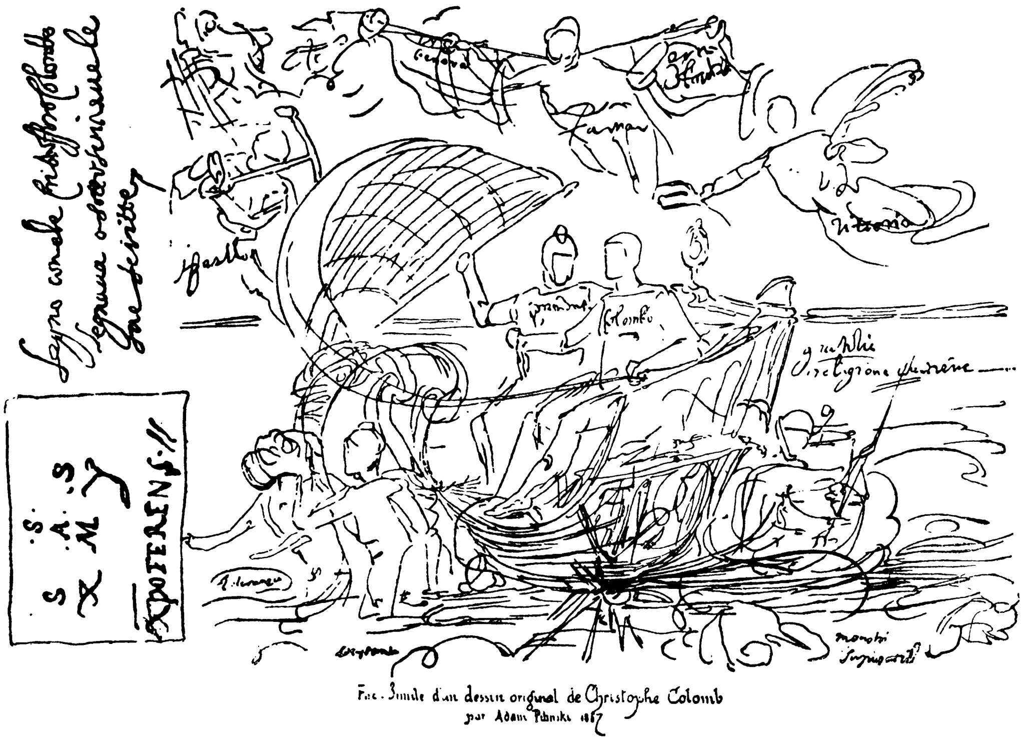
He was received by the people of the little seaport with acclamations and wonder; and, despatching a messenger to the Spanish Court at Barcelona, he proceeded to Seville to await the commands of the monarchs. He was soon bidden to hasten to them; and with the triumph of more than a conqueror, and preceded by the bedizened Indians whom he had brought with him, he entered the city and stood in the presence of the sovereigns. He was commanded to sit before them, and to tell the story of his discovery. This he did with conscious pride; and not forgetting the past,

lists show among them an Irishman, "Guillermo Ires, natural de Galney, en Irlanda," and an Englishman, "Tallarte de Lajes, Ingles." These are interpreted to mean William Herries — probably "a namesake of ours," says Harrisse — and Arthur Lake. Bernaldez says he carried back with him to Spain ten of the natives.

---

[1] Fac-simile of a cut in Oviedo, edition of 1547, fol. lix. There is another engraving in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 124. Cf. also Ramusio, *Nav. et Viaggi*, iii.

[2] This is Benzoni's sketch of the way in which the natives cure and tend their sick at Hispaniola. Edition of 1572, p. 56.


S. S. A. S.
X M Y
XPOFERENS.//
Fac-Simile d'un dessin original de Christophe Colomb
par Adam Pilinski 1867

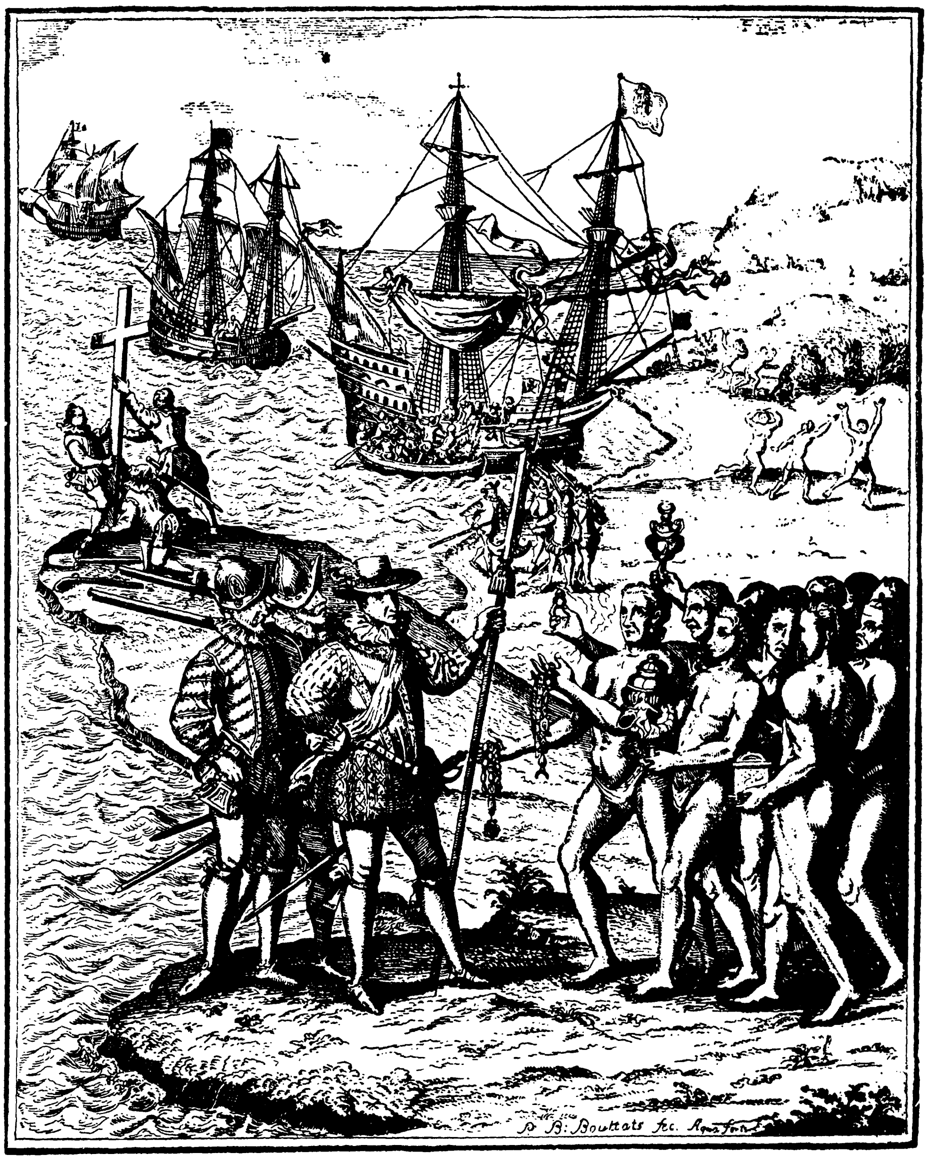
THE TRIUMPH OF COLUMBUS.[1]

he publicly renewed his previous vow to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidel.

The expectation which had sustained Columbus in his voyage, and which he thought his discoveries had confirmed, was that he had reached

---

[1] This is a reduction of a fac-simile by Pilinski, given in Margry's *Les Navigations Françaises*, p. 360, — an earlier reproduction having been given by M. Jal in *La France maritime*. It is also figured in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 139. The original sketch, by Columbus himself, was sent by him from Seville in 1502, and is preserved in the city hall at Genoa. M. Jal gives a description of it in his *De Paris à Naples*, 1836, i. 257. The figure sitting beside Columbus is Providence; Envy and Ignorance are hinted at as monsters following in his wake; while Constancy, Tolerance, the Christian Religion, Victory, and Hope attend him. Above all is the floating figure of Fame blowing two trumpets, one marked "Genoa," the other "Fama Columbi." Harrisse (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 165) says that good judges assign this picture to Columbus's own hand, though none of the drawings ascribed to him are authentic beyond doubt; while it is very true that he had the reputation of being a good draughtsman. Feuillet de Conches (*Revue contemporaine*, xxiv. 509) disbelieves in its authenticity. The usual signature of Columbus is in the lower left-hand corner of the above sketch, the initial letters in which have never been satisfactorily interpreted; but perhaps as reasonable a guess as any would make them stand for "SERVUS SUPPLEX ALTISSIMI SALVATORIS — CHRISTUS, MARIA, YOSEPH — *Christo ferens*." Others read, "SERVIDOR SUS ALTEZAS SACRAS, CHRISTO, MARIA, YSABEL [*or* YOSEPH]." The "Christo ferens" is sometimes replaced by "*El Almirante*." The essay on the autograph in the *Cartas de Indias* is translated in the *Magazine of American History*, Jan., 1883, p. 55. Cf. Irving, app. xxxv. Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 317; *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, xvi. 322, etc.


P. B: Bouttats fec. Aqua fort.

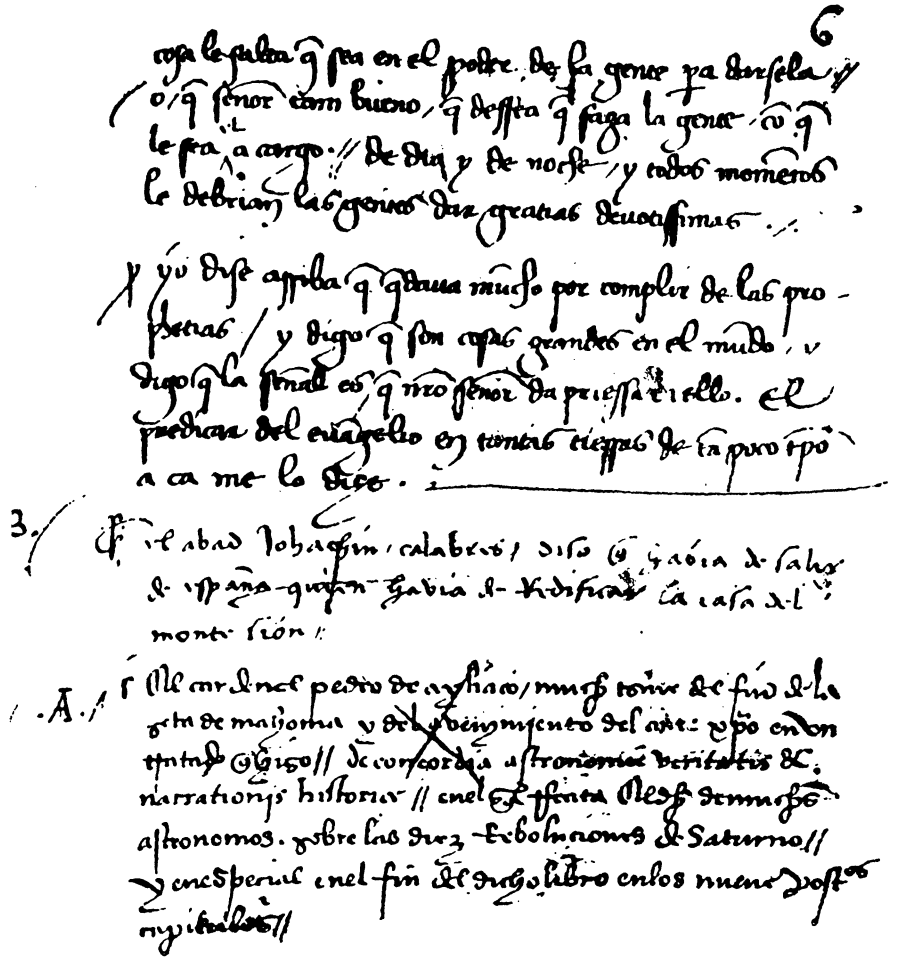
COLUMBUS AT HISPANIOLA.[1]

the western parts of India or Asia; and the new islands were accordingly everywhere spoken of as the West Indies, or the New World.

The ruling Pope, Alexander VI., was a native Valencian; and to him an appeal was now made for a Bull, confirming to Spain and Portugal respective fields for discovery. This was issued May 4, 1493, fixing a line, on the thither side of which Spain was to be master; and on the hither side, Portugal. This was traced at a meridian one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands, which were assumed to be in the same longitude practically. The thought of future complications from the running of this line to the antipodes does not seem to have alarmed either Pope or sovereigns; but troubles on the Atlantic side were soon to arise, to be promptly compounded by a convention at Tordesillas, which agreed (June 4, ratified June 7, 1494) to move the meridian line to a point three

---

[1] Fac-simile of engraving in Herrera, who follows DeBry.



6

cosa le faltava q sea en el poder de las gentes pa darsela y
o q señor tan bueno, q dessea q faga la gente lo q
le sea a cargo.// de dia y de noche, y todos momentos
le debrian las gentes dar gracias devotissimas.

y yo dixe arriba q quedava mucho por complir de las pro-
phetias / y digo q son cosas grandes en el mundo, y
digo q la señal es q nro señor da priessa en ello. el
predicar del evangelio en tantas tierras de tan poco tpo
a ca me lo dice.

3. el abad Johachin calabres, diso q havia de salir
de españa quien havia de redificar la casa del
monte Sion.

A. el cardenal pedro de aylliaco mucho escrive del fin de la
seta de mahoma y del advenimiento del antxo en un
tratado q hizo// de concordia astronomie veritatis &c.
narrationis historice // en el recita el dicho de muchos
astronomos. sobre las diez revoluciones de Saturno//
y en especial en el fin del dicho libro en los nueve postreros
capitulos//

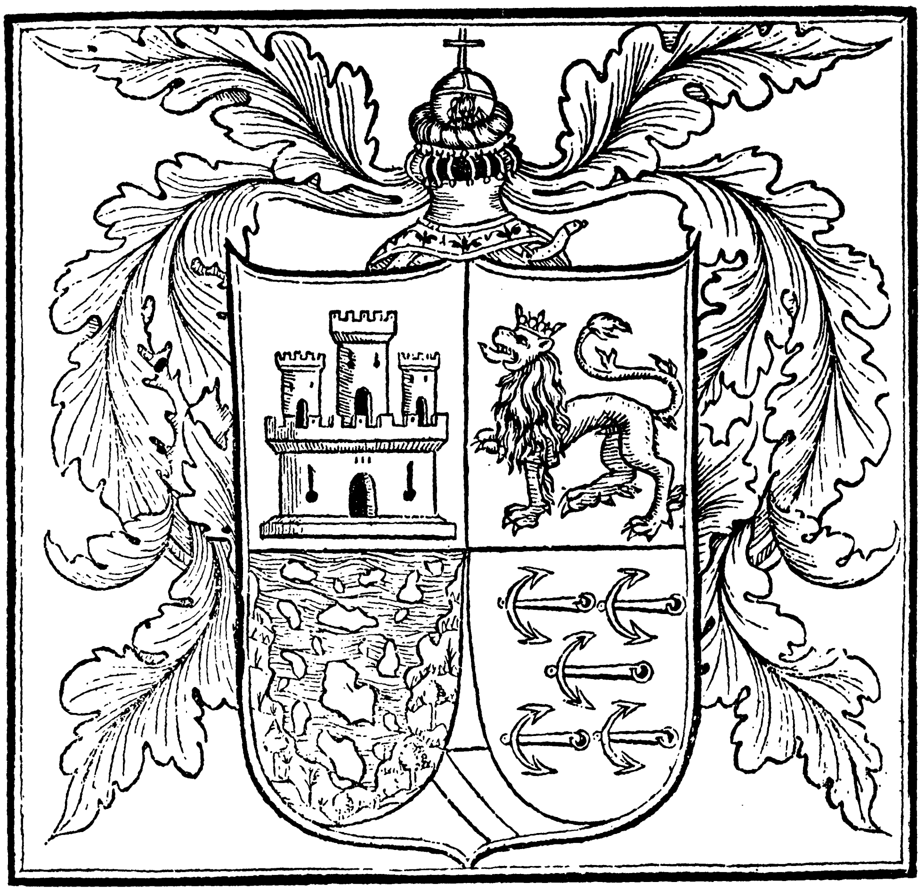
HANDWRITING OF COLUMBUS.[1]

---

[1] Last page of an autograph letter preserved in the Colombina Library at Seville, following a photograph in Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus*, p. 218.

hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verde Islands, — still without dream of the destined disputes respecting divisions on the other side of the globe.[1]

Thus everything favored Columbus in the preparations for a second voyage, which was to conduct a colony to the newly discovered lands.



ARMS OF COLUMBUS.[2]

Twelve hundred souls were embarked on seventeen vessels, and among them persons of consideration and name in subsequent history, — Diego, the Admiral's brother, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Ojeda, and La Cosa, with the Pope's own vicar, a Benedictine named Buil, or Boil. Columbus and the destined colonists sailed from Cadiz on the 25th of September. The ships sighted an island on the 3d of November, and continuing their course among the Caribbee Islands, they finally reached La Navidad, and found it a waste. It was necessary, however, to make a beginning somewhere; and a little to the east of the ruined fort they landed their supplies and began the laying out of a city, which they called Isabella.[1] Expeditions were sent inland to find gold. The explorers reported success. Twelve of the ships were sent home with Indians who had been seized; and these ships were further laden with products of the soil which had been gathered. Columbus himself went with four hundred men to begin work at the interior mines; but the natives, upon whom he had counted for labor, had begun to fear enslavement for this purpose, and kept aloof. So mining did not flourish. Disease, too, was working evil. Columbus himself had been prostrated; but he was able to conduct three caravels westward, when he discovered Jamaica. On this expedition he made up his mind that Cuba was a part of the Asiatic main, and somewhat unadvisedly forced his men to sign a paper declaring their own belief to the same purport.[4]

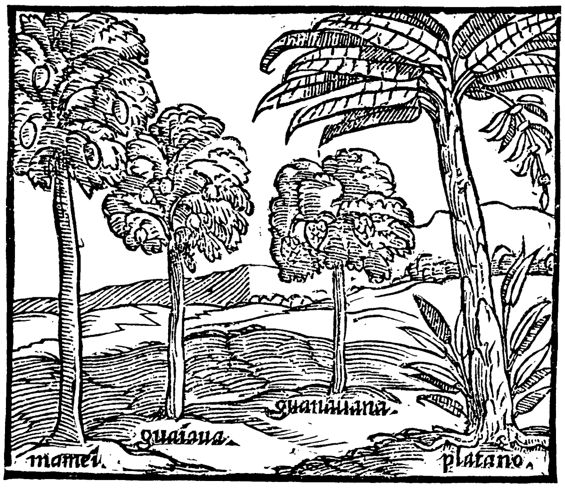
---

[1] The line of 1494 gave Portugal, Brazil, the Moluccas, the Philippines, and half of New Guinea. Jurien de la Gravière, *Les marins du XV^e et du XVI^e siècle*, i. 86.

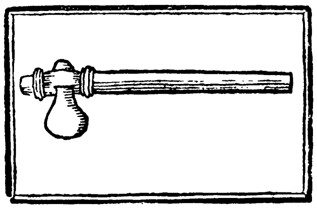
[2] As given in Oviedo's *Coronica*, 1547, fol. x., from the Harvard College copy. There is no wholly satisfactory statement regarding the origin of these arms. or the Admiral's right to bear them. It is the quartering of the royal lion and castle, for Arragon and Castile, with gold islands in azure waves. Five anchors and the motto,

> "A [*or* POR] CASTILLA Y A [*or* POR] LEON
> NUEVO MUNDO DIO [*or* HALLO] COLON,"

were later given or assumed. The crest varies in the Oviedo (i. cap. vii.) of 1535.



FRUIT-TREES OF HISPANIOLA.[2]



INDIAN CLUB.[3]

Returning to his colony, the Admiral found that all was not going well. He had not himself inspired confidence as a governor, and his fame as an explorer was fast being eclipsed by his misfortunes as a ruler. Some of his colonists, accompanied by the papal vicar, had seized ships and set sail for home. The natives, emboldened by the cruelties practised upon them, were laying siege to his fortified posts. As an offset, however, his brother Bartholomew had arrived from Spain with three store-ships; and later came Antonio de Torres with four other ships, which in due time were sent back to carry some samples of gold and a cargo of natives to be sold as slaves. The vessels had brought tidings of the charges preferred at Court against the Admiral, and his brother Diego was sent back with the ships to answer these charges in the Admiral's behalf. Unfortunately Diego was not a man of strong character, and his advocacy was not of the best.

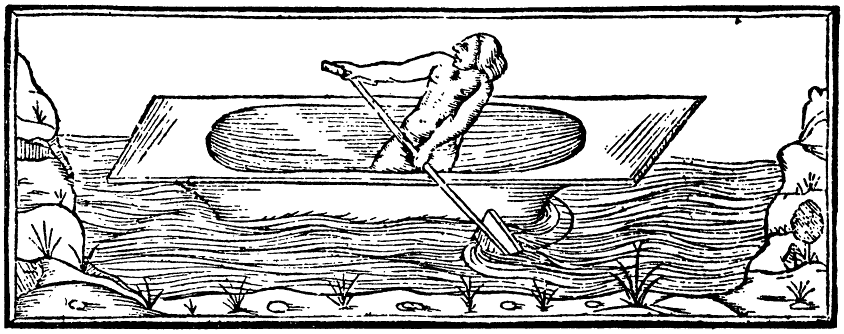
---

[1] Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 496, describes the procedures finally established in laying out towns.

[2] This is Benzoni's sketch, edition of 1572, p. 60.

[3] As given in Oviedo, edition of 1547, fol. lxi.

[4] Navarrete, ii. 143. It is the frequent recurrence of such audacious and arrogant acts on the part of Columbus which explains his sad failure as an administrator, and seriously impairs the veneration in which the world would rejoice to hold him.



INDIAN CANOE.[1]

INDIAN CANOE.[2]

In March (1495) Columbus conducted an expedition into the interior to subdue and hold tributary the native population. It was cruelly done, as the world looks upon such transactions to-day.

Meanwhile in Spain reiteration of charges was beginning to shake the confidence of his sovereigns; and Juan Aguado, a friend of Columbus, was sent to investigate. He reached

---

[1] As depicted in Oviedo, edition of 1547, fol. lxi. There is another engraving in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 106, called "Pirogue Indienne."

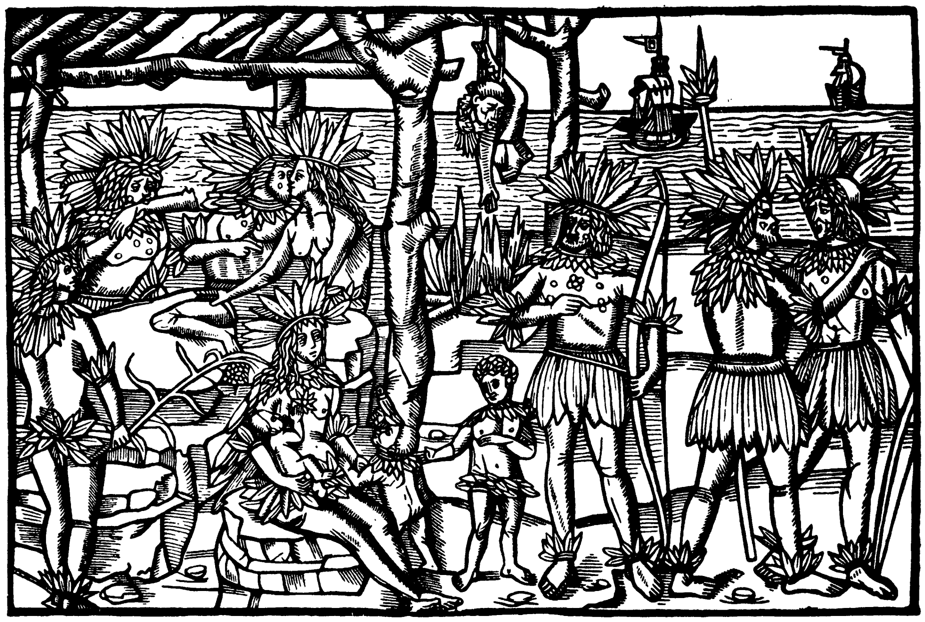
[2] Benzoni gives this drawing of the canoes of the coast of the Gulf of Paria and thereabout. Edition of 1572, p. 5.

COLUMBUS AT ISLA MARGARITA.[1]

Isabella in October, — Diego, the Admiral's brother, accompanying him. Aguado did not find affairs reassuring; and when he returned to Spain with his report in March (1496), Columbus thought it best to go too, and to make his excuses or explanations in person. They reached Cadiz in June, just as Niño was sailing with three caravels to the new colony.

[1] Fac-simile of engraving in Herrera.

Ferdinand and Isabella received him kindly, gave him new honors, and promised him other outfits. Enthusiasm, however, had died out, and delays took place. The reports of the returning ships did not correspond with the pictures of Marco Polo, and the new-found world was thought to be a very poor India after all. Most people were of this mind; though Columbus was not disheartened, and the public treasury was readily opened for a third voyage.



AMERICANS.[1]

Coronel sailed early in 1498 with two ships, and Columbus followed with six, embarking at San Lucar on the 30th of May. He now discovered

---

[1] This is the earliest representation which we have of the natives of the New World, showing such as were found by the Portuguese on the north coast of South America. It has been supposed that it was issued in Augsburg somewhere between 1497 and 1504, for it is not dated. The only copy ever known to bibliographers is not now to be traced. Stevens, *Recoll. of James Lenox*, p. 174. It measures 13½ × 8½ inches, with a German title and inscription, to be translated as follows:—

"This figure represents to us the people and island which have been discovered by the Christian King of Portugal, or his subjects. The people are thus naked, handsome, brown, well-shaped in body; their heads, necks, arms, private parts, feet of men and women, are a little covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones on their faces and breasts. No one else has anything, but all things are in common. And the men have as wives those who please them, be they mothers, sisters, or friends; therein make they no distinction. They also fight with each other; they also eat each other, even those who are slain, and hang the flesh of them in the smoke. They become a hundred and fifty years of age, and have no government."

The present engraving follows the fac-simile given in Stevens's *American Bibliographer*, pp. 7, 8. Cf. Sabin, vol. i. no. 1,031; vol. v. no. 20,257; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 20.

Trinidad (July 31), which he named either from its three peaks, or from the Holy Trinity; struck the northern coast of South America,[1] and skirted what was later known as the Pearl coast, going as far as the Island of Margarita. He wondered at the roaring fresh waters which the Orinoco pours into the Gulf of Pearls, as he called it, and he half believed that its exuberant tide came from the terrestrial paradise.[2] He touched the southern coast of Hayti on the 30th of August. Here already his colonists had established a fortified post, and founded the town of Santo Domingo. His brother Bartholomew had ruled energetically during the Admiral's absence, but he had not prevented a revolt, which was headed by Roldan. Columbus on his arrival found the insurgents still defiant, but was able after a while to reconcile them, and he even succeeded in attaching Roldan warmly to his interests.

Columbus' absence from Spain, however, left his good name without sponsors; and to satisfy detractors, a new commissioner was sent over with enlarged powers, even with authority to supersede Columbus in general command, if necessary. This emissary was Francisco de Bobadilla, who arrived at Santo Domingo with two caravels on the 23d of August, 1500, finding Diego in command, his brother the Admiral being absent. An issue was at once made. Diego refused to accede to the commissioner's orders till Columbus returned to judge the case himself; so Bobadilla assumed charge of the Crown property violently, took possession of the Admiral's house, and when Columbus returned, he with his brother was arrested and put in irons. In this condition the prisoners were placed on shipboard, and sailed for Spain. The captain of the ship offered to remove the manacles; but Columbus would not permit it, being determined to land in Spain bound as he was; and so he did. The effect of his degradation was to his advantage; sovereigns and people were shocked at the sight; and Ferdinand and Isabella hastened to make amends by receiving him with renewed favor. It was soon apparent that everything reasonable would be granted him by the monarchs, and that he could have all he might wish, short of receiving a new lease of power in the islands, which the sovereigns were determined to see pacified at least before Columbus should again assume government of them. The Admiral had not forgotten his vow to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the Infidel; but the monarchs did not accede to his wish to undertake it. Disappointed in this, he proposed a new voyage; and getting the royal countenance for this scheme, he was supplied with four vessels of from fifty to seventy tons each, — the "Capitana," the "Santiago de Palos," the "Gallego," and the "Vizcaino." He sailed from Cadiz May 9, 1502, accompanied by his brother Bartholomew and his son Fernando. The vessels reached San Domingo June 29.

---

[1] The question of the priority of Columbus' discovery of the mainland over Vespucius is discussed in the following chapter. M. Herrera is said to have brought forward, at the Congrès des Américanistes held at Copenhagen in 1883, new evidence of Columbus's landing on the mainland. Father Manoel de la Vega, in his *Historia del descobrimiento de la America septentrional*, first published in Mexico in 1826 by Bustamante, alleges that Columbus in this southern course was intending to test the theory of King John of Portugal, that land blocked a westerly passage in that direction.

[2] Irving, app. xxxiii.

Bobadilla, whose rule of a year and a half had been an unhappy one, had given place to Nicholás de Ovando; and the fleet which brought the new governor, — with Maldonado, Las Casas, and others, — now lay in the harbor waiting to receive Bobadilla for the return voyage. Columbus had been instructed to avoid Hispaniola; but now that one of his vessels leaked, and he needed to make repairs, he sent a boat ashore, asking permission to enter the harbor. He was refused, though a storm was impending. He sheltered his vessels as best he could, and rode out the gale. The fleet which had on board Bobadilla and Roldan, with their ill-gotten gains, was wrecked, and these enemies of Columbus were drowned. The Admiral found a small harbor where he could make his repairs; and then, July 14, sailed westward to find, as he supposed, the richer portions of India in exchange for the barbarous outlying districts which others had appropriated to themselves. He went on through calm and storm, giving names to islands, — which later explorers re-named, and spread thereby confusion on the early maps. He began to find more intelligence in the natives of these islands than those of Cuba had betrayed, and got intimations of lands still farther west, where copper and gold were in abundance. An old Indian made them a rough map of the main shore. Columbus took him on board, and proceeding onward a landing was made on the coast of Honduras August 14. Three days later the explorers landed again fifteen leagues farther east, and took possession of the country for Spain. Still east they went; and, in gratitude for safety after a long storm, they named a cape which they rounded Gracias á Dios, — a name still preserved at the point where the coast of Honduras begins to trend southward. Columbus was now lying ill on his bed, placed on deck, and was half the time in revery. Still the vessels coasted south. They lost a boat's crew in getting water at one place; and tarrying near the mouth of the Rio San Juan, they thought they got from the signs of the natives intelligence of a rich and populous country over the mountains inland, where the men wore clothes and bore weapons of steel, and the women were decked with corals and pearls. These stories were reassuring; but the exorcising incantations of the natives were quite otherwise for the superstitious among the Spaniards.

They were now on the shores of Costa Rica, where the coast trends southeast; and both the rich foliage and the gold plate on the necks of the savages enchanted the explorers. They went on towards the source of this wealth, as they fancied. The natives began to show some signs of repulsion; but a few hawk's-bells beguiled them, and gold plates were received in exchange for the trinkets. The vessels were now within the southernmost loop of the shore, and a bit of stone wall seemed to the Spaniards a token of civilization. The natives called a town hereabouts Veragua, — whence, years after, the descendants of Columbus borrowed the ducal title of his line. In this region Columbus dallied, not suspecting how thin the strip of country was which separated him from the great ocean whose farther waves washed his desired India. Then, still pursuing the coast, which now turned to the northeast, he reached Porto Bello, as we call it, where he found houses and orchards. Tracking the Gulf side of the Panama isthmus, he encountered storms that forced him into harbors, which continued to disclose the richness of the country.[1]

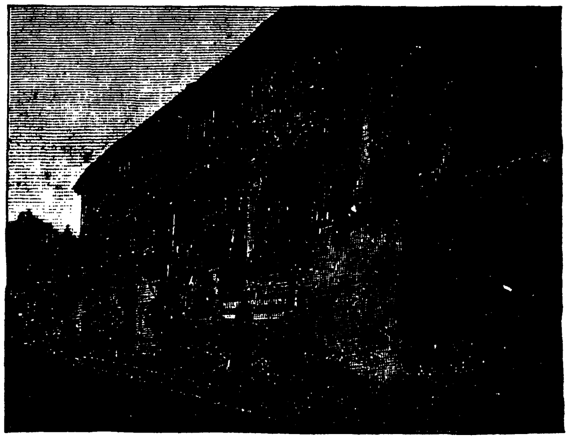
It became now apparent that they had reached the farthest spot of Bastidas' exploring, who had, in 1501, sailed westward along the northern coast of South America. Amid something like mutinous cries from the sailors, Columbus was fain to turn back to the neighborhood of Veragua, where the gold was; but on arriving there, the seas, lately so fair, were tumultuous, and the Spaniards were obliged to repeat the gospel of Saint John to keep a water-spout, which they saw, from coming their way, — so Fernando says in his Life of the Admiral. They finally made a harbor at the mouth of the River Belen, and began to traffic with the natives, who proved very cautious and evasive when inquiries were made respecting gold-mines. Bartholomew explored the neighboring Veragua River in armed boats, and met the chief of the region, with retainers, in a fleet of canoes. Gold and trinkets were exchanged, as usual, both here and later on the Admiral's deck. Again Bartholomew led another expedition, and getting the direction — a purposely false one, as it proved — from the chief in his own village, he went to a mountain, near the abode of an enemy of the chief, and found gold, — scant, however, in quantity compared with that of the crafty chief's own fields. The inducements were sufficient, however, as Columbus thought, to found a colony; but before he got ready to leave it, he suspected the neighboring chief was planning offensive operations. An expedition was accordingly sent to seize the chief, and he was captured in his own village; and so suddenly that his own people could not protect him. The craft of the savage, however, stood him in good stead; and while one of the Spaniards was conveying him down the river in a boat, he jumped overboard and disappeared, only to reappear, a few days later, in leading an attack on the Spanish camp. In this the Indians were repulsed; but it was the beginning of a kind of lurking warfare that disheartened the Spaniards. Meanwhile Columbus, with the ship, was outside the harbor's bar buffeting the gales. The rest of the prisoners who had been taken with the chief were confined in his forecastle. By concerted action some of them got out and jumped overboard, while those not so fortunate killed themselves. As soon as the storm was over, Columbus withdrew the colonists and sailed away. He abandoned one worm-eaten caravel at Porto Bello, and, reaching Jamaica, beached two others.

A year of disappointment, grief, and want followed. Columbus clung to his wrecked vessels. His crew alternately mutinied at his side, and roved about the island. Ovando, at Hispaniola, heard of his straits, but only tardily and scantily relieved him. The discontented were finally humbled; and some ships, despatched by the Admiral's agent in Santo Domingo, at last reached him, and brought him and his companions to that place, where Ovando received him with ostentatious kindness, lodging him in his house till Columbus departed for Spain, Sept. 12, 1504.

---

[1] H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, vol. i. chap. iv., traces with some care the coast-findings of this voyage and the varying cartographical records.

On the 7th of November the Admiral reached the harbor of San Lucar. Weakness and disease later kept him in bed in Seville, and to his letters of appeal the King paid little attention. He finally recovered sufficiently to go to the Court at Segovia, in May, 1505; but Ferdinand — Isabella had died Nov. 26, 1504 — gave him scant courtesy. With a fatalistic iteration, which had been his error in life, Columbus insisted still on the rights which a better skill in governing might have saved for him; and Ferdinand, with a dread of continued maladministration, as constantly evaded the issue. While still hope was deferred, the infirmities of age and a life of hardships brought Columbus to his end; and on Ascension Day, the 20th of May, 1506, he died, with his son Diego and a few devoted friends by his bedside.



HOUSE IN WHICH COLUMBUS DIED.[1]

The character of Columbus is not difficult to discern. If his mental and moral equipoise had been as true, and his judgment as clear, as his spirit was lofty and impressive, he could have controlled the actions of men as readily as he subjected their imaginations to his will, and more than one brilliant opportunity for a record befitting a ruler of men would not have been lost. The world always admires constancy and zeal; but when it is fed, not by well-rounded performance, but by self-satisfaction and self-interest, and tarnished by deceit, we lament where we would approve. Columbus' imagination was eager, and unfortunately ungovernable. It led him to a great discovery, which he was not seeking for; and he was far enough right to make his error more emphatic. He is certainly not alone among the great men of the world's regard who have some of the attributes of the small and mean.

---

[1] This follows an engraving in Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 313, taken from a photograph. The house is in Valladolid.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

IT would appear, from documents printed by Navarrete that in 1470 Columbus was brooding on the idea of land to the west. It is not at all probable that he would himself have been able to trace from germ to flower the conception which finally possessed his mind.[1] The age was ripened for it; and the finding of Brazil in 1500 by Cabral showed how by an accident the theory might have become a practical result at any time after the sailors of Europe had dared to take long ocean voyages. Columbus grew to imagine that he had been independent of the influences of his time; and in a manuscript in his own hand, preserved in the Colombina Library at Seville, he shows the weak, almost irresponsible, side of his mind, and flouts at the grounds of reasonable progress which many others besides himself had been making to a belief in the feasibility of a western passage. In this unfortunate writing he declares that under inspiration he simply accomplished the prophecy of Isaiah.[2] This assertion has not prevented saner and later writers[3] from surveying the evidences of the growth of the belief in the mind, not of Columbus only, but of others whom he may have impressed, and by whom he may have been influenced. The new intuition was but the result of intellectual reciprocity. It needed a daring exponent, and found one.

The geographical ideas which bear on this question depend, of course, upon the sphericity of the earth.[4] This was entertained by the leading cosmographical thinkers of that age, — who were far however from being in accord in respect to the size of the globe. Going back to antiquity, Aristotle and Strabo had both taught in their respective times the spherical theory; but they too were widely divergent upon the question of size, — Aristotle's ball being but mean in comparison with that of Strabo, who was not far wrong when he contended that the world then known was something more than one third of the actual circumference of the whole, or one hundred and twenty-nine degrees, as he put it; while Marinus, the Tyrian, of the opposing school, and the most eminent geographer before Ptolemy, held that the extent of the then known world spanned as much as two hundred and twenty-five degrees, or about one hundred degrees too much.[5] Columbus' calculations were all on the side of this insufficient size.[6] He wrote to Queen Isabella in 1503 that "the earth is smaller than people suppose." He thought but one seventh of it was water. In sailing a direct western course his expectation was to reach Cipango after having gone about three thousand miles. This would actually have brought him within a hundred miles or so of Cape Henlopen, or the neighboring coast; while if no land had intervened he would have gone nine thousand eight hundred miles to reach Japan, the modern Cipango.[1] Thus Columbus' earth was something like two thirds of the actual magnitude.[2] It can readily be understood how the lesser distance was helpful in inducing a crew to accompany Columbus, and in strengthening his own determination.

---

[1] Helps says: "The greatest geographical discoveries have been made by men conversant with the book-knowledge of their own time." The age of Columbus was perhaps the most illustrious of ages. "Where in the history of nations," says Humboldt, "can one find an epoch so fraught with such important results as the discovery of America, the passage to the East Indies round the Cape of Good Hope, and Magellan's first circumnavigation, simultaneously occurring with the highest perfection of art, the attainment of intellectual and religious freedom, and with the sudden enlargement of the knowledge of the earth and the heavens?" *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 673.

[2] This manuscript is the *Libro de las profecias*, of which parts are printed in Navarrete. Cf. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 156, who calls it a "curious medley of quotations and puerile inferences;" and refers for an analysis of it to Gallardo's *Ensayo*, ii. 500. Harrisse thinks the hand is that of Ferdinand Columbus when a boy, and that it may have been written under the Admiral's direction.

[3] Irving, book i. chap. v.; Humboldt, *Examen critique* and *Cosmos;* Major, *Prince Henry of Portugal*, chap. xix. and *Discoveries of Prince Henry*, chap. xiv.; Stevens, *Notes;* Helps, *Spanish Conquest;* and among the early writers, Las Casas, not to name others.

[4] Columbus, it is well known, advocated later a pear-shape, instead of a sphere. Cf. the "Tercer viage" in Navarrete.

[5] Robertson's *America*, note xii. Humboldt cites the ancients; *Examen critique*, i. 38, 61, 98, etc.

[6] Ferdinand Columbus says that the Arab astronomer, Al Fergani, influenced Columbus to the same end; and these views he felt were confirmed by the reports of Marco Polo and Mandeville. Cf. Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. cxxxi.

Whatever the size of the earth, there was far less palpable reason to determine it than to settle the question of its sphericity. The phenomena which convince the ordinary mind to-day, weighed with Columbus as they had weighed in earlier ages. These were the hulling down of ships at sea, and the curved shadow of the earth on the moon in an eclipse. The law of gravity was not yet proclaimed, indeed; but it had been observed that the men on two ships, however far apart, stood perpendicular to their decks at rest.

Columbus was also certainly aware of some of the views and allusions to be found in the ancient writers, indicating a belief in lands lying beyond the Pillars of Hercules.[3] He enumerates some of them in the letter which he wrote about his third voyage, and which is printed in Navarrete. The Colombina Library contains two interesting memorials of his connection with this belief. One is a treatise in his own hand, giving his correspondence with Father Gorricio, who gathered the ancient views and prophecies;[1] and the other is a copy of Gaietanus' edition of Seneca's tragedies, published indeed after Columbus' death, in which the passage of the *Medea*, known to have been much in Columbus' mind, is scored with the marginal comment of Ferdinand, his son, "Hæc prophetia expleta ē per patrē meus cristoforū colō almirātē anno 1492."[2] Columbus, further, could not have been unaware of the opposing theories of Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela as to the course in which the further extension of the known world should be pursued. Ptolemy held to the east and west theory, and Mela to the northern and southern view.

---

[1] By a great circle course the distance would have been reduced to something short of five thousand eight hundred miles. (Fox in *U. S. Coast Survey Report*, 1880, app. xviii.) Marco Polo had not distinctly said how far off the coast of China the Island of Cipango lay.

[2] Cf. D'Avezac in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, August–October, 1857, p. 97. Behaim in his globe placed China 120° west of Cape St. Vincent; and Columbus is supposed to have shared Behaim's views and both were mainly in accord with Toscanelli. Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, ii. 357.

[3] Not long from the time of his first voyage the *Orbis breviarium* of Lilius, which later passed through other editions and translations, summarized the references of the ancients (Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.* no. 1,670). But Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 180, holds that the earliest instance of the new found islands being declared the parts known to the ancients, and referred to by Virgil in the 6th book of the Æneid, —

"Jacet extra sidera tellus," etc.,

is in the *Geographia* of Henricus Glareanus, published at Basle in 1527. Cf. also Gravier, *Les Normands sur la route des Indes*, Rouen, 1880, p. 24; Harrisse, *Bibl. Am. Vet.* 262. Mr. Murphy, in placing the 1472 edition of Strabo's *De Situ orbis* in his American collection, pointed to the belief of this ancient geographer in the existence of the American continent as a habitable part of the globe, as shown when he says: "Nisi Atlantici maris obstaret magnitudo, posse nos navigare per eundem parallelum ex Hispania in Indiam, etc." Cf. further, Charles Sumner's *Prophetic Voices concerning America*; also in his *Works;* Bancroft's *Native Races*, v. 68, 122; Baldwin's *Prehistoric Nations*, 399; Fontaine's *How the World was peopled*, p. 139; Las Casas, *Historia general;* Sherer, *Researches touching the New World*, 1777; *Recherches sur la géographie des anciens*, Paris, 1797–1813; *Memoirs* of the Lisbon Academy, v. 101; Paul Gaffarel, *L'Amérique avant Colomb*, and his "Les Grecs et les Romains, ont ils connu l'Amérique?" in the *Revue de Géographie* (1881), ix. 241, etc.; Ferdinand Columbus' life of his father, and Humboldt's examination of his views in his *Examen critique;* Brasseur de Bourbourg's Introduction to his *Popul-Vuh*.

Glareanus, above referred to, was one of the most popular of the condensed cosmographical works of the time; and it gave but the briefest reference to the New World, "de regionibus extra Ptolemæum." Its author was under thirty when he published his first edition in 1527 at Basle. There is a copy in the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, i. 90). Cf. also *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 142; Huth, ii. 602; Weigel, 1877, p. 82, priced at 18 marks. It was reprinted at Basle, the next year, 1528 (Trömel, 3), and again in 1529. (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 143, 147.) Another edition was printed at Freiburg (Brisgau) in 1530, of which there are copies in Harvard College and Carter-Brown (*Catalogue*, no. 95) libraries. (Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 147; Muller, 1877, no. 1,232.) There were other Freiburg imprints in 1533, 1536, 1539, 1543, and 1551. (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 183, 212, 248; *Additions*, 121; Carter-Brown, i. 160; White Kennett, p. 12; Trömel, no. 12; Murphy, 1049.) There were Venice imprints in 1534, 1537, 1538, 1539, and 1544. (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 225, 228, 259; *Additions*, 120; Lancetti, *Buchersaal*, i. 79.) An edition of Venice, without date, is assigned to 1549. (*Catalogue of the Sumner Collection in Harvard College Library.*) Editions were issued at Paris in 1542, with a folded map, "Typus cosmographicus universalis," in 1550 (Court, 144), and in 1572, the last repeating the map. (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 139.) The text of all these editions is in Latin. Sabin, vol. vii. no. 27,536, etc., enumerates most of the editions.

Per me doctrina totum diuina Mathesis
Corpus habet: cuius glorior esse parens.

PTOLEMY.[3]

The Angelo Latin translation of Ptolemy's Greek *Geographia* had served to disseminate the Alexandrian geographer's views through almost the whole of the fifteenth century, for that version had been first made in 1409. In 1475 it had been printed, and it had helped strengthen the arguments of those who favored a belief in the position of India as lying over against Spain. Several other editions were yet to be printed in the new typographical centres of Europe, all exerting more or less influence in support of the new views advocated by Columbus.[2] Five of these editions of Ptolemy appeared during the interval

---

[1] Such as Plato's in his *Critias* and *Timæus*, and Aristotle's in his *De Mundo*, cap. iii., etc.

[2] Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima; Additions*, no. 36.

[3] Fac-simile of a cut in *Icones sive imagines vivæ literis cl. virorum . . . cum elogiis variis per Nicolaum Reusnerum. Basiliæ, CIↃ IↃ XIC*, Sig. A. 4.

CL. PTOLOMAEVS ALEXANdrinus Mathematicus.
Per me Doctrinæ totum diuinæ Mathesis
Corpus habet: cuius gloria esse parens.

PTOLEMY.[1]

---

[1] Fac-simile of cut in *Icones sive imagines virorum literis illustrium . . . ex secunda recognitione Nicolai Reusneri. Argentorati, CIƆ IƆ XC*, p. 1. The first edition appeared in 1587. Brunet, vol. iv., col. 1255, calls the editions of 1590 and Frankfort, 1620, inferior.

[2] Bernaldez tells us that Columbus was a reader of Ptolemy and of John de Mandeville. Cf. on the spreading of Ptolemy's views at this time Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen âge*, ii. p. 122; Thomassy, *Les papes géographes*, pp. 15, 34. There are copies of the 1475 edition of Ptolemy in the Library of Congress and the Carter-Brown Library (cf. also *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,044); of the 1478 edition, the only copy in this country, so far as known, is the one in the Carter-Brown Library, added to that collection since its catalogue was printed. The Perkins copy in 1873 brought £80 (cf. *Livres payés en vente publique 1,000 francs*, etc., p. 137). It was the first edition

from 1475 to 1492. Of Pomponius Mela, advocating the views of which the Portuguese were at this time proving the truth, the earliest printed edition had appeared in 1471. Mela's treatise, *De situ orbis*, had been produced in the first century, while Ptolemy had made his views known in the second; and the age of Vasco da Gama, Columbus, and Magellan were to prove the complemental relations of their respective theories.

It has been said that Macrobius, a Roman of the fifth century, in a commentary on the *Dream of Scipio*, had maintained a division of the globe into four continents, of which two were then unknown. In the twelfth century this idea had been revived by Guillaume de Conches (who died about 1150) in his *Philosophia Minor*, lib. iv. cap. 3. It was again later further promulgated in the writings of Bede and Honoré d'Autun, and in the *Microcosmos* of Geoffroy de Saint-Victor, — a manuscript of the thirteenth century still preserved.[1] It is not known that this theory was familiar to Columbus. The chief directors of his thoughts among anterior writers appear to have been, directly or indirectly, Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, and Vincenzius of Beauvais;[2] and first among them, for importance, we must place the *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon, completed in 1267. It was from Bacon that Petrus de Aliaco, or Pierre d'Ailly (b. 1340; d. 1416 or 1425), in his *Ymago mundi*, borrowed the passage which, in this French imitator's language, so impressed Columbus.[3]

---

with maps. Lelewel (vol. ii. p. 124) had traced the influence of the Agathodæmon (Ptolemean) maps on the cartography of the Middle Ages. The maps representing the growth of geographical ideas anterior to Columbus will be examined in another place. The Ulm edition of Ptolemy, 1482, showed in its map of the world a part of what is now called America in representing Greenland; but it gave it a distinct relation to Europe, by making Greenland a peninsula of the Scandinavian north. There seems reason to believe that this map was made in 1471, and it passes for the earliest engraved map to show that northern region, — "Engrone-land," as it is called. If we reject the Zeno map with its alleged date of 1400 or thereabout (published long after Columbus, in 1558), the oldest known delineations of Greenland (which there is no evidence that Columbus ever saw, and from which if he had seen them, he could have inferred nothing to advantage) are a Genoese manuscript map in the Pitti palace, which Santarem (*Histoire de la Cartographie*, vol. iii. p. xix) dates 1417, but which seems instead to be properly credited to 1447, the peninsula here being "Grinlandia" (cf. Lelewel, *Epilogue*, p. 167; *Magazine of American History*, April, 1883, p. 290); and the map of Claudius Clavus, assigned to 1427, which belongs to a manuscript of Ptolemy, preserved in the library at Nancy. This, with the Zeno map and that in the Ptolemy of 1482, is given in *Trois cartes précolombiennes représentant Groenland, fac-simile présentés au Congrès des Américanistes à Copenhague; par A. E. Nordenskiöld*, Stockholm, 1883. In the Laon globe (1486-1487) "Grolandia" is put down as an island off the Norway coast. There is a copy of this 1482 edition of Ptolemy in the Carter-Brown Library, and another is noted in the *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,046. Its maps were repeated in the 1486 edition, also published at Ulm; and of this there was a copy in the Murphy Collection (no. 2,047, — bought by President White, of Cornell); and another belongs to the late G.W. Riggs, of Washington. In 1490 the Roman edition of 1478 was reproduced with the same maps; and of this there is a copy in the Carter-Brown Library; and another is shown in the *Murphy Catalogue* (no. 2,048). A splendidly illuminated copy of this edition sold in the Sunderland sale (part v. no. 13,770) has since been held by Quaritch at £600. See further on these early editions of Ptolemy in Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography*, published by Harvard University.

[1] Gravier, *Les Normands sur la route des Indes*, Rouen, 1880, p. 37.

[2] Humboldt, *Cosmos* (Eng. ed.), ii. 619. The *Speculum naturale* of Vincenzius (1250) is an encyclopædic treatise, closely allied with other treatises of that time, like the *De rerum natura* of Cantipratensis (1230), and the later work of Meygenberg (1349).

[3] Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, i. 61, 65, 70; ii. 349. Columbus quoted this passage in October, 1498, in his letter from Santo Domingo to the Spanish monarch. Margry, *Navigations Françaises*, Paris, 1867, p. 71, "Les deux Indes du XV^e^ siècle et l'influence Française sur Colomb," has sought to reflect credit on his country by tracing the influence of the *Imago mundi* in the discovery of the New World; but the borrowing from Bacon destroys his case. (Major, *Select Letters of Columbus*, p. xlvii; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 84.) If Margry's claim is correct, that there was an edition of the *Imago mundi* printed at Nuremberg in 1472, it would carry it back of the beginning of Columbus's advocacy of his views; but bibliographers find no edition earlier than 1480 or 1483, and most place this *editio princeps* ten years later,

An important element in the problem was the statements of Marco Polo regarding a large island, which he called Cipango, and which he represented as lying in the ocean off the eastern coast of Asia. This carried the eastern verge of the Asiatic world farther than the ancients had known; and, on the spherical theory, brought land nearer westward from

ALBERTVS MAGNVS EPI
ſcopus Ratiſponenſis.
Magnus eram Sophiæ doctor, Præſulq; ſacrorum:
Abdita naturæ vis mihi nota liquet.
M. CCCXXCII.

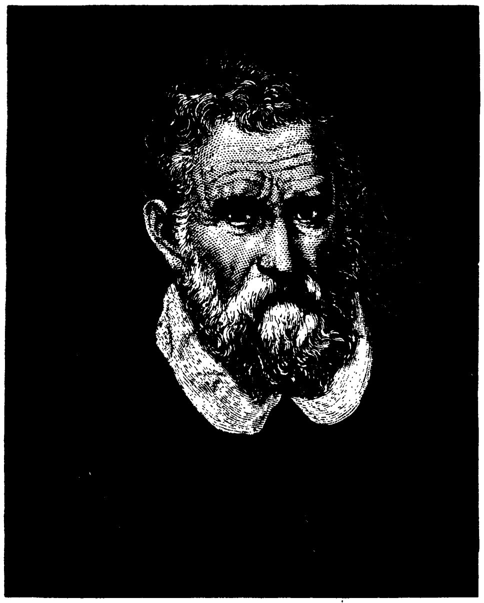
ALBERTUS MAGNUS.[1]

---

as Humboldt does. It is generally agreed that the book was written in 1410. A copy of this first edition, of whatever date, is preserved in the Colombina Library in Seville; and it was the copy used by Columbus and Las Casas. Its margins are annotated, and the notes, which are by most thought to be in the hand of Columbus, have been published by Varnhagen in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, January, 1858, p. 71, and by Peschel in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 112, — who, however, ascribes the notes to Bartholomew Columbus. A fac-simile of part of them is given on p. 31. Cf. Major, *Prince Henry*, p. 349; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 3; *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 27, bought by Cornell Univ. and Dinaux, *Cardinal P. d'Ailly*, Cambray, 1824.

[1] Fac-simile of cut in Reusner's *Icones*, Strasburg, 1590, p. 4. There is another cut in Paulus Jovius's *Elogia virorum litteris illustrium*, Basle, 1575, p. 7 (copy in Harvard College Library).

Europe than could earlier have been supposed. It is a question, however, if Columbus had any knowledge of the Latin or Italian manuscripts of Marco Polo, — the only form in which anybody could have studied his narrative before the printing of it at Nuremberg in 1477, in German, a language which Columbus is not likely to have known. Humboldt has pointed out that neither Columbus nor his son Ferdinand mentions Marco Polo; still we know that he had read his book. Columbus further knew, it would seem, what Æneas Sylvius had written on Asia. Toscanelli had also imparted to him what he knew. A second German edition of Marco Polo appeared at Augsburg in 1481. In 1485, with the *Itinerarius* of Mandeville,[1] published at Zwolle, the account — "De regionibus orientalibus" — of Marco Polo first appeared in Latin, translated from the original French, in which it had been dictated. It was probably in this form that Columbus first saw it.[2] There was a separate Latin edition in 1490.[3]



MARCO POLO.[4]

The most definite confirmation and encouragement which Columbus received in his views would seem to have come from Toscanelli, in 1474. This eminent Italian astronomer, who was now about seventy-eight years old, and was to die, in 1482, before Columbus and Da Gama had consummated their discoveries, had reached a conclusion in his own mind that only about fifty-two degrees of longitude separated Europe westerly from Asia, making the earth much smaller even than Columbus' inadequate views had fashioned it; for Columbus had satisfied himself that one hundred and twenty degrees of the entire three hundred and sixty was only as yet unknown.[1] With such views of the inferiority of the earth, Toscanelli had addressed a letter to Martinez, a prebendary of Lisbon, accompanied by a map professedly based on information derived from the book of Marco Polo.[2] When Toscanelli received a letter of inquiry from Columbus, he replied by sending a copy of this letter and the map. As the testimony to a western passage from a man of Toscanelli's eminence, it was of marked importance in the conversion of others to similar views.[3]

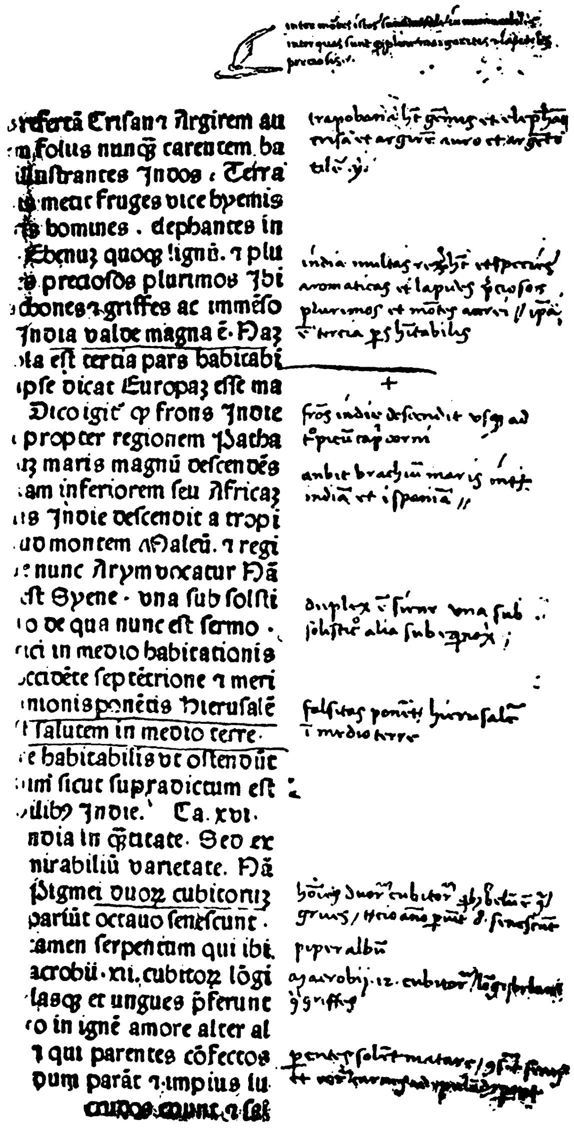
---

[1] Mandeville had made his Asiatic journey and long sojourn (thirty-four years) thirty or forty years later than Marco Polo, and on his return had written his narrative in English, French, and Latin. It was first printed in French at Lyons, in 1480. The narrative is, however, unauthentic.

[2] A copy of this edition is in the Colombina Library, with marginal marks ascribed to Columbus, but of no significance except as aids to the memory. Cf. *Harper's Monthly*, xlvi. p. 1.

[3] There were other editions between his first voyage and his death, — an Italian one in 1496, and a Portuguese in 1502. For later editions, cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Am. Vet.*, no. 89; Navarrete, *Bibl. maritima*, ii. 668; Brunet, iii. 1,406; Saint-Martin, *Histoire de la Géographie*, p. 278. The recent editions of distinctive merit are those, in English, of Colonel Yule; the various texts issued in the *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires publiés par la Société de Géographie de Paris;* and *Le livre de Marco Polo, rédigé en Français sous sa dictée en* 1298 *par Rusticien de Pise*, *publ. pour la* 1e *fois d'après* 3 *MSS. inéd., av. variantes, comment. géogr. et histor., etc.*, par G. Pauthier. 2 vols. Paris: Didot, 1865. Cf. Foscarini, *Della lett. Ven.* 239; Zurla, *Di Marco Polo;* Maltebrun, *Histoire de la Géographie;* Tiraboschi, *Storia della lett. Ital*, vol. iv.; Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Histoire de la Géographie*, p. 272; and the bibliography of the MSS. and printed editions of the *Milione* given in Pietro Amat di S. Filippo's *Studi biog. e bibliog.*, published by the Società Geografica Italiana in 1882 (2d ed.). A facsimile of a manuscript of the fourteenth century of the *Livre de Marco Polo* was prepared under the care of Nordenskiöld, and printed at Stockholm in 1882. The original is in the Royal Library at Stockholm.

[4] This follows an engraving in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 53. The original is at Rome. There is a copy of an old print in Jules Verne's *Découverte de la Terre.*



ANNOTATIONS BY COLUMBUS.[4]

It has always been a question how far the practical evidence of chance phenomena, and the absolute knowledge, derived from

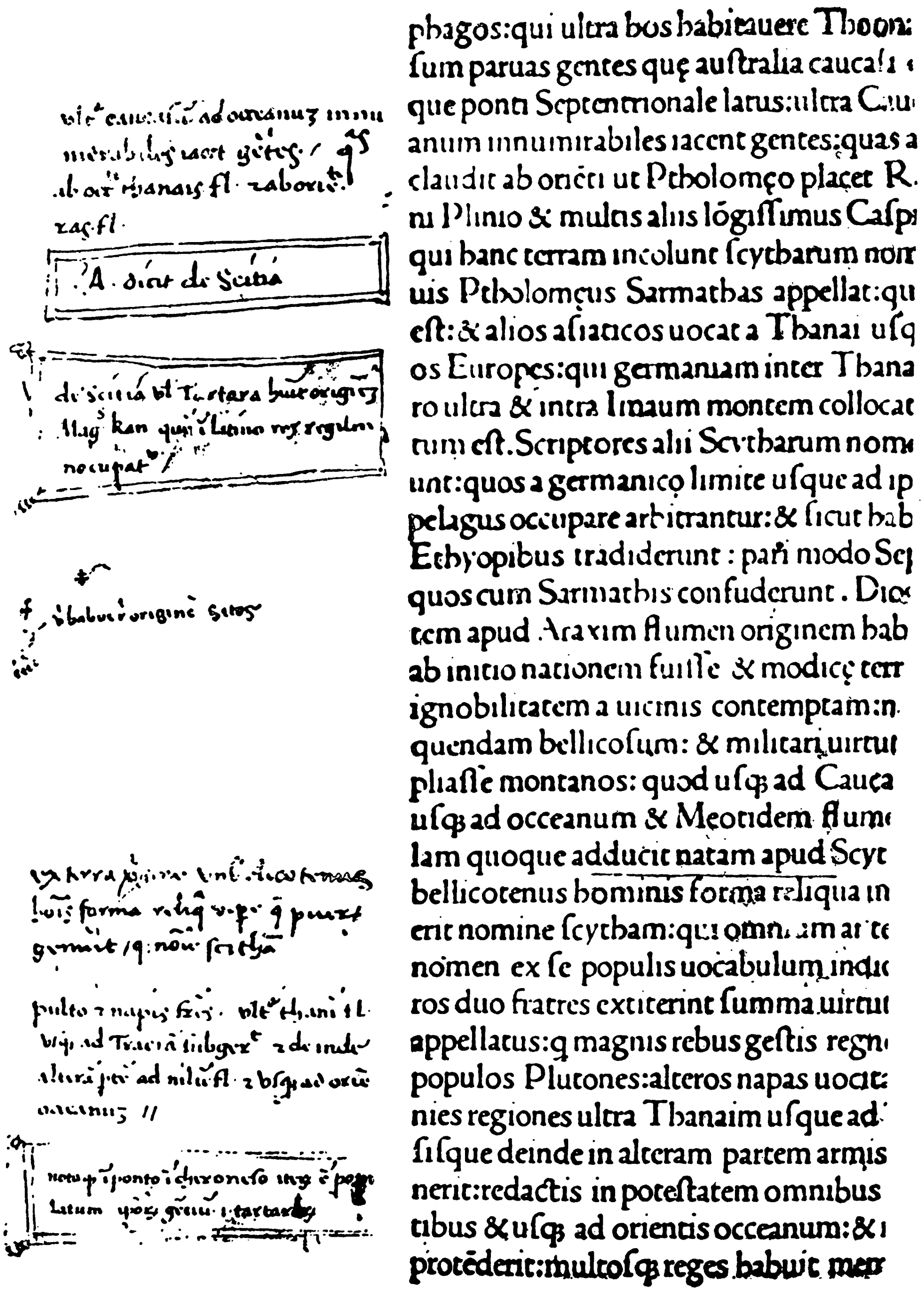
---

[1] The actual distance from Spain westerly to China is two hundred and thirty-one degrees.

[2] Cf. Zurla, *Fra Mauro*, p. 152; Lelewel, ii. 107.

[3] The Italian text of Toscanelli's letter has been long known in Ferdinand Columbus' Life of his father; but Harrisse calls it "très-inexact et interpolée;" and, in his *Bibl. Am. Vet. Additions* (1872), p. xvi, Harrisse gives the Latin text, which he had already printed, in 1871, in his *Don Fernando Colon*, published at Seville, from a copy made of it which had been discovered by the librarian of the Colombina, transcribed by Columbus himself in a copy of Æneas Sylvius' (Pius II.'s) *Historia rerum ubique gestarum*, Venice, 1477, preserved in that library. Harrisse also gives a photographic fac-simile of this memorial of Columbus. Cf. D'Avezac, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, October, 1873, p. 46; and Harrisse, *Les Cortereal*, p. 41. The form of the letter, as given in Navarrete, is translated into English in Kettell's *Journal of Columbus*, p. 268, and in Becher's *Landfall of Columbus*, p. 183. Cf. Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen âge*, ii. 130; *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1872, p. 49; Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 225. H. Grothe, in his *Leonardo da Vinci*, Berlin, 1874, says that Da Vinci in 1473 had written to Columbus respecting a western passage to the Indies.

[4] On a copy of Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago mundi*, preserved in the Colombina Library at Seville, following a photograph in Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus*, p. 84.



A. dicit de Scitia

phagos:qui ultra hos habitauere Thoon
ſum paruas gentes quę auſtralia caucaſi
que ponti Septentrionale latus:ultra Cau
anum innumirabiles iacent gentes:quas a
claudit ab oriēti ut Ptholomęo placet R
ni Plinio & multis aliis lōgiſſimus Caſp
qui hanc terram incolunt ſcytharum nom
uis Ptholomęus Sarmathas appellat:qu
eſt:& alios aſiaticos uocat a Thanai uſq
os Europes:qui germaniam inter Thana
ro ultra & intra Imaum montem collocat
tum eſt.Scriptores alii Scytharum nom
unt:quos a germanico limite uſque ad ip
pelagus occupare arbitrantur:& ſicut hab
Ethyopibus tradiderunt : pari modo Sc
quos cum Sarmathis confuderunt . Dic
tem apud Araxim flumen originem hab
ab initio nationem fuiſſe & modicę terr
ignobilitatem a uicinis contemptam:n
quendam bellicoſum: & militari uirtut
pliaſſe montanos: quod uſq; ad Cauca
uſq; ad occeanum & Meotidem flum
lam quoque adducit natam apud Scyt
bellicotenus hominis forma reliqua in
erit nomine ſcytham:qui omni am ar te
nomen ex ſe populis uocabulum indic
ros duo fratres extiterint ſumma uirtut
appellatus:q magnis rebus geſtis regn
populos Plutones:alteros napas uocat
nies regiones ultra Thanaim uſque ad
ſiſque deinde in alteram partem armis
nerit:redactis in poteſtatem omnibus
tibus & uſq; ad orientis occeanum:& i
protēderit:multoſq; reges habuit mer

ANNOTATIONS BY COLUMBUS.[1]

---

[1] On a copy of the *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* of Æneas Sylvius, preserved in the Colombina Library at Seville, following a photograph in Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus*, appendix.

other explorers, bearing upon the views advocated by Columbus, may have instigated or confirmed him in his belief. There is just enough plausibility in some of the stories which are cited to make them fall easily into the pleas of detraction to which Columbus has been subjected.

A story was repeated by Oviedo in 1535 as an idle rumor, adopted by Gomara in 1552 without comment, and given considerable currency in 1609 by Garcilasso de la Vega, of a Spanish pilot, — Sanches, as the name is sometimes given, — who had sailed from Madeira, and had been driven west and had seen land (Hispaniola, it is inferred), and who being shipwrecked had been harbored by Columbus in his house. Under this roof the pilot is said to have died in 1484, leaving his host the possessor of his secret. La Vega claimed to have received the tale from his father, who had been at the Court of Spain in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. Oviedo repeated it, but incredulously;[1] and it was later told by Gomara, Acosta, Eden, and others. Robertson,[2] Irving,[3] and most later writers find enough in the indecision and variety of its shapes to discard it altogether. Peter Martyr, Bernaldez, and Herrera make no mention of it. It is singular, however, that Ferdinand de Galardi, in dedicating his *Traité politique des abassadeurs*, published at Cologne in 1666, to a descendant of Columbus, the Duke of Veraguas, mentions the story as an indisputable fact;[4] and it has not escaped the notice of querulous writers even of our day.[5]

Others have thought that Columbus, in his voyage to Thule or Iceland,[6] in February, 1477, could have derived knowledge of the Sagas of the westerly voyages of Eric the Red and his countrymen.[7] It seems to be true that commercial relations were maintained between Iceland and Greenland for some years later than 1400; but if Columbus knew of them, he probably shared the belief of the geographers of his time that Greenland was a peninsula of Scandinavia.[8]

The extremely probable and almost necessary pre-Columbian knowledge of the north-eastern parts of America follows from the venturesome spirit of the mariners to those seas for fish and traffic, and from the easy transitions from coast to coast by which they would have been lured to meet the more southerly climes. The chances from such natural causes are quite as strong an argument in favor of the early Northmen venturings as the somewhat questionable representations of the Sagas.[9] There is the same ground for representing, and similar lack of evidence in believing, the alleged voyage of João Vas Costa Cortereal to the Newfoundland banks in 1463–1464. Barrow finds authority for it in Cordeyro, who gives, however, no date in his *Historia Insulana das Ilhas a Portugal*, Lisbon, 1717; but Biddle, in his *Cabot*, fails to be satisfied with Barrow's uncertain references, as enforced in his *Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions*, London, 1818.[10]

---

[1] Navarrete, iii. 28.

[2] Note xvii.

[3] Appendix xi.

[4] Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 1147, and Sabin, *Dictionary*, vii. no. 26,342, give different dates.

[5] Goodrich's *Life of the so-called Christopher Columbus*. Cf. Luciano Cordeiro, "Les Portugais dans la découverte de l'Amérique," in Congrès des Américanistes, 1875, i. 274.

[6] Humboldt sees no reason to doubt that Iceland was meant. (*Examen critique*, i. 105; v. 213; *Cosmos*, ii. 611.) It may be remarked, however, that "Thyle" and "Islanda" are both laid down in the Ptolemy map of 1486, which only signifies probably that the old and new geography were not yet brought into accord. Cf. *Journal of the American Geographical Society*, xii. 170, 177, where it is stated that records prove the mild winter for Iceland in 1477, which Columbus represents at Thule.

[7] A like intimation is sustained by De Costa in *Columbus and the Geographers of the North*, Hartford, 1872; and it is distinctly claimed in Anderson's *America not discovered by Columbus*, 3d edition, 1883, p. 85. It is also surmised that Columbus may have known the Zeni map.

[8] Humboldt discusses the question whether Columbus received any incentive from a knowledge of the Scandinavian or Zeni explorations, in his *Examen critique*, ii. 104; and it also forms the subject of appendices to Irving's *Columbus*.

[9] This problem is more particularly examined in Vol. I. Cf. also Vol. IV. p. 3.

[10] Harrisse, *Les Cortereals*, p. 25, who points out that Behaim's globe shows nothing of such a voyage, — which it might well have done if the

Another of these alleged northern voyagers was a Polish navigator, John Szkolny, — a name which we get in various Latinized or other forms, as Scolve, Skolnus, Scolvus, Sciolvus, Kolno, etc., — who is said to have been on the Labrador coast in 1476, while in the service of Denmark. It is so stated by Wytfliet,[1] Pontanus,[2] and Horn.[3] De Costa cites what is known as the Rouen globe, preserved in Paris, and supposed to belong to about 1540, as showing a legend of Skolnus reaching the northwest coast of Greenland in 1476.[4] Hakluyt quotes Gemma Frisius and Girava. Gomara, in 1553, and Herrera, in 1601, barely refer to it.[5]

There is also a claim for a Dieppe navigator, Cousin, who, bound for Africa, is said to have been driven west, and reached South America in 1488–1489. The story is told by Desmarquets in his *Mémoires chronologiques pour servir à l'histoire de Dieppe*, i. 92, published at Paris, 1785. Major, giving the story an examination, fully discredits it.[6]

There remains the claim for Martin Behaim, the Nuremberg cosmographer and navigator, which rests upon a passage in the Latin text of the so-called *Nuremberg Chronicle*[7] which states that Cam and Behaim, having passed south of the equator, turned west

---

voyage had been made; for Behaim had lived at the Azores, while Cortereal was also living on a neighboring island. Major, *Select Letters of Columbus*, p. xxviii, shows that Faria y Sousa, in *Asia Portuguesa*, while giving a list of all expeditions of discovery from Lisbon, 1412-1460, makes no mention of this Cortereal. W. D. Cooley, in his *Maritime and Island Discovery*, London, 1830, follows Barrow; but Paul Barron Watson, in his "Bibliography of pre-Columbian Discoveries" appended to the 3d edition (Chicago, 1883) of Anderson's *America not discovered by Columbus*, p. 158, indicates how Humboldt (*Examen critique*, i. 279), G. Folsom (*North American Review*, July, 1838), Gaffarel (*Études*, p. 328), Kohl (*Discovery of Maine*, p. 165), and others dismiss the claim. If there was any truth in it, it would seem that Portugal deliberately cut herself off from the advantages of it in accepting the line of demarcation in 1493.

[1] Edition of 1597, folio 188.

[2] Follows Wytfliet in his *Rerum Danicarum historia*, 1631, p. 763.

[3] *Ulyssea*, Lugduni, 1671, p. 335.

[4] *Journal of the American Geographical Society*, xii. 170. Asher, in his *Henry Hudson*, p. xcviii, argues for Greenland.

[5] Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, Medina, 1553, and Anvers, 1554, cap. xxxvii, folio 31; and Herrera, *Historia general*, Madrid, 1601, dec. 1, lib. 6, cap. 16. Later writers have reiterated it. Cf. Humboldt, *Examen critique*, ii. 152, who is doubtful; Lelewel, iv. 106, who says he reached Labrador; Kunstmann, *Entdeckung Amerikas*, p. 45. Watson, in his *Bibliography of the pre-Columbian Discoveries*, cites also the favorable judgment of Belleforest, *L'histoire universelle*, Paris, 1577; Morisotus' *Orbis maritimi*, 1643; Zurla's *Marco Polo*, 1818; C. Pingel in *Grönlands Historisk Mindesmaeker*, 1845; Gaffarel, *Étude*, 1869; and De Costa, *Columbus and the Geographers of the North*, 1872, p. 17.

[6] *America not discovered by Columbus*, p. 164. Estancelin, in his *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des navigateurs Normands en Afrique, dans les Indes orientales, et en Amérique; suivies d'observations sur la marine, le commerce, et les établissemens coloniaux des Français*, Paris, 1832, claims that Pinzon, represented as a companion of Cousin, was one of the family later associated with Columbus in his voyage in 1492. Léon Guérin, in *Navigateurs Français*, 1846, mentions the voyage, but expresses no opinion. Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, p. 169, does not wholly discredit the story. Paul Gaffarel, *Étude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'ancien continent avant Colomb*, Paris, 1869, and *Découverte du Brésil par Jean Cousin*, Paris, 1874, advocates the claim. Again, in his *Histoire du Brésil Français*, Paris, 1878, Gaffarel considers the voyage geographically and historically possible. (Cf. also a paper by him in the *Revue politique et littéraire*, 2 mai, 1874.) It is claimed that the white and bearded men whom, as Las Casas says, the natives of Hispaniola had seen before the coming of the Spaniards, were the companions of Cousin. Cf. Vitet's *Histoire de Dieppe*, Paris, 1833, vol. ii.; David Asseline's *Antiquitéz et chroniques de Dieppe, avec introduction par Hardy, Guérillon, et Sauvage*, Paris, 1874, two vols.; and the supplemental work of Michel Claude Guibert, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Dieppe*, Paris, 1878, two vols. Cf. Sabin, vol. xii. no. 47,541; Dufossé, *Americana*, nos. 4,735, 9,027.

[7] The ordinary designation of Hartmann Schedel's *Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cū figuris et ymagībus ab inicio mūdi*, Nuremberg, 1493, p. 290. The book is not very rare, though much sought for its 2,250 woodcuts; and superior copies of it bring from $75 to $100, though good copies are often priced at from $30 to $60. Cf. *Bibliotheca Spenceriana;* Leclerc, no. 533; Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 12, 18; Huth, iv. 1305; Sunderland, no. 2,796; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 13; Muller,

and (by implication) found land. The passage is not in the German edition of the same year, and on reference to the manuscript of the book (still preserved in Nuremberg) the passage is found to be an interpolation written in a different hand.[1] It seems likely to have been a perversion or misinterpretation of the voyage of Diego Cam down the African coast in 1489, in which he was accompanied by Behaim. That Behaim himself did not put the claim forward, at least in 1492, seems to be clear from the globe, which he made in that year, and which shows no indication of the alleged voyage. The allegation has had, however, some advocates; but the weight of authority is decidedly averse, and the claim can hardly be said to have significant support to-day.[2]

It is unquestionable that the success of the Portuguese in discovering the Atlantic islands and in pushing down the African coast, sustained Columbus in his hope of western discovery, if it had not instigated it.[3] The chance wafting of huge canes, unusual trunks of trees, and even sculptured wood and bodies of strange men, upon the shores of the outlying islands of the Azores and Madeira, were magnified as evidences in his mind.[4] When at a later day he found a tinned iron vessel in the hands of the natives of Guade-

---

Books on America, 1872, no. 1,402; Cooke, no. 2,961; Murphy, no. 2,219, with a note by that collector.

[1] Cf. Von Murr, *Memorabilia bibliothecarum Norimbergensium*, vol. i. pp. 254–256: "nec locus ille de America loquitur, sed de Africa."

[2] Watson's *Bibliography of pre-Columbian Discoveries of America*, p. 161, enumerates the contestants; and Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 13, 14, epitomizes the authorities. The earliest reference, after Schedel, seems to be one in Guillaume Postel's *Cosmographicæ disciplinæ compendium*, Basle, 1561, in which a strait below South America is named Behaim's Strait; but J. Chr. Wagenseil, in his *Sacra parentalia*, 1682, earliest urged the claim, which he repeated in his *Historia universalis*, while it was reinforced in Stüven's or Stuvenius' *De vero novi orbis inventore*, Frankfort, 1714. (Copy in Harvard College Library; cf. Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 195.) The first important counter-argument appeared in E. Tozen's *Der wahre und erste Entdecker der Neuen Welt, Christoph Colon, gegen die ungegründeten Ausprüche, welche Americus Vespucei und Martin Behaim auf diese Ehre machen, vertheidiget*, Göttingen, 1761. (Sabin, xii. 489.) Robertson rejected the claim; and so, in 1778, did C. G. von Murr, in his *Diplomatische Geschichte des Ritters Behaim*, published at Nuremberg (2d ed., Gotha, 1801; Jansen's French translation, Paris, 1801, and Strasburg, 1802; also appended to Amoretti's *Pigafetta;* English in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, 1812). A letter from Otto to Benjamin Franklin, in the *American Philosophical Society's Transactions*, 1786, ii. 263, urged the theory. Dr. Belknap, in 1792, in the Appendix to his *Discourse on Columbus*, dismissed it. Cladera, in his *Investigaciones históricas sobre los principales descubrimientos de los Españoles*, Madrid, 1794, was decidedly averse, replying to Otto, and adding a translation of Von Murr's essay. (Leclerc, nos. 118, 2,505.) Amoretti, in his Preface to *Pigafetta's Voyage*, Paris, 1801, argues that Columbus' discoveries convinced Behaim of his own by comparison. Irving says the claim is founded on a misinterpretation of the Schedel passage. Humboldt, in his *Examen critique*, i. 256, enters into a long adverse argument. Major, in his *Select Letters of Columbus*, and in his *Prince Henry*, is likewise decided in opposition. Ghillany, in his *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*, is favorable. Gaffarel, *Étude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'ancien continent avant Colomb*, Paris, 1869, is sceptical.

It seems to be a fact that Behaim made a map showing the straits passed by Magellan, which Pigafetta refers to; and it is also clear that Schöner, in globes made earlier, also indicated a similar strait; and Schöner might well have derived his views from Behaim. What we know of Behaim's last years, from 1494 to 1506, is not sufficient to fill the measure of these years; and advocates are not wanting who assign to them supposed voyages, on one of which he might have acquired a personal knowledge of the straits which he delineated. Such advocates are met, and will continue to be answered, with the likelier supposition, as is claimed, of the Straits in question being a happy guess, both on Behaim's and Schöner's part, derived from the analogy of Africa, — a southern extremity which Behaim had indeed delineated on his globe some years before its actual discovery, though not earlier than the existence of a prevalent belief in such a Strait. Cf. Wieser, *Magalhâes-Strasse*.

[3] Las Casas is said to have had a manuscript by Columbus respecting the information derived by him from Portuguese and Spanish pilots concerning western lands.

[4] These were accounted for by the westerly gales, the influence of the Gulf Stream not being suspected. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, English translation, ii. 662; *Examen critique*, ii. 249.

loupe, he felt that there had been European vessels driven along the equatorial current to the western world, which had never returned to report on their voyages.

Of the adventurous voyages of which record was known there were enough to inspire him; and of all the mysteries of the Sea of Darkness,[1] which stretched away illimitably to the west, there were stories more than enough. Sight of strange islands had been often reported; and the maps still existing had shown a belief in those of San Brandan [2] and Antillia,[3] and of the Seven Cities founded in the ocean waste by as many Spanish bishops, who had been driven to sea by the Moors.[4]

The Fortunate Islands [5] (Canaries) of the ancients — discovered, it is claimed, by the Carthaginians [6] — had been practically lost to Europe for thirteen hundred years, when, in the beginning of the fifteenth century (1402), Juan de Béthencourt led his colony to settle them.[7] They had not indeed been altogether forgotten, for Marino Sanuto in 1306 had delineated them on a map given by Camden, though this cartographer omitted them on later charts. Traders and pirates had also visited them since 1341, but such acquaintance had hardly caused them to be generally known.[8] The Canaries, however, as well as the

---

[1] See Major's Preface to his *Prince Henry*. Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 373, for the successive names applied to the Atlantic.

[2] Cf. *Les voyages merveilleux de Saint-Brandan à la recherche du paradis terrestre. Légende en vers du XIe siècle, publiée avec introduction par Francisque-Michel*, Paris, 1878; and references in Poole's *Index*, p. 159.

[3] Humboldt points this island out on a map of 1425.

[4] Cf. Humboldt, *Examen critique*, ii. 156–245; Kunstmann, *Entdeckung Amerikas*, pp. 6, 35; D'Avezac on the "Isles fantastiques," in *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, April, 1845, p. 55. Many of these islands clung long to the maps. Becher (*Landfall of Columbus*) speaks of the Isle of St. Matthew and Isle Grande in the South Atlantic being kept in charts till the beginning of this century. E. E. Hale tells amusingly of the Island of Bresil, lying off the coast of Ireland and in the steamer's track from New York to England, being kept on the Admiralty charts as late as 1873. *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, Oct. 1873. Cf. Gaffarel, *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, i. 423, and Formaleoni's *Essai sur la marine ancienne des vénitiens; dans lequel on a mis au jour plusieurs cartes tirées de la bibliothèque de St. Marc, antérieures à la découverte de Christophe Colomb, & qui indiquent clairement l'existence des isles Antilles. Traduit de l'italien par le chevalier d'Hénin*, Venise, 1788.

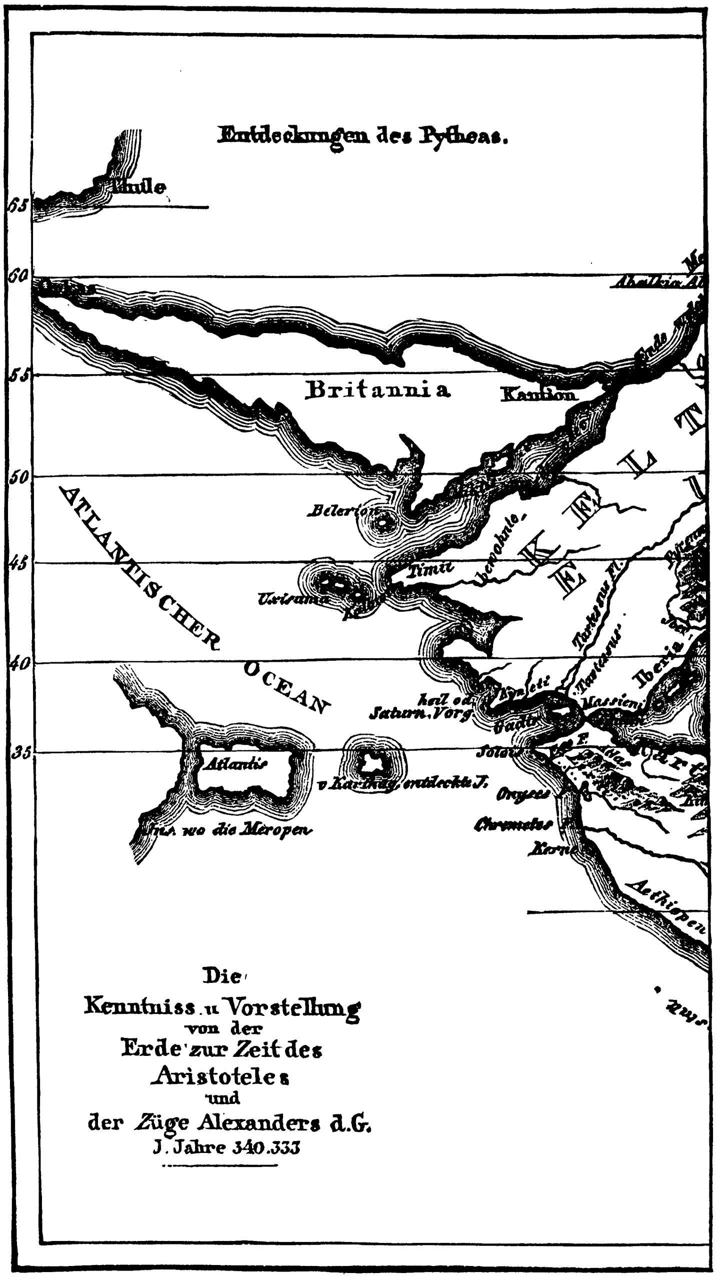
[5] There are seven inhabitable and six desert islands in the group.

[6] Cf. *Die Entdeckung der Carthager und Griechen auf dem Atlantischen Ocean*, by Joachim Lelewel, Berlin, 1831, with two maps (Sabin, x. 201) one of which shows conjecturally the Atlantic Ocean of the ancients (see next page).

[7] Two priests, Bontier and Le Verrier, who accompanied him, wrote the account which we have. Cf. Peter Martyr, dec. i. c. 1; Galvano, p. 60; Muñoz, p. 30; Kunstmann, p. 6.

[8] Charton (*Voyageurs*, iii. 75) gives a partial bibliography of the literature of the discovery and conquest. The best English book is Major's *Conquest of the Canaries*, published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1872, which is a translation, with notes, of the Béthencourt narrative; and the same author has epitomized the story in chapter ix. of his *Discoveries of Prince Henry*. There is an earlier English book, George Glas's *Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands*, London, 1764, 1767, which is said to be based on an unpublished manuscript of 1632, the work of a Spanish monk, J. de Abreu de Galineo, in the island of Palma. The Béthencourt account was first published in Paris, 1630, with different imprints, as *Histoire de la première descouverte et conqueste des Canaries*. Dufossé prices it at from 250 to 300 francs. The original manuscript was used in preparing the edition, *Le Canarien*, issued at Rouen in 1874 by G. Gravier (Leclerc, no. 267). This edition gives both a modern map and a part of that of Mecia de Viladestes (1413); enumerates the sources of the story; and (p. lxvi) gives D'Avezac's account of the preservation of the Béthencourt manuscript. The Spanish translation by Pedro Ramirez, issued at Santa Cruz de Tenerife in 1847, was rendered from the Paris, 1630, edition.

Cf. Nuñez de la Peña's *Conquista y antiguedades de las Islas de la Gran Canaria*, Madrid, 1676, and reprint, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1847; Cristóval Perez de el Christo, *Las siete Islas de Canaria*, Xeres, 1679 (rare, Leclerc, no. 644, — 100 francs); Viera y Clavijo, *Historia general de las Islas de Canaria*, Madrid, four volumes, 1772–1783 (Leclerc, no. 647, calls it the principal work on the Canaries); Bory de Saint Vincent, *Essais sur les Isles Fortunées*, Paris, an xi. (1803); *Les Iles Fortunées*, Paris, 1869. D'Avezac, in 1846, published a *Note sur la première expédition de Béthencourt aux Canaries*, and his "Isles d'Afrique" in the *Univers pittoresque* may be referred to.



THE ATLANTIC OF THE ANCIENTS AS MAPPED BY LELEWEL.[1]

---

[1] This is part of a map of the ancient world given in Lelewel's *Die Entdeckung der Carthager und Griechen auf dem Atlantischen Ocean*, Berlin, 1831.

Azores, appear in the well-known portolano of 1351,[1] which is preserved in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence. A chart of the Brothers Pizigani, dated in 1367, gives islands which are also identified with the Canaries, Azores, and Madeira;[2] and the Canaries also appear on the well-known Catalan mappemonde of 1375.[3] These Atlantic islands are again shown in a portolano of a period not much later than 1400, which is among the Egerton manuscripts in the British Museum, and is ascribed to Juan da Napoli;[4] and in 1436 they are conspicuous on the detailed sea-chart of Andrea Bianco. This portolano has also two islands on the extreme western verge of the sheet, — "Antillia" and "De la man Satanaxio," which some have claimed as indicating a knowledge of the two Americas.[5] It was a map brought in 1428 from Venice by Dom Pedro, — which, like the 1351 map, showed the Azores, — that induced Prince Henry in 1431 to despatch the expedition which rediscovered those islands; and they appear on the Catalan map, which Santarem (pl. 54) describes as "Carte de Gabriell de Valsequa, faite à Mallorcha en 1439." It was in 1466 that the group was colonized, as Behaim's globe shows.[6]

The Madeira group was first discovered by an Englishman, — Machin, or Macham, — in the reign of Edward III. (1327–1378). The narrative, put into shape for Prince Henry of Portugal by Francisco Alcaforado, one of his esquires, was known to Irving in a French translation published in 1671, which Irving epitomizes.[7] The story, somewhat changed, is given by Galvano, and was copied by Hakluyt;[8] but, on account of some strangeness and incongruities, it has not been always accepted, though Major says the main recital is confirmed by a document quoted from a German collection of voyages, 1507, by Dr. Schmeller, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Science at Munich, 1847, and which, secured for Major by Kunstmann, is examined by him in his *Prince Henry*.[9] The group was rediscovered by the Portuguese in 1418–1420.[10] Prince Henry had given the command of Porto Santo to Perestrello; and this captain, in 1419, observing from his island a cloud in the horizon, found, as he sailed to it, the island now called Madeira. It will be remembered that it was the daughter of Perestrello whom Columbus at a later day married.[11]

---

[1] It is given by Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Age;* and has been issued in fac-simile by Ongania at Venice, in 1881. It is also given in Major, *Prince Henry*, 1868 edition, p. 107, and in Marco Polo, edition by Boni, Florence, 1827. Cf. Winsor's *Kohl Collection of Early Maps*, issued by Harvard University.

[2] This chart is given by Jomard, pl. x., and Santarem, pl. 40. Ongania published in 1881 a Pizigani chart belonging to the Ambrosian Library in Milan, dated 1373.

[3] This map is given in *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vol. xiv. part 2; in Santarem, pl. 31; 40; Lelewel, pl. xxix.; Saint-Martin's *Atlas*, pl. vii.; Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, 1881, and full size in fac-simile in *Choix de documents géographiques conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1883.

[4] Winsor's *Kohl Collection of early maps*, part i., no. 17.

[5] Cf. Santarem, *Histoire de la Cartographie*, iii. 366, and the references in Winsor's *Kohl Collection*, part i. no. 19; and *Bibliography of Ptolemy*, sub anno 1478. A sea-chart of Bartolomeus de Pareto, A. D. 1455, shows "Antillia" and an island farther west called "Roillo." Antillia is supposed also to have been delineated on Toscanelli's map in 1474. In 1476 Andreas Benincasa's portolano, given in Lelewel, pl. xxxiv. and Saint-Martin, pl. vii. shows an island "Antilio;" and again in the portolano belonging to the Egerton manuscripts in the British Museum, and supposed to represent the knowledge of 1489, just previous to Columbus's voyage, and thought by Kohl to be based on a Benincasa chart of 1463, the conventional "Antillia" is called "Y de Sete Zitade." It is ascribed to Christofalo Soligo. Behaim's globe in 1492 also gives "Insula Antilia genannt Septe Citade." Cf. Harrisse, *Les Cortereal*, p. 116. The name "Antilhas" seems first to have been transferred from this problematical mid-ocean island to the archipelago of the West Indies by the Portuguese, for Columbus gave no general name to the group.

[6] Cf. Kunstmann, *Entdeckung Amerikas*, pp. 1, etc.; Drummond, *Annales da Ilha Terceira;* Ernesto do Canto, *Archivo dos Açores;* Major's *Discoveries of Prince Henry*, chap. x.; *Quarterly Review*, xi. 191; Cordeyro's *Historia insulana*, Lisbon, 1717.

[7] Appendix xxv.

[8] Vol. ii. part 2, p. 1; also Purchas, ii. 1672.

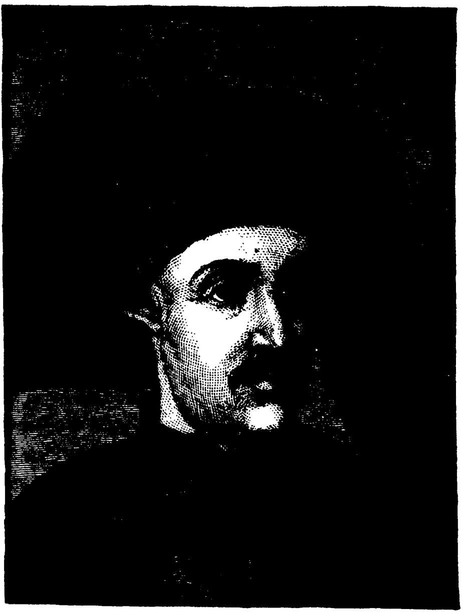
[9] Edition of 1868, pp. xvii and 69; Kunstmann, *Entdeckung Amerikas*, p. 4.

[10] Cf. Gaspar Fructuoso's *Historia das Ilhas do Porto-Santo, Madeira, Desertas e Selvagens*, Funchal, 1873.

[11] Cf. *Studi biog. e bibliog.* i. 137, which places Perestrello's death about 1470.

It was not till 1460[1] that the Cape De Verde Islands were found, lying as they do well outside of the route of Prince Henry's vessels, which were now following down the African coast, and had been pursuing explorations in this direction since 1415.

There have been claims advanced by Margry in his *Les navigations Françaises et la révolution maritime du XIV^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle, d'après les documents inédits tirés de France, d'Angleterre, d'Espagne, et d'Italie*, pp. 13-70, Paris, 1867, and embraced in his first section on "Les marins de Normandie aux côtes de Guinée avant les Portugais," in which he cites an old document, said to be in London, setting forth the voyage of a vessel from Dieppe to the coast of Africa in 1364. Estancelin had already, in 1832, in his *Navigateurs Normands en Afrique*, declared there were French establishments on the coast of Guinea in the fourteenth century, — a view D'Avezac says he would gladly accept if he could. Major, however, failed to find, by any direction which Margry could give him, the alleged London document, and has thrown — to say the least — discredit on the story of that document as presented by Margry.[2]



PRINCE HENRY.[3]

The African explorations of the Portuguese are less visionary, and, as D'Avezac says, the Portuguese were the first to persevere and open the African route to India.[4]

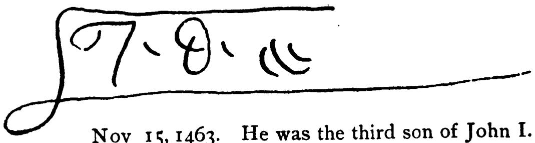
The peninsular character of Africa — upon which success in this exploration depended — was contrary to the views of Aristotle, Hipparchus, and Ptolemy, which held to an

---

[1] It has sometimes been put as early as 1440; but 1460 is the date Major has determined after a full exposition of the voyages of this time. *Prince Henry* (1868 edition), p. 277. D'Avezac *Isles de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1848.

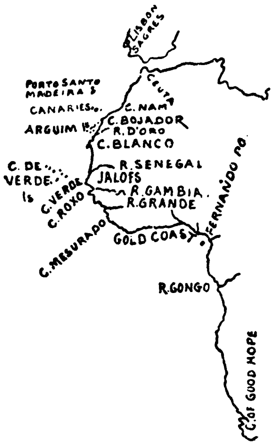
[2] Prince Henry, edition of 1868, pp. xxiv and 127. Guibert, in his *Ville de Dieppe*, i. 306 (1878), refers, for the alleged French expedition to Guinea in 1364, to Villault de Belfond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique appelées Guinée*, Paris, 1669, p. 409; Vitet, *Anciennes villes de France*, ii. 1, Paris, 1833; D'Avezac *Découvertes dans l'océan atlantique antérieurement aux grands explorations du XV^e^ siècle*, p. 73, Paris, 1845; Jules Hardy, *Les Dieppois en Guinée en* 1364, 1864; Gabriel Gravier, *Le Canarien*, 1874.

[3] This follows a portrait in a contemporary manuscript chronicle, now in the National Library at Paris, which Major, who gives a colored fac-simile of it, calls the only authentic likeness, probably taken in 1449-1450, and representing him in mourning for the death of his brother Dom Pedro, who died in 1449. There is another engraving of it in Jules Verne's *La Découverte de la Terre*, p. 112. Major calls the portrait in Gustave de Veer's Life of Prince Henry, published at Dantzig, in 1864, a fancy one. The annexed autograph of the Prince is the equivalent of IFFANTE DOM ANRIQUE. Prince Henry, who was born March 4, 1394, died Nov 15, 1463. He was the third son of John I. of Portugal; his mother was a daughter of John of Gaunt, of England.



[4] Cf. Jurien de la Gravière's *Les marins du XV^e^ et du XVI^e^ siècle*, vol. i. chap. 2.

enclosed Indian Ocean, formed by the meeting of Africa and Asia at the south.[1] The stories respecting the circumnavigation of Africa by the ancients are lacking in substantial proof; and it seems probable that Cape Non or Cape Bojador was the limit of their southern expeditions.[2] Still, this peninsular character was a deduction from imagined necessity rather than a conviction from fact. It found place on the earliest maps of the revival of geographical study in the Middle Ages. It is so represented in the map of Marino Sanuto in 1306, and in the Lorentian portolano of 1351. Major[3] doubts if the Catalan map of 1375 shows anything more than conjectural knowledge for the coasts beyond Bojador.



SKETCH-MAP OF THE PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES IN AFRICA.[7]

Of Prince Henry — the moving spirit in the African enterprise of the fifteenth century — we have the most satisfactory account in the *Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, and its Results . . . from Authentic Contemporary Documents*, by Richard Henry Major, London, 1868,[4] — a work which, after the elimination of the controversial arguments, and after otherwise fitting it for the general reader, was reissued in 1877 as *The Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator*. These works are the guide for the brief sketch of these African discoveries now to be made, and which can be readily followed on the accompanying sketch-map.[5]

Prince Henry had been with his father at the capture of Ceuta, opposite Gibraltar, in 1415, when the Portuguese got their first foothold in Africa. In 1418 he established a school of nautical observation at Sagres,[6] the southwestern promontory of his father's kingdom, and placed the geographer, Jayme,[8] of Majorca, in charge of it. The Prince at once sent out his first expedition down the Barbary coast; but his vessel, being driven out of its course, discovered the Island of Porto Santo. Expedition after expedition reached, in successive years, the vicinity of Cape Bojador; but an inexpressible dread of the uncertainty beyond deferred the passage of it till 1434. Cape Blanco was reached in 1445; Cape Verde shortly after; and the River Gambia in 1447. Cadamosto and his Venetians pushed still farther, and saw the Southern Cross for the first time.[1] Between 1460 and 1464 they went beyond Cape Mesurado. Prince Henry dying in 1463, King Alfonso, in 1469, farmed out the African commerce, and required five hundred miles to be added yearly to the limit of discovery southward. Not long after, Diego Cam reached the Congo coast, Behaim accompanying him. In 1487, after seventy years of gradual progress down six thousand miles of coast, southward from Cape Non, the Portuguese under Diaz reached the Stormy Cape, — later to be called the Cape of Good Hope. He but just rounded it in May, and in December he was in Portugal with the news. Bartholomew, the brother of Columbus, had made the voyage with him.[3] The rounding of the Cape was hardly a surprise; for the belief in it was firmly established long before. In 1457–1459, in the map of Fra Mauro, which had been constructed at Venice for Alonzo V., and in which Bianco assisted, the terminal cape had been fitly drawn.[4]

---

[1] Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 144, 161, 329; ii. 370; *Cosmos*, ii. 561; Jules Codine's *Mémoire géographique sur la mer des Indes*, Paris, 1868.

[2] Irving, app. xiv.

[3] *Prince Henry*, p. 116 (1868). Cf. *Studi biog. e bibliog. della Soc. Geog. Ital.*, ii. 57.

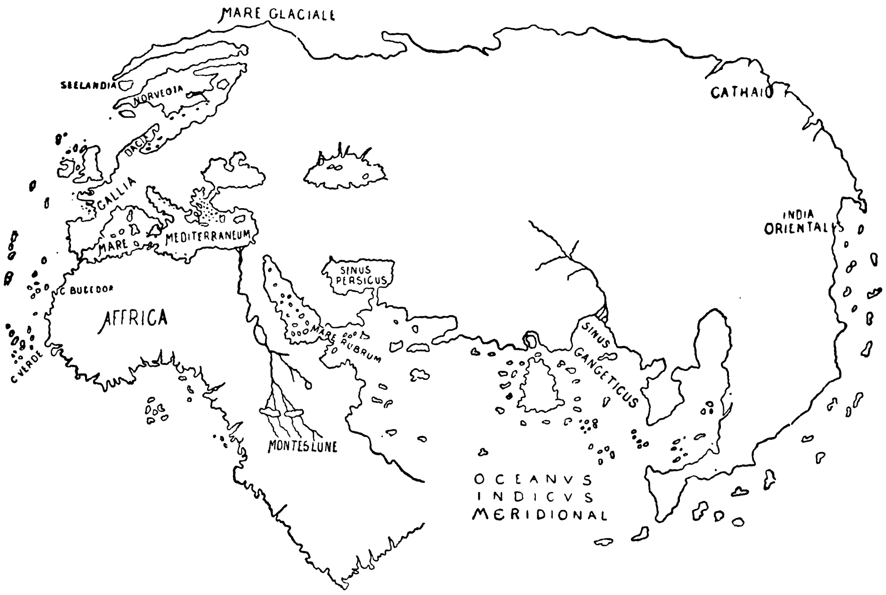
[4] The author tells, in his preface, the condition of knowledge regarding his subject which he found when he undertook his work, and recounts the service the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon has done since 1779 in discovering and laying before the world important documents.

[5] Gustav de Veer's *Prinz Heinrich der Seefahrer, und seine Zeit*, Dantzig, 1864, is a more popular work, and gives lists of authorities. Cf. H. Monin in the *Revue de géographie*, December, 1878.

[6] There is some question if the school of Sagres had ever an existence; at least it is doubted in the *Archivo dos Açores*, iv. 18, as quoted by Harrisse, *Les Cortereal*, p. 40.

[7] Cf. Heinrich Wuttke's "Zur Geschichte der Erdkunde in der letzten hälfte des Mittelalters: Die Karten der Seefahrenden Völker süd Europas bis zum ersten Druck der Erdbeschreibung des Ptolemäus," in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, 1870; J. Codine's "Découverte de la côte d'Afrique par les Portugais pendant les années, 1484–1488," in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, 1876; Vivien de Saint-Martin's *Histoire de la géographie et des découvertes géographiques, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, p. 298, Paris, 1873; Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 81; Clarke's *Progress of Maritime Discovery*, p. 140; and G. T. Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, Geneva, 1780; Paris, 1820. Paulitschke's *Afrika-literatur in der Zeit von* 1500 *bis* 1750, Vienna, 1882, notes the earliest accounts.

[8] Cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 261; *adds* 154.



PORTUGUESE MAP, 1490.[2]

---

[1] Major (p. xvi) has more or less distrust of Cadamosto's story as given in the *Paese novamente*. Cf. the bibliography in *Studi biog. e bibliog. della Soc. Geog. Ital.*, i. 149 (1882); and Carter-Brown, i. 101, 195, 202, 211; also *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Add.*, no. 83.

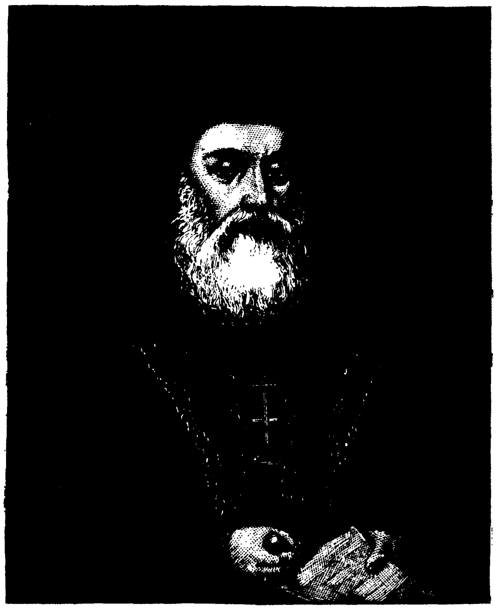
[2] This map follows a copy in the Kohl Collection (no. 23), after the original, attached to a manuscript theological treatise in the British Museum. An inscription at the break in the African coast says that to this point the Portuguese had pushed their discoveries in 1489; and as it shows no indication of the voyages of Columbus and Da Gama, Kohl places it about 1490. It may be considered as representing the views current before these events, Asia following the Ptolemean drafts. The language of the map being partly Italian and partly Portuguese, Kohl conjectures that it was made by an Italian living in Lisbon; and he points out the close correspondence of the names on the western coast of Africa to the latest Portuguese discoveries, and that its contour is better than anything preceding.

[3] "Through all which I was present," said Bartholomew, in a note found by Las Casas.

[4] The original is now preserved at Venice, in the Biblioteca Marciana. A large photographic fac-simile of it was issued at Venice, in 1877, by Münster (Ongania); and engraved reproductions can be found in Santarem, Lelewel, and Saint-Martin, besides others in Vincent's *Commerce and Navigations of the Ancients*, 1797 and

Such had been the progress of the Portuguese marine, in exemplification of the southerly quest called for by the theory of Pomponius Mela, when Columbus made his westerly voyage in 1492 and reached, as he supposed, the same coast which the Portuguese were seeking to touch by the opposite direction.[1] In this erroneous geographical belief Columbus remained as long as he lived, — a view in which Vespucius and the earlier navigators equally shared;[2] though some, like Peter Martyr,[3] accepted the belief cautiously. We shall show in another place how slowly the error was eradicated from the cartography of even the latter part of the sixteenth century.

HO COMDE ALMIRANTE (*Da Gama's Autograph*).



VASCO DA GAMA.[4]

During the interval when Columbus was in Spain, between his second and third voyages, Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon, July 8, 1497, to complete the project which had so long animated the endeavors of the rival kingdom. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope in Nov. 1497, and anchored at Calicut, May 20, 1498, — a few days before Columbus left San Lucar on his third voyage. In the following August, Da Gama started on his return; and after a year's voyage he reached Lisbon in August, 1498. The Portuguese had now accomplished their end. The *éclat* with which it would have been received had not

---

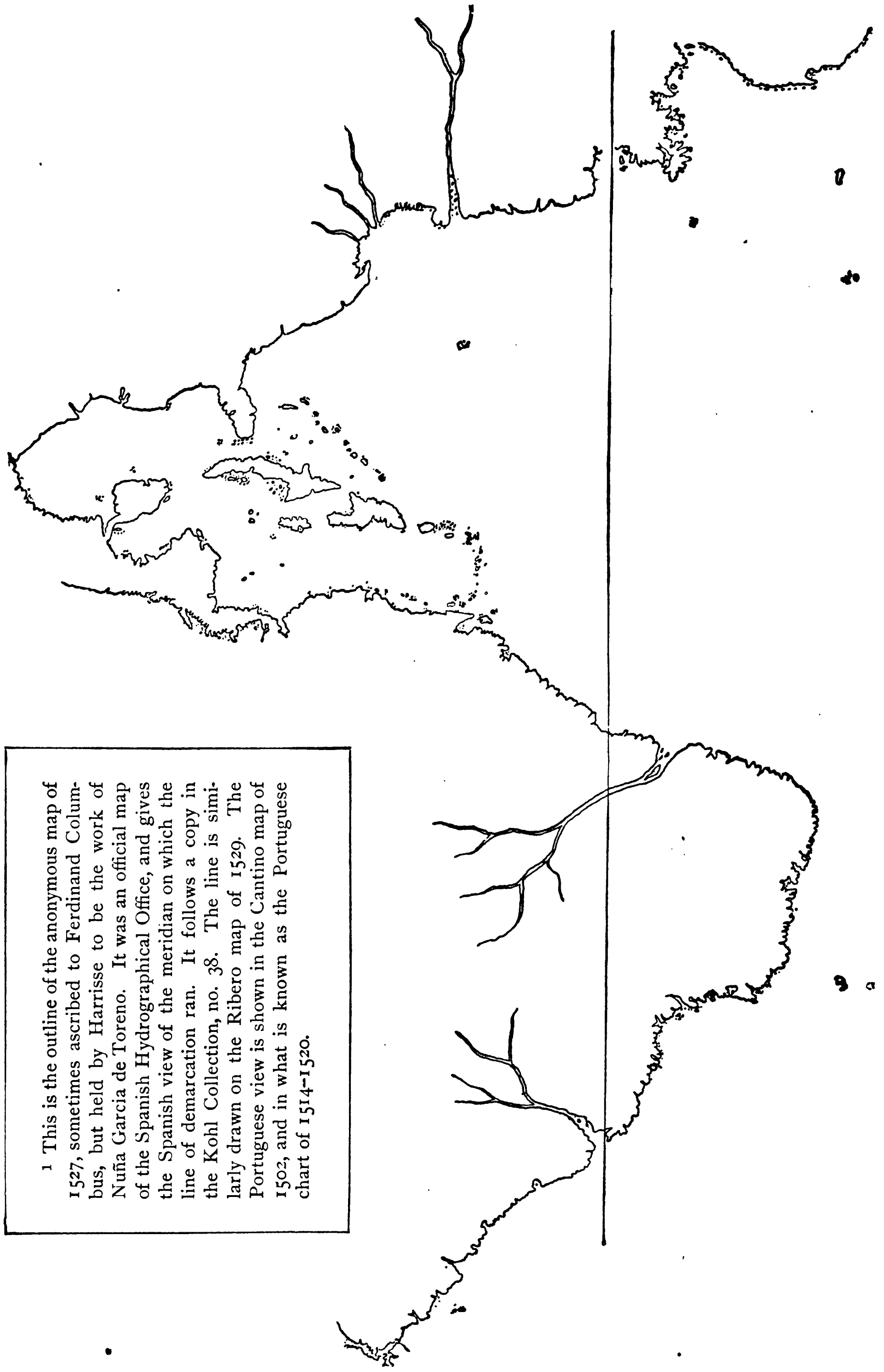
1807; and in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, 1881. A copy on vellum, made in 1804, is in the British Museum.

[1] Cf. G. Gravier's *Recherches sur les navigations Européennes faites au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1878.

[2] Navarrete, i. 304, ii. 280; Bandini's *Amerigo Vespucci*, pp. 66, 83; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 26, iv. 188, 233, 250, 261, v. 182-185; and his preface to Ghillany's *Behaim;* Harrisse, *Ferdinand Colomb*, pp. 121-127; Major's *Prince Henry*, p. 420; Stevens's *Notes*, p. 372. When the natives of Cuba pointed to the interior of their island and said "Cubanacan," Columbus interpreted it to mean "Kublai Khan;" and the Cuban name of Mangon became to his ear the Mangi of Sir John Mandeville.

[3] Dec. i. c. 8.

[4] This follows the engravings in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 111, and in Stanley's *Da Gama*, published by the Hakluyt Society. The original belongs to the Count de Lavradio. Another portrait, with a view of Calicut, is given in Lafitau's *Découvertes des Portugais*, Paris, 1734, iii. 66.



THE LINE OF DEMARCATION (*Spanish claim*, 1527).[1]

---

[1] This is the outline of the anonymous map of 1527, sometimes ascribed to Ferdinand Columbus, but held by Harrisse to be the work of Nuña Garcia de Toreno. It was an official map of the Spanish Hydrographical Office, and gives the Spanish view of the meridian on which the line of demarcation ran. It follows a copy in the Kohl Collection, no. 38. The line is similarly drawn on the Ribero map of 1529. The Portuguese view is shown in the Cantino map of 1502, and in what is known as the Portuguese chart of 1514–1520.

ALEXANDER VI.[1]

Columbus opened, as was supposed, a shorter route, was wanting; and Da Gama, following in the path marked for him, would have failed of much of his fame but for the auspicious applause which Camoens created for him in the *Lusiad*.[2]

---

[1] This follows the cut in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxvii. 500, representing a bust in the Berlin Museum.

[2] Da Gama's three voyages, translated from the narrative of Gaspar Correa, with other documents, was edited for the Hakluyt Society by H. E. J. Stanley, in 1869. Correa's account was not printed till 1858, when the Lisbon Academy issued it. Cf. Navarrete, vol. i. p. xli; Ramusio, i. 130; Galvano, p. 93; Major, *Prince Henry*, p. 391;

Da Gama at Calicut and Columbus at Cuba gave the line of demarcation of Alexander VI. a significance that was not felt to be impending, five years earlier, on the 3d and 4th of May, 1493, when the Papal Bull was issued.[1] This had fixed the field of Spanish and Portuguese exploration respectively west and east of a line one hundred leagues[2] west of the Azores, following a meridian at a point where Columbus had supposed the magnetic needle[3] pointed to the north star.[4] The Portuguese thought that political grounds were of more consideration than physical, and were not satisfied with the magnet governing the limitation of their search. They desired a little more sea-room on the Atlantic side, and were not displeased to think that a meridian considerably farther west might give them a share of the new Indies south and north of the Spanish discoveries; so they entered their protest against the partition of the Bull, and the two Powers held a convention at Tordesillas, which resulted, in June, 1494, in the line being moved two hundred and seventy leagues westerly.[5] No one but vaguely suspected the complication yet to arise about this same meridian, now selected, when the voyage of Magellan should bring Spaniard and Portuguese face to face at the Antipodes. This aspect of the controversy will claim attention elsewhere.[6] From this date the absolute position of the line as theoretically determined, was a constant source of dispute, and the occasion of repeated negotiations.[7]

Justin Winsor

Cladera, *Investigaciones históricas*; Saint-Martin, *Histoire de la géographie*, p. 337; Clarke, *Progress of Maritime Discovery*, p. 399; Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* pp. 109, 135, 188, 189; Lucas Rem's *Tagebuch*, 1494-1542, Augsburg, 1861; Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 209 (with references), etc.

"Portugal," says Professor Seeley, "had almost reason to complain of the glorious intrusion of Columbus. She took the right way, and found the Indies; while he took the wrong way, and missed them . . . If it be answered in Columbus's behalf, that it is better to be wrong and find America, than to be right and find India, Portugal might answer that she did both,"—referring to Cabral's discovery of Brazil (*Expansion of England*, p. 83).

[1] The Bull is printed in Navarrete, ii. 23, 28, 130; and in the app. of Oscar Peschel's *Die Theilung der Erde unter Papst Alexander VI. und Julius II.*, Leipsic, 1871. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions,* gives the letter of May 17, 1493, which Alexander VI. sent with the Bulls to his nuncio at the court of Spain, found in the archives of the Frari at Venice. Cf. also Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iii. 52; Solorzano's *Política Indiana;* Sabin's *Dictionary*, vol. i. no. 745; and the illustrative documents in Andres García de Céspedes' *Reg. de nav.*, Madrid, 1606.

[2] There is more or less confusion in the estimates made of the league of this time. D'Avezac, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, September and October, 1858, pp. 130–164, calls it 5,924 metres. Cf. also Fox, in the *U. S. Coast Survey Report,* 1880, p. 59; and H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 190.

[3] Cf. Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iii. 17, 44, 56, etc.

[4] Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iii. 54; *Cosmos*, v. 55. Columbus found this point of no-variation, Sept. 13, 1492. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, for a similar reason, St. Michael's in the Azores was taken for the first meridian, but the no-variation then observable at that point has given place now to a declination of twenty-five degrees.

[5] See the documents in Navarrete, ii. 116, and Peschel's *Theilung der Erde unter Papst Alexander VI. und Julius II.*

[6] Cf., however, Juan y Ulloa's *Dissertacion sobre el meridiano de demarcacion*, Madrid, 1749, in French, 1776. Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 910; and "Die Demarcations-linie" in Ruge's *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 267.

[7] In 1495 Jaume Ferrer, who was called for advice, sent a manuscript map to the Spanish Monarchs to be used in the negotiations for determining this question. (Navarrete; also Amat, *Diccionario de los escritores Catalanes.*) Jaume's different treatises are collected by his son in his *Sentencias cathólicas*, 1545. (Leclerc, no. 2,765, 1,000 francs; Harrisse, *Bibl. Am. Vet.*, no. 261; *Additions*, no. 154.) This contains Jaume's letter of Jan. 27, 1495, and the Monarchs' reply of Feb. 28, 1495; and a letter written at the request of Isabella from Burgos, Aug. 5, 1495, addressed to "Christofol Colō en la gran Isla de Cibau."

NOTES.

A. First Voyage. — As regards the first voyage of Columbus there has come down to us a number of accounts, resolvable into two distinct narratives, as originally proceeding from the hand of Columbus himself, — his Journal, which is in part descriptive and in part log, according to the modern understanding of this last term; and his Letters announcing the success and results of his search. The fortunes and bibliographical history of both these sources need to be told:

Journal. — Columbus himself refers to this in his letter to Pope Alexander VI. (1503) as being kept in the style of Cæsar's *Commentaries;* and Irving speaks of it as being penned "from day to day with guileless simplicity." In its original form it has not been found; but we know that Las Casas used it in his *Historia*, and that Ferdinand Columbus must have had it before him while writing what passes for his Life of his father. An abridgment of the Journal in the hand of Las Casas, was discovered by Navarrete, who printed it in the first volume of his *Coleccion* in 1825; it is given in a French version in the Paris edition of the same (vol. ii.), and in Italian in Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*, 1864. Las Casas says of his abstract, that he follows the very words of the Admiral for a while after recording the landfall; and these parts are translated by Mr. Thomas, of the State Department at Washington, in G. A. Fox's paper on "The Landfall" in the *Report of the Coast Survey* for 1880. The whole of the Las Casas text, however, was translated into English, at the instigation of George Ticknor, by Samuel Kettell, and published in Boston as *A Personal Narrative of the First Voyage* in 1827;[1] and it has been given in part, in English, in Becher's *Landfall of Columbus*. The original is thought to have served Herrera in his *Historia General*.[2]

Letters. — We know that on the 12th of February, 1493, about a week before reaching the Azores on his return voyage, and while his ship was laboring in a gale, Columbus prepared an account of his discovery, and incasing the parchment in wax, put it in a barrel, which he threw overboard. That is the last heard of it. He prepared another account, perhaps duplicate, and protecting it in a similar way, placed it on his poop, to be washed off in case his vessel foundered. We know nothing further of this account, unless it be the same, substantially, with the letters which he wrote just before making a harbor at the Azores. One of these letters, at least, is dated off the Canaries; and it is possible that it was written earlier on the voyage, and post-dated, in expectation of his making the Canaries; and when he found himself by stress of weather at the Azores, he neglected to change the place. The original of neither of these letters is known.

One of them was dated Feb. 15, 1493, with a postscript dated March 4 (or 14, copies vary, and the original is of course not to be reached; 4 would seem to be correct), and is written in Spanish, and addressed to the "Escribano de Racion," Luis de Santangel, who, as Treasurer of Aragon, had advanced money for the voyage. Columbus calls this a second letter; by which he may mean that the one cast overboard was the first, or that another, addressed to Sanchez (later to be mentioned), preceded it. There was at Simancas, in 1818, an early manuscript copy of this letter, which Navarrete printed in his *Coleccion*, and Kettell translated into English in his book (p. 253) already referred to.[3]

In 1852 the Baron Pietro Custodi left his collection of books to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan; and among them was found a printed edition of this Santangel letter, never before known, and still remaining unique. It is of small quarto, four leaves, in semi-gothic type, bearing the date of 1493,[4] and was, as Harrisse and Lenox think, printed in Spain, — Major suggests Barcelona, but Gayangos thinks Lisbon. It was first reprinted at Milan in 1863, with a fac-simile, and edited by Cesare Correnti, in a volume, containing other letters of Columbus, entitled, *Lettere autografe edite ed inedite di Cristoforo Colombo*.[5] From this reprint Harrisse copied it, and gave an English translation in his *Notes on Columbus*, p. 89, drawing attention to the error of Correnti in making it appear on his titlepage that the letter was addressed to "Saxis,"[6] and testifying that, by collation, he had found but slight variation from the Navarrete text. Mr. R. H. Major also prints the Ambrosian text in his *Select Letters of Columbus*, with an English version appended, and judges the Cosco version could not have been made from it. Other English translations may be found in Becher's *Landfall of Columbus*, p. 291, and in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, 2d series, ii. 145.

---

[1] Cf. *North American Review*, nos. 53 and 55.

[2] Cf. portions in German in *Das Ausland*, 1867, p. 1.

[3] It is in Italian in Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*.

[4] Brunet, *Supplément*, col. 277.

[5] It appeared in the series *Biblioteca rara* of G. Daelli.

[6] Cf. *Historical Magazine*, September, 1864.

In 1866 a fac-simile edition (150 copies) of the Ambrosian copy was issued at Milan, edited by Gerolamo d' Adda, under the title of *Lettera in lingua Spagnuola diretta da Cristoforo Colombo a Luis de Santangel*.[1] Mr. James Lenox, of New York, had already described it, with a fac-simile of the beginning and end, in the *Historical Magazine* (vol. viii. p. 289, September, 1864, April, 1865); and this paper was issued separately (100 copies) as a supplement to the Lenox edition of Scyllacius. Harrisse [2] indicates that there was once a version of this Santangel letter in the Catalan tongue, preserved in the Colombina Library at Seville.

A few years ago Bergenroth found at Simancas a letter of Columbus, dated at the Canaries, Feb. 15, 1493, with a postscript at Lisbon, March 14, addressed to a friend, giving still another early text, but adding nothing material to our previous knowledge. A full abstract is given in the *Calendar of State Papers relating to England and Spain*, p. 43.

A third Spanish text of a manuscript of the sixteenth century, said to have been found in the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, was made known by Varnhagen, the Minister of Brazil to Portugal, who printed it at Valencia in 1858 as *Primera epistola del Almirante Don Christóbal Colon*, including an account "de una nueva copia de original manuscrito." The editor assumed the name of Volafan, and printed one hundred copies, of which sixty were destroyed in Brazil.[3] This letter is addressed to Gabriel Sanchez, and dated "sobre la isla de Sa. Maria, 18 de Febrero;" and is without the postscript of the letters of Feb. 15. It is almost a verbatim repetition of the Simancas text. A reprint of the Cosco text makes a part of the volume; and it is the opinion of Varnhagen and Harrisse that the Volafan text is the original from which Cosco translated, as mentioned later.

Perhaps still another Spanish text is preserved and incorporated, as Muñoz believed, by the Cura de los Palacios, Andrés Bernaldez, in his *Historia de los reyes católicos* (chap. cxviii). This book covers the period 1488–1513; has thirteen chapters on Columbus, who had been the guest of Bernaldez after his return from his second voyage, in 1496, and by whom Columbus is called "mercador de libros de estampa." The manuscript of Bernaldez's book long remained unprinted in the Royal Library at Madrid. Irving used a manuscript copy which belonged to Obadiah Rich.[4] Prescott's copy of the manuscript is in Harvard College Library.[5] Humboldt [6] used it in manuscript. It was at last printed at Granada in 1856, in two volumes, under the editing of Miguel Lafuente y Alcántara.[7] It remains, of course, possible that Bernaldez may have incorporated a printed Spanish text, instead of the original or any early manuscript, though Columbus is known to have placed papers in his hands.

The text longest known to modern students is the poor Latin rendering of Cosco, already referred to. While but one edition of the original Spanish text appeared presumably in Spain (and none of Vespucius and Magellan), this Latin text, or translations of it, appeared in various editions and forms in Italy, France, and Germany, which Harrisse remarks [8] as indicating the greater popular impression which the discovery of America made beyond Spain than within the kingdom; and the monthly delivery of letters from Germany to Portugal and the Atlantic islands, at this time, placed these parts of Europe in prompter connection than we are apt to imagine.[1] News of the discovery was, it would seem, borne to Italy by the two Genoese ambassadors, Marchesi and Grimaldi, who are known to have left Spain a few days after the return of Columbus.[2] The Spanish text of this letter, addressed by Columbus to Gabriel or Raphael Sanchez, or Sanxis, as the name of the Crown treasurer is variously given, would seem to have fallen into the hands of one Aliander de Cosco, who turned it into Latin, completing his work on the 29th of April. Harrisse points out the error of Navarrete and Varnhagen in placing this cômpletion on the 25th, and supposes the version was made in Spain. Tidings of the discovery must have reached Rome before this version could have got there; for the first Papal Bull concerning the event is dated May 3. Whatever the case, the first publication, in print, of the news was made in Rome in this Cosco version, and four editions of it were printed in that city in 1493. There is much disagreement among bibliographers as to the order of issue of the early editions. Their peculiarities, and the preference of several bibliographers as to such order, is indicated in the following enumeration, the student being referred for full titles to the authorities which are cited:—

---

[1] Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Additions*, p. vi., calls this reproduction extremely correct.

[2] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. xii.

[3] *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 387; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. no. 1,380; Sabin, iv. 277; Leclerc, no. 132. It was noticed by Don Pascual de Gayangos in *La America*, April 13, 1867. Cf. another of Varnhagen's publications, *Carta de Cristóbal Colon enviada de Lisboa á Barcelona en Marzo de* 1493, published at Vienna in 1869. It has a collation of texts and annotations (Leclerc, no. 131). A portion of the edition was issued with the additional imprint, "Paris, Tross, 1870." Of the 120 copies of this book, 60 were put in the trade. Major, referring to these several Spanish texts, says: "I have carefully collated the three documents, and the result is a certain conclusion that neither one nor the other is a correct transcript of the original letter," — all having errors which could not have been in the original. Major also translates the views on this point of Varnhagen, and enforces his own opinion that the Spanish and Latin texts are derived from different though similar documents. Varnhagen held the two texts were different forms of one letter. Harrisse dissents from this opinion in *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Additions*, p. vi.

[4] Cf. Irving's *Columbus*, app. xxix.

[5] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, revised edition, ii. 108; Sabin, vol. ii. no. 4,918; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, no. 7, who reprints the parts in question, with a translation.

[6] *Cosmos*, English translation, ii. 641.

[7] *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 32.

[8] He points out how the standard *Chronicles* and *Annals* (Ferrebouc, 1521; Regnault, 1532; Galliot du Pré, 1549; Fabian, 1516, 1533, 1542, etc.), down to the middle of the sixteenth century, utterly ignored the acts of Columbus, Cortes, and Magellan (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.* p. ii).

I. *Epistola Christofori Colom* [1493]. Small quarto, four leaves (one blank), gothic, 33 lines to a page. Addressed to Sanchis. Cosco is called Leander. Ferdinand and Isabella both named in the title. The printer is thought to be Plannck, from similarity of type to work known to be his.

Major calls this the *editio princeps*, and gives elaborate reasons for his opinion (*Select Letters of Columbus*, p. cxvi). J. R. Bartlett, in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 5, also puts it first; so does Ternaux. Varnhagen calls it the second edition. It is put the third in order by Brunet (vol. ii. col. 164) and Lenox (*Scyllacius*, p. xliv), and fourth by Harrisse (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 121; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 4).

There are copies in the Lenox, Carter-Brown, and Huth (*Catalogue*, i. 336) libraries; in the Grenville (*Bibl. Gren.*, p. 158) and King's Collections in the British Museum; in the Royal Library at Munich; in the Collection of the Duc d'Aumale at Twickenham; and in the Commercial Library at Hamburg.[3] The copy cited by Harrisse was sold in the Court Collection (no. 72) at Paris in 1884.

II. *Epistola Christofori Colom, impressit Rome, Eucharius Argenteus* [Silber], *anno dñi MCCCCXCIII.* Small quarto, three printed leaves, gothic type, 40 lines to the page. Addressed to Sanches. Cosco is called Leander. Ferdinand and Isabella both named.

Major, who makes this the second edition, says that its deviations from No. I. are all on the side of ignorance. Varnhagen calls it the *editio princeps*. Bartlett (*Carter-Brown Catalogue*, no. 6) puts it second. Lenox (*Scyllacius*, p. xlv) calls it the fourth edition. It is no. 3 of Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 3; *Notes on Columbus*, p. 121). Graesse errs in saying the words "Indie supra Gangem" are omitted in the title.

There are copies in the Lenox, Carter-Brown, Huth (*Catalogue*, i. 336), and Grenville (*Bibl. Gren.*, p. 158) Libraries. It has been recently priced at 5,000 francs. Cf. *Murphy Catalogue*, 629.

III. *Epistola Christofori Colom.* Small quarto, four leaves, 34 lines, gothic type. Addressed to Sanxis. Cosco is called Aliander. Ferdinand only named.

This is Major's third edition. It is the *editio princeps* of Harrisse, who presumes it to be printed by Stephanus Plannck at Rome (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 117; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, vol. i.); and he enters upon a close examination to establish its priority. It is Lenox's second edition (*Scyllacius*, p. xliii). Bartlett places it third.

There are copies in the Barlow (formerly the Aspinwall copy) Library in New York; in the General Collection and Grenville Library of the British Museum; and in the Royal Library at Munich. In 1875 Mr. S. L. M. Barlow printed (50 copies) a fac-simile of his copy, with a Preface, in which he joins in considering this the first edition with Harrisse, who (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 101) gives a careful reprint of it.

IV. *De insulis inventis*, etc. Small octavo, ten leaves, 26 and 27 lines, gothic type. The leaf before the title has the Spanish arms on the recto. There are eight woodcuts, one of which is a repetition. Addressed to Sanxis. Cosco is called Aliender. Ferdinand only named. The words "Indie supra Gangem" are omitted in the title.

This is Major's fourth edition. Lenox makes it the *editio princeps* (as does Brunet), and gives fac-similes of the woodcuts in his *Scyllacius*, p. xxxvi. Bossi supposed the cuts to have been a part of the original manuscript, and designed by Columbus.[4] Harrisse calls it the second in order, and thinks Johannes Besicken may have been the printer (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 2), though it is usually ascribed to Plannck, of Rome. It bears the arms of Granada; but there was no press at that time in that city, so far as known, though Brunet seems to imply it was printed there.

The only perfect copy known is one formerly the Libri copy, now in the Lenox Library, which has ten leaves. The Grenville copy (*Bibl. Gren.*, p. 158), and the one which Bossi saw in the Brera at Milan, now lost, had only nine leaves.

Hain (*Repertorium*, no. 5,491) describes a copy which seems to lack the first and tenth leaves; and it was proba-

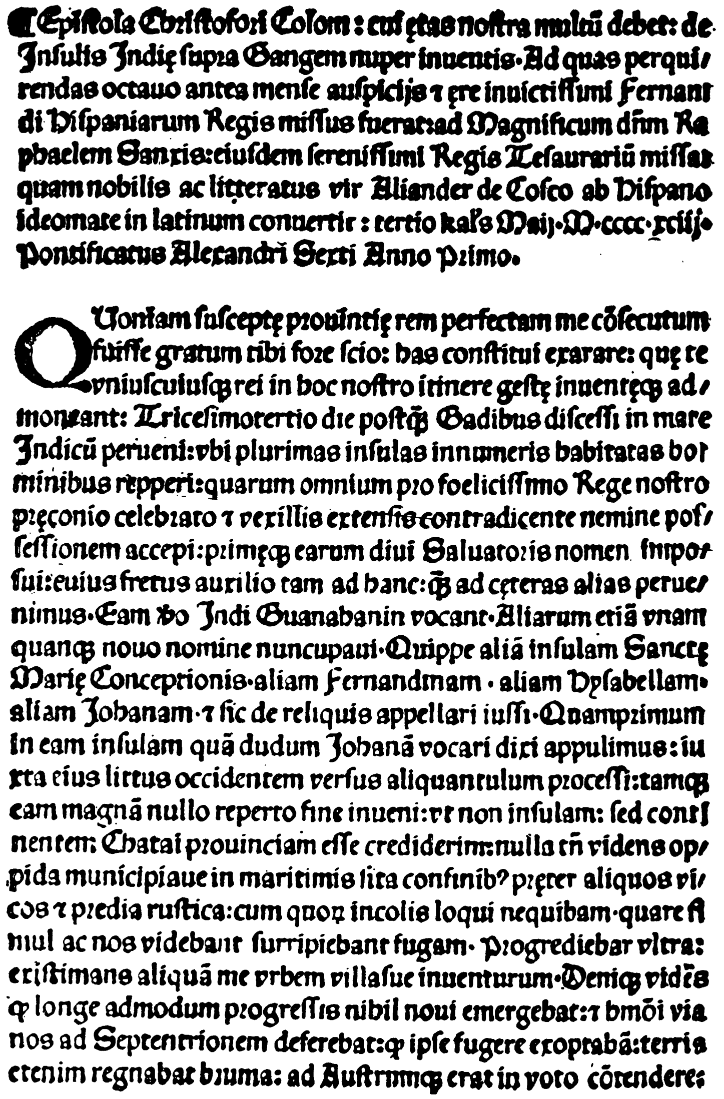
---

[1] Murr, *Histoire diplomatique de Behaim*, p. 123.

[2] They are mentioned in Senarega's "De rebus Genuensibus," printed in Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, xxiv. 534. Cf. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 41.

[3] Harrisse says that when Tross, of Paris, advertised a copy at a high price in 1865, there were seven bidders for it at once. Quaritch advertised a copy in June, 1871. It was priced in London in 1872 at £140.

[4] This view is controverted in *The Bookworm*, 1868, p. 9. Cf. 1867, p. 103. The ships are said to be galleys, while Columbus sailed in caravels.



Epiſtola Chriſtofori Colom: cui ętas noſtra multū debet: de Inſulis Indię ſupra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea menſe auſpicijs ⁊ ęre inuictiſſimi Fernandi Hiſpaniarum Regis miſſus fuerat: ad Magnificum dñm Raphaelem Sanxis: eiuſdem ſereniſſimi Regis Teſaurariū miſſa: quam nobilis ac litteratus vir Aliander de Coſco ab Hiſpano ideomate in latinum conuertit: tertio kal's Maij. M.cccc.xciij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.

Quoniam ſuſceptę prouintię rem perfectam me cōſecutum fuiſſe gratum tibi fore ſcio: has conſtitui exarare: quę te vniuſcuiuſq rei in hoc noſtro itinere geſtę inuentęq admoneant: Tricesimotertio die poſtq Gadibus diſceſſi in mare Indicū perueni: vbi plurimas inſulas innumeris habitatas hominibus repperi: quarum omnium pro foeliciſſimo Rege noſtro preconio celebrato ⁊ vexillis extenſis contradicente nemine poſſeſſionem accepi: primęq earum diui Saluatoris nomen impoſui: cuius fretus auxilio tam ad hanc: q̄ ad cęteras alias peruenimus. Eam vo Indi Guanahanin vocant. Aliarum etiā vnamquanq nouo nomine nuncupaui. Quippe aliā inſulam Sanctę Marię Conceptionis. aliam Fernandinam. aliam Hyſabellam. aliam Iohanam. ⁊ ſic de reliquis appellari iuſſi. Quamprimum in eam inſulam quā dudum Iohanā vocari dixi appulimus: iuxta eius littus occidentem verſus aliquantulum proceſſi: tamq eam magnā nullo reperto fine inueni: vt non inſulam: ſed continentem Chatai prouinciam eſſe crediderim: nulla tñ videns oppida municipiaue in maritimis ſita confinib⁹ preter aliquos vicos ⁊ predia ruſtica: cum quorū incolis loqui nequibam. quare ſimul ac nos videbant ſurripiebant fugam. Progrediebar vltra: exiſtimans aliquā me vrbem villaſue inuenturum. Deniq vidēs ꝙ longe admodum progreſſis nihil noui emergebat: ⁊ hmōi via nos ad Septentrionem deferebat: ꝙ ipſe fugere exoptabā: terris etenim regnabat bruma: ad Auſtrumq erat in voto cōtendere:

COLUMBUS' LETTER NO. III.

bly this copy (Royal Library, Munich) which was followed by Pilinski in his Paris fac-simile (20 copies in 1858), which does not reproduce these leaves, though it is stated by some that the defective British Museum copy was his guide. Bartlett seems in error in calling this fac-simile a copy of the Libri-Lenox copy.[1]

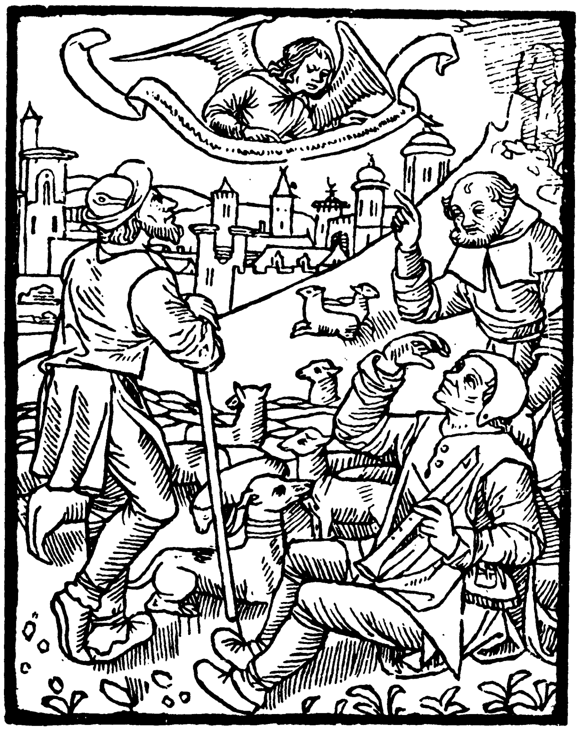
V. *Epistola de insulis de novo repertis*, etc. Small quarto, four leaves, gothic, 39 lines; woodcut on verso of first leaf. Printed by Guy Marchand in Paris, about 1494. Addressed to Sanxis. Cosco is called Aliander. Ferdinand only named.

This is Lenox's (*Scyllacius*, p. xlv.), Major's, and Harrisse's fifth (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 122; *Bibl. Amer Vet.*, p. 5) edition.

The Ternaux copy, now in the Carter-Brown Library, was for some time supposed to be the only copy known; but Harrisse says the text reprinted by Rosny in Paris, in 1865, as from a copy in the National Library at Paris, corresponds to this. This reprint (125 copies) is entitled, *Lettre de Christophe Colomb sur la découverte du nouveau monde. Publiée d'après la rarissime version Latine conservée à la Bibliothèque Impériale. Traduite en Français, commentée* [etc.] *par Lucien de Rosny.* Paris:

---

[1] But compare his *Cooke Catalogue*, no. 575; also, *Pinart-Bourbourg Catalogue*, p. 249.



REVERSE OF TITLE OF NOS. V. AND VI.

J. Gay, 1865. 44 pages octavo. This edition was published under the auspices of the "Comité d'Archéologie Américaine."[1]

VI. *Epistola de insulis noviter repertis*, etc. Small quarto, four leaves, gothic, 39 lines; woodcut on verso of first leaf. Guiot Marchant, of Paris, printer. Addressed to Sanxis. Cosco is called Aliander. Ferdinand only named.

This is Major's sixth edition; Harrisse (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 122; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 6) and Lenox (*Scyllacius*, p. xlvii) also place it sixth. There are facsimiles of the engraved title in Harrisse, Lenox, and Stevens's *American Bibliographer*, p. 66.

There are copies in the Carter-Brown, Bodleian (Douce), and University of Göttingen libraries; one is also shown in the *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 630.

John Harris, Sen., made a fac-simile edition of five copies, one of which is in the British Museum.

VII. *Epistola Cristophori Colom*, etc. Small quarto, four leaves, gothic, 38 lines. Addressed to Sanxis. Th. Martens is thought to be the printer.

This edition has only recently been made known. Cf. Brunet, *Supplément*, col. 276. The only copy known is in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels.

The text of all these editions scarcely varies, except in the use of contracted letters. Lenox's collation was reprinted, without the cuts, in the *Historical Magazine*, February, 1861. Other bibliographical accounts will be found in Graesse, *Trésor*; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, i. 158; Sabin, *Dictionary*, iv. 274; and by J. H. Hessels in the *Bibliophile Belge*, vol. vi. The cuts are also in part reproduced in some editions of Irving's *Life of Columbus*, and in the *Vita*, by Bossi.[2]

In 1494 this Cosco-Sanchez text was appended to a drama on the capture of Granada, which was printed at Basle, beginning *In laudem Serenissimi Ferdinandi*, and ascribed to Carolus Veradus. The "De insulis nuper inventis" is found at the thirtieth leaf (*Bibl.*

---

[1] M. de Rosny was born in 1810, and died in 1871. M. Geslin published a paper on his works in the *Actes de la Société d'Ethnologie*, vii. 115. A paper by Rosny on the "Lettre de Christoph Colombe," with his version, is found in the *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, Paris, 1876, p. 81.

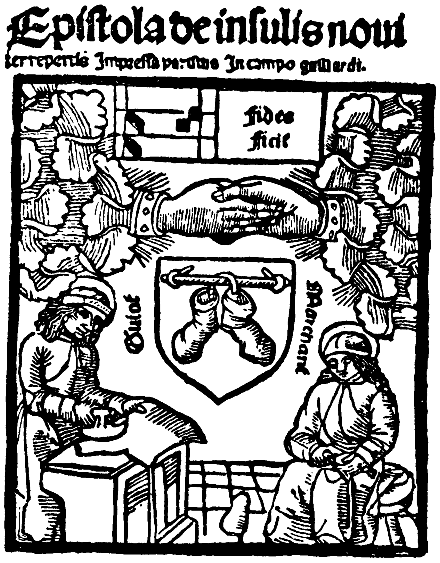
[2] The earliest English version of this letter followed some one edition of the Cosco-Sanchez text, and appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1816, and was reprinted in the *Analectic Magazine*, ix. 513. A translation was also appended by Kettell to his edition of the *Personal Narrative*. There is another in the *Historical Magazine*, April, 1865, ix. 114.

Amer. Vet., no. 15; Lenox's *Scyllacius*, p. xlviii; Major, no. 7; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, no. 13). There are copies in the Carter-Brown, Harvard College, and Lenox libraries.[1]

By October, in the year of the first appearance (1493) of the Cosco-Sanchez text, it had been turned into *ottava rima* by Guiliano Dati, a popular poet, to be sung about the streets, as is supposed; and two editions of this verse are now known. The earliest is in quarto, black letter, two columns, and was printed in Florence, and called *Questa e la Hystoria . . . extracte duna Epistola Christofano Colombo.* It was in four leaves, of coarse type and paper; but the second and third leaves are lacking in the unique copy, now in the British Museum, which was procured in 1858 from the Costabile sale in Paris.[2]

The other edition, dated one day later (Oct. 26, 1493), printed also at Florence, and called *La Lettera dell'isole*, etc., is in Roman type, quarto, four leaves, two columns, with a woodcut title representing Ferdinand on the European, and Columbus on the New World shore of the ocean.[3] The copy in the British Museum was bought for 1,700 francs at the Libri sale in Paris; and the only other copy known is in the Trivulgio Library at Milan.

In 1497 a German translation, or adaptation, from Cosco's Latin was printed by Bartlomesz Küsker at Strasburg, with the title *Eyn schön hübsch lesen von etlichen inszlen die do in kurtzen zyten funden synd durch dẽ künig von hispania, vnd sagt võ groszen wunderlichen dingen die in dẽ selbẽ inszlen synd.* It is a black-letter quarto of seven leaves, with one blank, the woodcut of the title being repeated on the verso of the seventh leaf.[4] There are copies in the Lenox (Libri copy) and Carter-Brown libraries; in the Grenville and Huth collections; and in the library at Munich.



Epiſtola de inſulis noui
terre repertis Impreſſa parisius In campo gaillardi.

COLUMBUS' LETTER NO. VI.

The text of the Cosco-Sanchez letter, usually quoted by the early writers, is contained in the *Bellum Christianorum Principum* of Robertus Monarchus, printed at Basle in 1533.[5]

---

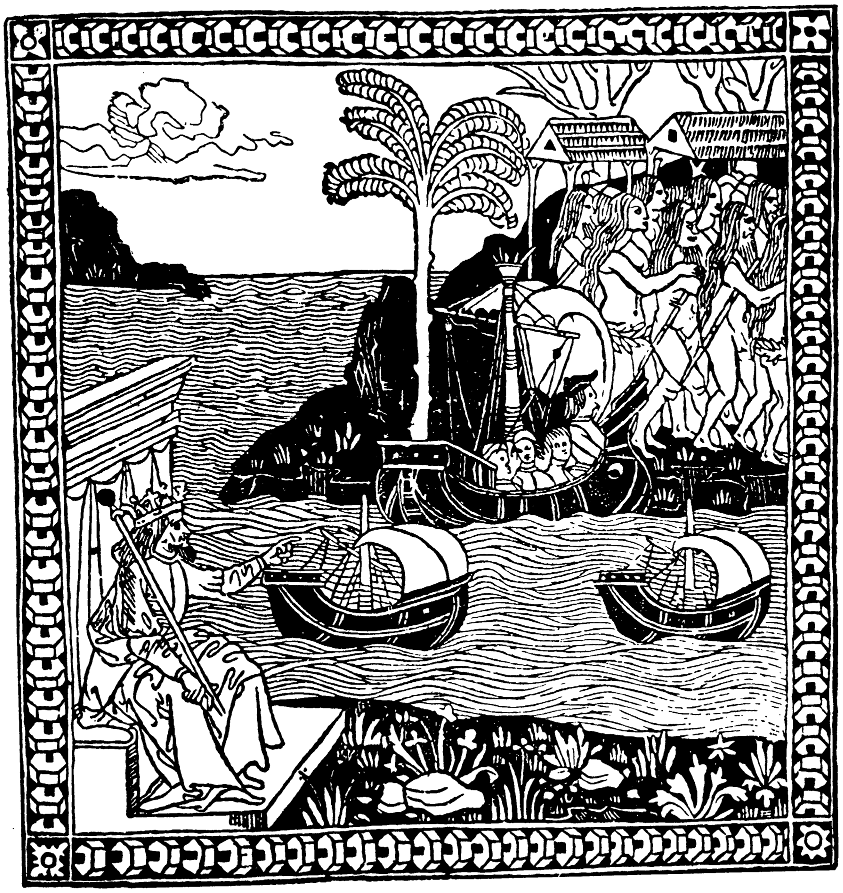
[1] It was priced by Rich in 1844 at £6 6*s.*; and by Robert Clarke, of Cincinnati, in 1876, at $200. There was a copy in the J. J. Cooke sale (1883), vol. iii. no. 574, and another in the Murphy sale, no. 2,602.

[2] Sabin, vol. v. no. 18,656; Major, p. xc, where the poem is reprinted, as also in Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus*, p. 186; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 8, p. 461. This first edition has sixty-seven octaves; the second, sixty-eight. Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. no. 129, shows a fac-simile of the imperfect first edition.

[3] *Notes on Columbus*, p. 185; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 9; *Additions*, no. 3; Lenox's *Scyllacius*, p. lii. The last stanza is not in the other edition, and there are other revisions. A fac-simile of the cut on the title of this Oct. 26, 1493, edition is annexed. Other fac-similes are given by Lenox, and Ruge in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 247. This edition was reprinted at Bologna, 1873, edited by Gustavo Uzielli, as no. 136 of *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite*, and a reprint of Cosco's Latin text was included.

[4] Lenox's *Scyllacius*, p. lv, with fac-similes of the cuts; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 19; *Notes on Columbus*, p. 123; *Huth*, i. 337. The elder Harris made a tracing of this edition, and Stevens had six copies printed from stone; and of these, copies are noted in the C. Fiske-Harris *Catalogue*, no. 553; Murphy, no. 632; Brinley, no. 14; Stevens's (1870) *Catalogue*, no. 459; and *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. nos. 130, 131. The text was reprinted in the *Rheinisches Archiv*, xv. 17. It was also included in *Ein schöne newe Zeytung*, printed at Augsburg about 1522, of which there are copies in the Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries. *Scyllacius*, p. lvi; Brunet, *Supplément*, col. 277; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 115. The latest enumeration of these various editions is in the *Studi biog. e bibliog. della Soc. Geog. Ital.*, 2d edition, Rome, 1882, p. 191, which describes some of the rare copies.

[5] Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 175; *Carter-Brown*, no. 105; Lenox, *Scyllacius*, p. lviii; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. no. 163, and *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 2,383; Muller (1872), no. 387; J. J. Cooke, no. 2,183; O'Callaghan, no. 1,836. The letter is on pages 116–121 of the *Bellum*, etc. The next earliest reprint is in Andreas Schott's *Hispaniæ illustratæ*, Frankfort, 1603–1608, vol. ii. (Sabin, vol. viii. no. 32,005; Muller, 1877, no. 2,914; Stevens, 1870, no. 1,845). Of the later reproductions in other languages than English, mention may be made of those in Amati's *Ricerche Storico-Critico-Scientifiche*, 1828–1830; Bossi's *Vita di Colombo*, 1818; Urano's edition of Bossi, Paris, 1824 and 1825; the Spanish rendering of a collated Latin text made by the royal librarian Gon-



THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS.

B. Landfall. — It is a matter of controversy what was Guanahani, the first land seen by Columbus. The main, or rather the only, source for the decision of this question is the Journal of Columbus; and it is to be regretted that Las Casas did not leave unabridged the parts preceding the landfall, as he did those immediately following, down to October 29. Not a word outside of this Journal is helpful. The testimony of the early maps is rather misleading than reassuring, so conjectural was their geography. It will be remembered that land

---

zalez for Navarrete, and the French version in the Paris edition of Navarrete; G. B. Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*, Lyons, 1864; *Cartas y testamento di Colon*, Madrid, 1880. There is in Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* (iii. 301) an account "De navigatione Columbi," written in 1499 by Antonio Gallo, of Genoa; but it adds nothing to our knowledge, being written entirely from Columbus's own letters.

The earliest compiled account from the same sources which appeared in print was issued, while Columbus was absent on his last voyage, in the *Nouissime Hystoriarum omnium repercussiones, que supplementum Supplementi Cronicarum nuncupantur . . . usque in annum* 1502, of Jacopo Filippo Foresti (called Bergomenses, Bergomas, or some other form), which was dated at Venice, 1502 (colophon, 1503), and contained a chapter "De insulis in India," on leaf 441, which had not been included in the earlier editions of 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, and 1493, but is included in all later editions (Venice, 1506; Nuremberg, 1506; Venice, 1513, 1524; Paris, 1535), except the Spanish translation (Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 42, 138, 204, and *Additions*, nos. 11, 75; Sabin, vol. vi. nos. 25,083, 25,084; Stevens, 1870, no. 175, $11; Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 19, 27; Murphy, no. 226; Quaritch, no. 11,757, £4). There are copies in the Library of Congress, the Carter-Brown and Lenox libraries, and in the National Library in Paris.

CUT IN THE GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST LETTER OF COLUMBUS (TITLE).

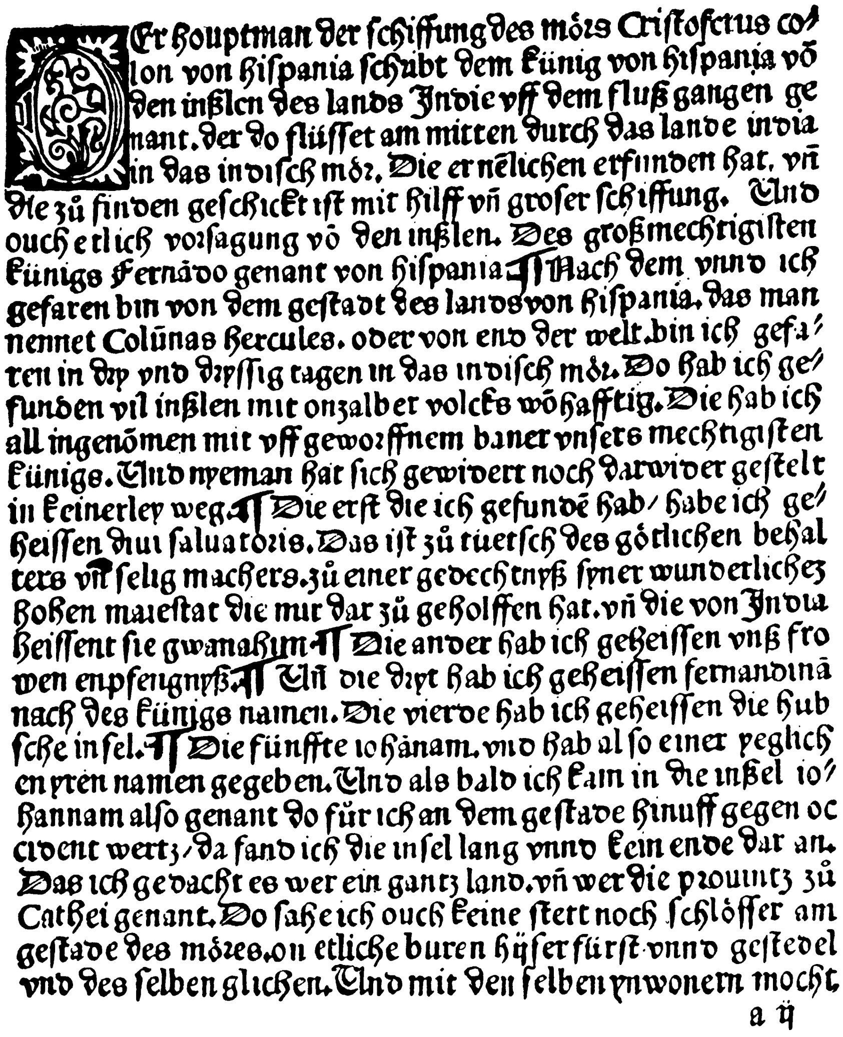
was first seen two hours after midnight; and computations made for Fox show that the moon was near the third quarter, partly behind the observer, and would clearly illuminate the white sand of the shore, two leagues distant. From Columbus's course there were in his way, as constituting the Bahama group, — taking the enumeration of to-day, and remembering that the sea may have made some changes, — 36 islands, 687 cays, and 2,414 rocks. By the log, as included in the Journal, and reducing his distance sailed by dead reckoning — which then depended on observation by the eye alone, and there were also currents to misguide Columbus, running from nine to thirty miles a day, according to the force of the wind — to a course west, 2° 49′ south, Fox has shown that the discoverer had come 3,458 nautical miles. Applying this to the several islands claimed as the landfall, and knowing modern computed distances, we get the following table: —

ISLANDS.	Course.	Miles.	An Excess of
To Grand Turk .	W. 8° 1′ S.	2834	624
Mariguana .	W. 6° 37′ S.	3032	426
Watling . .	W. 4° 38′ S.	3105	353
Cat	W. 4° 20′ S.	3141	317
Samana . .	W. 5° 37′ S.	3071	387

Columbus speaks of the island as being "small," and again as "pretty large" (*bien grande*). He calls it very level, with abundance of water, and a very large lagune in the middle; and it was in the last month of the rainy season, when the low parts of the islands are usually flooded.

Some of the features of the several islands already named will now be mentioned, together with a statement of the authorities in favor of each as the landfall.

SAN SALVADOR, OR CAT. — This island is forty-three miles long by about three broad, with an area of about one hundred and sixty square miles, rising to a height of four hundred feet, the loftiest land in the group, and with no interior water. It is usual in the maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to identify this island with the Guanahani of Columbus. It is so considered by Catesby in his *Natural History of Carolina* (1731); by Knox in his *Collection of Voyages* (1767); by De la Roquette in the French version of Navarrete, vol. ii. (1828); and by Baron de Montlezun in the *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, vols. x. and xii. (1828–1829). Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, of the United States Navy, worked out the problem for Irving; and this island is fixed upon in the latter's *Life of Columbus*, app. xvi., editions of 1828 and 1848. Becher claims that the modern charts used by Irving were imperfect; and he calls "not worthy to be called a chart" the



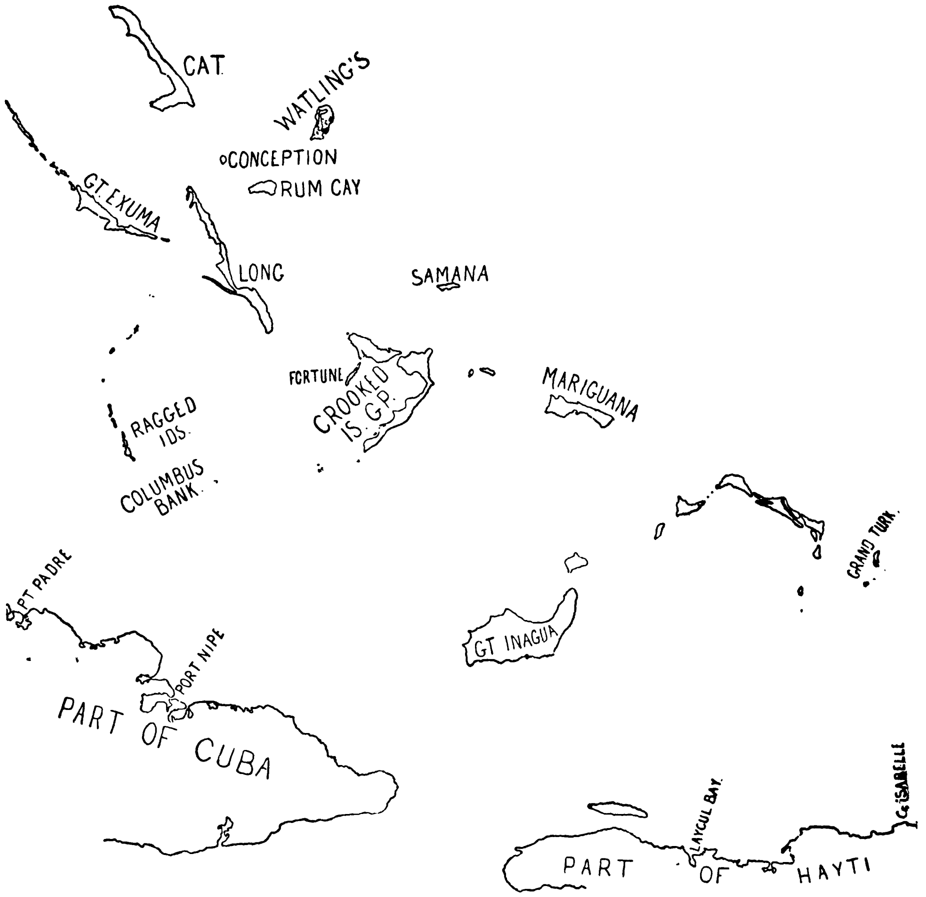
DEr houptman der ſchiffung des möꝛs Criſtofctus co/
lon von hiſpania ſchꝛibt dem künig von hiſpania vō
den inßlen des lands Jndie vff dem fluß gangen ge
nant. der do flüſſet am mitten durch das lande india
in das indiſch möꝛ. Die er nelichen erfunden hat. vñ
die zů finden geſchickt iſt mit hilff vñ groſer ſchiffung. Vnd
ouch etlich voꝛſagung vō den inßlen. Des großmechtigiſten
künigs Fernādo genant von hiſpania ¶ Nach dem vnnd ich
gefaren bin von dem geſtadt des lands von hiſpania. das man
nennet Colūnas hercules. oder von end der welt. bin ich gefa/
ren in dry vnd dryſſig tagen in das indiſch möꝛ. Do hab ich ge/
funden vil inßlen mit onzalber volcks wōhafftig. Die hab ich
all ingenōmen mit vff gewoꝛffnem baner vnſers mechtigiſten
künigs. Vnd nyeman hat ſich gewidert noch darwider geſtelt
in keinerley weg. ¶ Die erſt die ich gefundē hab/ habe ich ge/
heiſſen diui ſaluatoꝛis. Das iſt zů tüetſch des götlichen behal
ters vñ ſelig machers. zů einer gedechtnyß ſyner wunderlichez
hohen maieſtat die mir dar zů geholffen hat. vñ die von Jndia
heiſſent ſie gwanahym ¶ Die ander hab ich geheiſſen vnß fro
wen enpfengnyß ¶ Vñ die dꝛyt hab ich geheiſſen fernandinā
nach des künigs namen. Die vierde hab ich geheiſſen die hub
ſche inſel. ¶ Die fünffte iohānam. vnd hab alſo einer yeglich
en yren namen gegeben. Vnd als bald ich kam in die inßel io/
hannam alſo genant do für ich an dem geſtade hinuff gegen oc
cident wertz/ da fand ich die inſel lang vnnd kein ende dar an.
Das ich gedacht es wer ein gantz land. vñ wer die pꝛouincz zů
Cathei genant. Do ſahe ich ouch keine ſtett noch ſchlöſſer am
geſtade des möꝛes. on etliche buren hüſer fürſt vnnd geſtedel
vnd des ſelben glichen. Vnd mit den ſelben ynwonern mocht
a ij

GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST LETTER OF COLUMBUS (TEXT).

La Cosa map, which so much influenced Humboldt in following Irving, in his *Examen critique* (1837), iii. 181, 186–222.

WATLING'S. — This is thirteen miles long by about six broad, containing sixty square miles, with a height of one hundred and forty feet, and having about one third its area of interior water. It was first suggested by Muñoz in 1793. Captain Becher, of the Royal Navy, elaborated the arguments in favor of this island in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxvi. 189, and *Proceedings*, i. 94, and in his *Landfall of Columbus on his First Voyage to America*, London, 1856. Peschel took the same ground in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (1858). R. H. Major's later opinion is in support of the same views, as shown by him in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (1871), xvi. 193, and *Proceedings*, xv. 210. Cf. *New Quarterly Review*, October, 1856.

Lieut. J. B. Murdock, U. S. N., in a paper on "The Cruise of Columbus in the Bahamas, 1492," published in the *Proceedings* (April, 1884, p. 449) of the United States Naval Institute, vol. x, furnishes a new translation of the passages in Columbus' Journal bearing on the subject, and made by Professor Montaldo of the Naval Academy, and repeats the map of the



THE BAHAMA GROUP.[1]

modern survey of the Bahamas as given by Fox. Lieutenant Murdock follows and criticises the various theories afresh, and traces Columbus' track backward from Cuba, till he makes the landfall to have been at Watling's Island. He points out also various indications of the Journal which cannot be made to agree with any supposable landfall.

GRAND TURK. — Its size is five and one half by one and a quarter miles, with an area of seven square miles; its highest part seventy feet; and one third of its surface is interior water. Navarrete first advanced arguments in its favor in 1825, and Kettell adopted his views in the Boston edition of the *Personal Narrative of Columbus*. George Gibbs argued for it in the

---

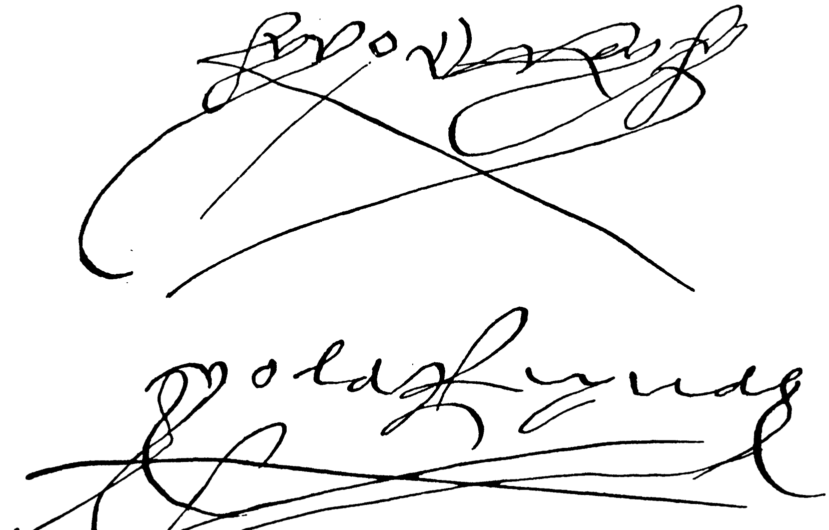
[1] This map is sketched from the chart, made from the most recent surveys, in the United States Coast-Survey Office, and given in Fox's monograph, with the several routes marked down on it. Other cartographical illustrations of the subject will be found in Moreno's maps, made for Navarrete's *Coleccion* in 1825 (also in the French version); in Becher's paper in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxvi. 189, and in his *Landfall of Columbus;* in Varnhagen's *Das wahre Guanahani;* in Major's paper in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1871, and in his second edition of the *Select Letters*, where he gives a modern map, with Herrera's map (1601) and a section of La Cosa's; in G. B. Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*, p. 214; and in the section, "Wo liegt Guanahani?" of Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 248, giving all the routes, except that offered by Fox. See further on the subject R. Pietschmann's "Beiträge zur Guanahani-Frage," in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Geographie* (1880), i. 7, 65, with map; and A. Breusing's "Zur Geschichte der Kartographie," in Ibid., ii. 193.

New York Historical Society's Proceedings (1846), p. 137, and in the *Historical Magazine* (June, 1858), ii. 161. Major adopted such views in the first edition (1847) of his *Select Letters of Columbus*.

MARIGUANA. — It measures twenty-three and one half miles long by an average of four wide; contains ninety-six square miles; rises one hundred and one feet, and has no interior water. F. A. de Varnhagen published at St. Jago de Chile, in 1864, a treatise advocating this island as *La verdadera Guanahani*, which was reissued at Vienna, in 1869, as *Das wahre Guanahani des Columbus*.[1]

SAMANA, OR ATTWOOD'S CAY. — This is nine miles long by one and a half wide, covering eight and a half square miles, with the highest ridge of one hundred feet. It is now uninhabited; but arrow-heads and other signs of aboriginal occupation are found there. The Samana of the early maps was the group now known as Crooked Island. The present Samana has been recently selected for the landfall by Gustavus V. Fox, in the *United States Coast Survey Report*, 1880, app. xviii., — "An attempt to solve the problem of the first landing-place of Columbus in the New World." He epitomized this paper in the *Magazine of American History* (April, 1883), p. 240.

C. EFFECT OF THE DISCOVERY IN EUROPE. — During the interval between the return of Columbus from his first voyage and his again treading the soil of Spain on his return from the second, 1494, we naturally look for the effect of this astounding revelation upon the intelligence of Europe. To the Portuguese, who had rejected his pleas, there may have been some chagrin. Faria y Sousa, in his *Europa Portuguesa*, intimates that Columbus' purpose in putting in at the Tagus was to deepen the regret of the Portuguese at their rejection of his views; and other of their writers affirm his overbearing manner and conscious pride of success. The interview which he had with John II. is described in the *Lyuro das obras de Garcia de Resende*.[2] Of his reception by the Spanish monarchs at Barcelona,[3] we perhaps, in the stories of the historians, discern more embellishments than Oviedo, who was present, would have thought the ceremony called for. George Sumner (in 1844) naturally thought so signal an event would find some record in the "Anals consulars" of that city, which were formed to make note of



SIGN-MANUALS OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

---

[1] *Sull' importanza d'un manoscritto inedito della Biblioteca Imperiale di Vienna per verificare quale fu la prima isola scoperta dal Colombo, . . . Con una carta geographica*, Vienna, 1869, sixteen pages. Varnhagen's paper first appeared in the *Anales de la Universedad de Chile*, vol. xxvi. (January, 1864).

[2] Evora, 1545, and often reprinted. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 45: *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 265.

[3] A fac-simile of Irving's manuscript of his account of this reception is given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* xx. 201.

the commonest daily events; but he could find in them no indication of the advent of the discoverer of new lands.[1] It is of far more importance for us that provision was soon made for future records in the establishment of what became finally the "Casa de la Contratacion de las Indias," at this time put in charge of Juan de Fonseca, who controlled its affairs throughout the reign of Ferdinand.[2] We have seen how apparently an eager public curiosity prompted more frequent impressions of Columbus' letter in other lands than in Spain itself; but there was a bustling reporter at the Spanish Court fond of letter-writing, having correspondents in distant parts, and to him we owe it, probably, that the news spread to some notable people. This was Peter Martyr d' Anghiera. He dated at Barcelona, on the ides of May, a letter mentioning the event, which he sent to Joseph Borromeo; and he repeated the story in later epistles, written in September, to Ascanio Sforza, Tendilla, and Talavera.[3] There is every reason to suppose that Martyr derived his information directly from Columbus himself. He was now probably about thirty-seven years old, and he had some years before acquired such a reputation for learning and eloquence that he had been invited from Italy (he was a native of the Duchy of Milan) to the Spanish Court. His letters, as they have come down to us, begin about five years before this,[4] and it is said that just at this time (1493) he began the composition of his Decades. Las Casas has borne testimony to the value of the Decades for a knowledge of Columbus, calling them the most worthy of credit of all the early writings, since Martyr got, as he says, his accounts directly from the Admiral, with whom he often talked. Similar testimony is given to their credibleness by Carbajal, Gomez, Vergara, and other contemporaries.[5] Beginning with Muñoz, there has been a tendency of late years to discredit Martyr, arising from the confusion and even negligence sometimes discernible in what he says. Navarrete was inclined to this derogatory estimate. Hallam[6] goes so far as to think him open to grave suspicion of negligent and palpable imposture, antedating his letters to appear prophetic. On the other hand, Prescott[7] contends for his veracity, and trusts his intimate familiarity with the scenes he describes. Helps interprets the disorder of his writings as a merit, because it is a reflection of his unconnected thoughts and feelings on the very day on which he recorded any transaction.[8]

What is thought to be the earliest mention in print of the new discoveries occurs in a book published at Seville in 1493, — *Los tratados del Doctor Alonso Ortiz.* The reference is brief, and is on the reverse of the 43d folio.[9] Not far from the same time the Bishop of Carthagena, Bernardin de Carvajal, then the Spanish ambassador to the Pope, delivered an oration in Rome, June 19, 1493, in which he made reference to the late discovery of unknown lands towards the Indies.[10] These references are all scant; and, so far as we know from the records preserved to us, the great event of the age made as yet no impression on the public mind demanding any considerable recognition.

D. SECOND VOYAGE (*Sept.* 25, 1493, *to June* 11, 1496). — First among the authorities is the narrative of Dr. Chanca, the physician of the Expedition. The oldest record of it is a manuscript of the middle of the sixteenth century, in the Real Academia de la Historia at Madrid.

---

[1] Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1873), ii. 170; Major's *Select Letters*, p. lxvi; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, p. ix.

[2] Irving's *Columbus*, app. xxxii.

[3] Humboldt (*Examen critique*, ii. 279–294) notes the letters referring to Columbus; and Harrisse, (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 129) reprints these letters, with translations. In the 1670 edition the Columbus references are on pp. 72–77, 81, 84, 85, 88–90, 92, 93, 96, 101, 102, 116.

[4] There are eight hundred and sixteen in all (1488 to 1525), and about thirty of them relate to the New World. He died in 1526.

[5] Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1873), ii. 76.

[6] *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. cap. 4, § 88.

[7] *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1873), ii. 507, and p. 77. Referring to Hallam's conclusion, he says: "I suspect this acute and candid critic would have been slow to adopt it had he perused the correspondence in connection with the history of the times, or weighed the unqualified testimony borne by contemporaries to Martyr's minute accuracy."

[8] Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 282; Irving, *Columbus*, app. xxvii.; Brevoort's *Verrazano*, p. 87; H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, i. 312. A bibliography of Martyr's works is given on another page.

[9] *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 255; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 135; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 10; Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,714.

[10] It is not certain when this discourse was printed, for the publication is without date. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 136; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 11; Sabin, vol. iii. no. 11,175; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 4. There are copies of this little tract of eight leaves in the Force Collection (Library of Congress), and in the Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries. Others are in the Vatican, Grenville Collection, etc. Cf. Court, no. 255.

From this Navarrete printed it for the first time,[1] under the title of "Segundo Viage de Cristobal Colon," in his *Coleccion*, i. 198.

Not so directly cognizant of events, but getting his information at second hand from Guglielmo Coma, — a noble personage in Spain, — was Nicolas Scyllacius, of Pavia, who translated Coma's letters into Latin, and published his narrative, *De insulis meridiani atque indici maris nuper inventis*, dedicating it to Ludovico Sforza, at Pavia (Brunet thinks Pisa), in 1594 or 1595. Of this little quarto there are three copies known. One is in the Lenox Library; and from this copy Mr. Lenox, in 1859, reprinted it sumptuously (one hundred and two copies[2]), with a translation by the Rev. John Mulligan. In Mr. Lenox's Introduction it is said that his copy had originally belonged to M. Olivieri, of Parma, and then to the Marquis Rocca Saporiti, before it came into Mr. Lenox's hands, and that the only other copy known was an inferior one in the library of the Marquis Trivulzio at Milan. This last copy is probably one of the two copies which Harrisse reports as being in the palace library at Madrid and in the Thottiana (Royal Library) at Copenhagen, respectively.[3] Scyllacius adds a few details, current at that time, which were not in Coma's letters, and seems to have interpreted the account of his correspondent as implying that Columbus had reached the Indies by the Portuguese route round the Cape of Good Hope. Ronchini has conjectured that this blunder may have caused the cancelling of a large part of the edition, which renders the little book so scarce; but Lenox neatly replies that "almost all the contemporaneous accounts are equally rare."

Another second-hand account — derived, however, most probably from the Admiral himself — is that given by Peter Martyr in his first Decade, published in 1511, and more at length in 1516.[4]

Accompanying Columbus on this voyage was Bernardus Buell, or Boil, a monk of St. Benoit, in Austria, who was sent by Pope Alexander VI. as vicar-general of the new lands, to take charge of the measures for educating and converting the Indians.[5] It will be remembered he afterward became a caballer against the Admiral. What he did there, and a little of what Columbus did, one Franciscus Honorius Philoponus sought to tell in a very curious book, *Nova typis transacta navigatio novi orbis Indiæ occidentalis*,[6] which was not printed till 1621. It is dedicated to Casparus Plautius, and it is suspected that he is really the author of the book, while he assumed another name, more easily to laud himself. Harrisse describes the book as having "few details of an early date, mixed with much second-hand information of a perfectly worthless character."

So far as we know, the only contemporary references in a printed book to the new discoveries during the progress of the second voyage, or in the interval previous to the undertaking of the third voyage, in the spring of 1498, are these: The *Das Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools) of Sebastian Brant, a satire on the follies of society, published at Basle in 1494,[7] and reprinted in Latin in 1497, 1498, and in French in 1497, 1498, and 1499,[8] has a brief mention of the land previously unknown, until Ferdinand discovered innumerable people in the great Spanish ocean. Zacharias Lilio, in his *De origine et laudibus scientiarum*, Florence, 1496,[9] has two allusions. In 1497 Fedia Inghirami, keeper of the Vatican Archives, delivered a funeral oration on Prince John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, and made a reference to the New World. The little book was probably printed in Rome. There is also a reference in the *Cosmographia* of Antonius Nebrissensis, printed in 1498.[10]

E. THIRD VOYAGE (*May* 30, 1498, *to Nov.* 20, 1500). — Our knowledge of this voyage is derived at first hand from two letters of Columbus himself, both of which are printed by Na-

---

[1] It is given in Italian in Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*, p. 372; and in English in Major's *Select Letters of Columbus*, repeated in the appendix of Lenox's reprint of Scyllacius. The "Memorial . . . sobre el suceso de su segundo viage á las Indias," in Navarrete, is also printed, with a translation, by Major, p. 72.

[2] They were all presentation-copies; but one in Leclerc, no. 2,960, is priced 400 francs. The Menzies copy brought $35.

[3] Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 16; *Notes on Columbus*, p. 125. Cf. *Intorno ad un rarissimo opuscolo di Niccolò Scillacio*, Modena, 1856, by Amadeo Ronchini, of Parma.

[4] Cf. *ante* a note for the bibliography of Martyr, in Vol. I.

[5] Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 36, refers, for curious details about Buell, to Pasqual's *Descubrimiento de la situacion de la América*, Madrid, 1789, and the letter of the Pope to Boil in Rossi's *Del discacciamento di Colombo dalla Spagnuola*, Rome, 1851, p. 76.

[6] There are two copies in Harvard College Library. Cf. Rich (1832), no. 159, £2 2*s.*; Carter-Brown, ii. no. 252; Quaritch, £6 16*s.* 6*d.*; O'Callaghan, no. 1,841; Murphy, no. 1,971; Court, nos. 271, 272.

[7] Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 2.

[8] Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 16, 17, 276, 356; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 5, 6.

[9] Folios 11 and 40. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 17; Sabin, vol. x. no. 41,067. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus* p. 55, says Rich errs in stating that an earlier work of Lilio (1493) has a reference to the discovery.

[10] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 7.

SEBASTIANVS BRANDVS
Iuriſconſultus.
Iuriſconſultus poteram, & ſimul eſſe Poëta.
Barbaries ſecli invocet ipſa meis.

SEBASTIAN BRANT.[1]

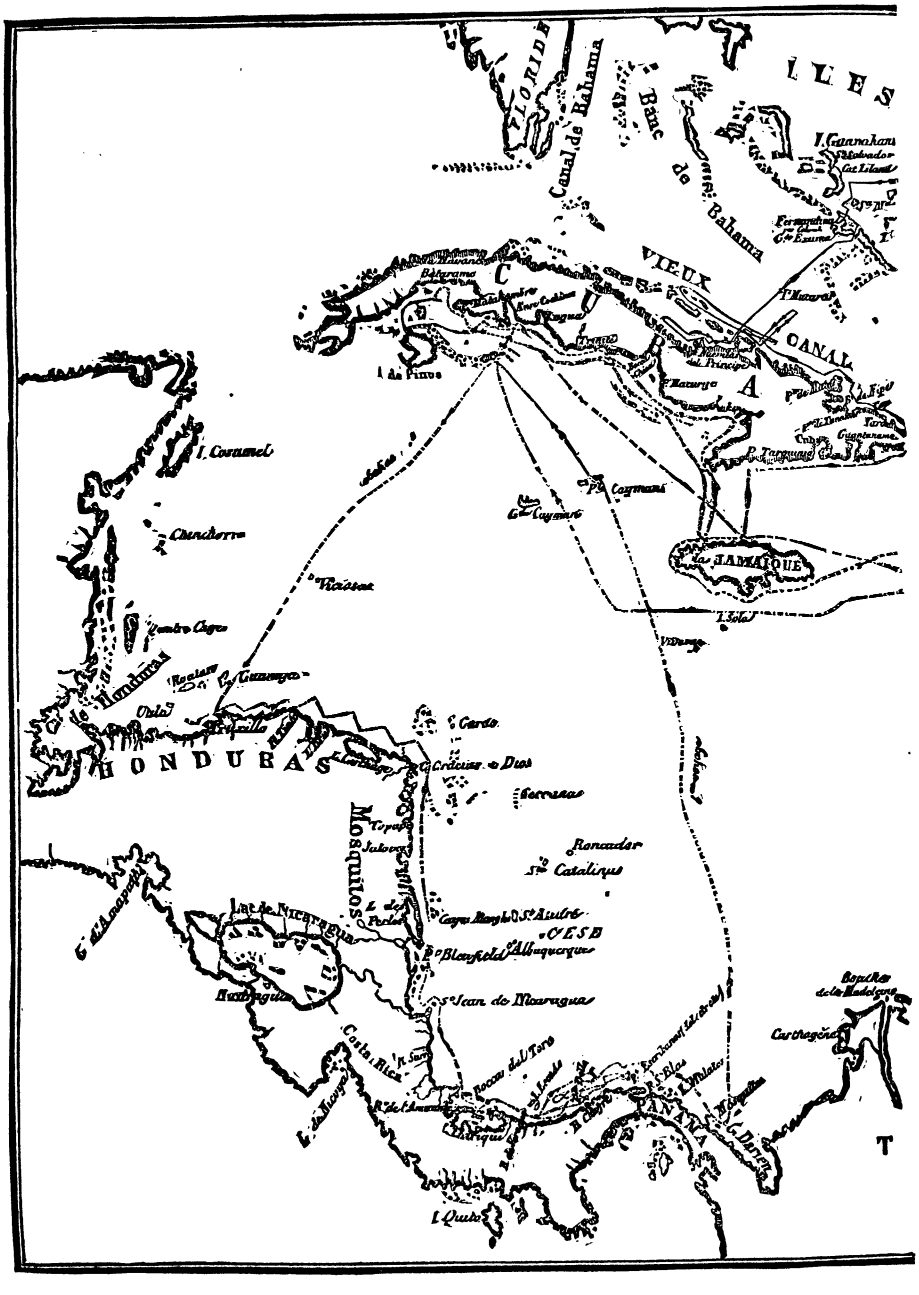
varrete, and by Major, with a translation. The first is addressed to the sovereigns, and follows a copy in Las Casas's hand, in the Archives of the Duque del Infantado. The other is addressed to the nurse of Prince John, and follows a copy in the Muñoz Collection in the Real Academia at Madrid, collated with a copy in the Columbus Collection at Genoa, printed by Spotorno.[2]

F. FOURTH VOYAGE (*May* 9, 1502, *to Nov.* 7, 1504). — While at Jamaica Columbus wrote

---

[1] Fac-simile of cut in Reusner's *Icones*, Strasburg, 1590.

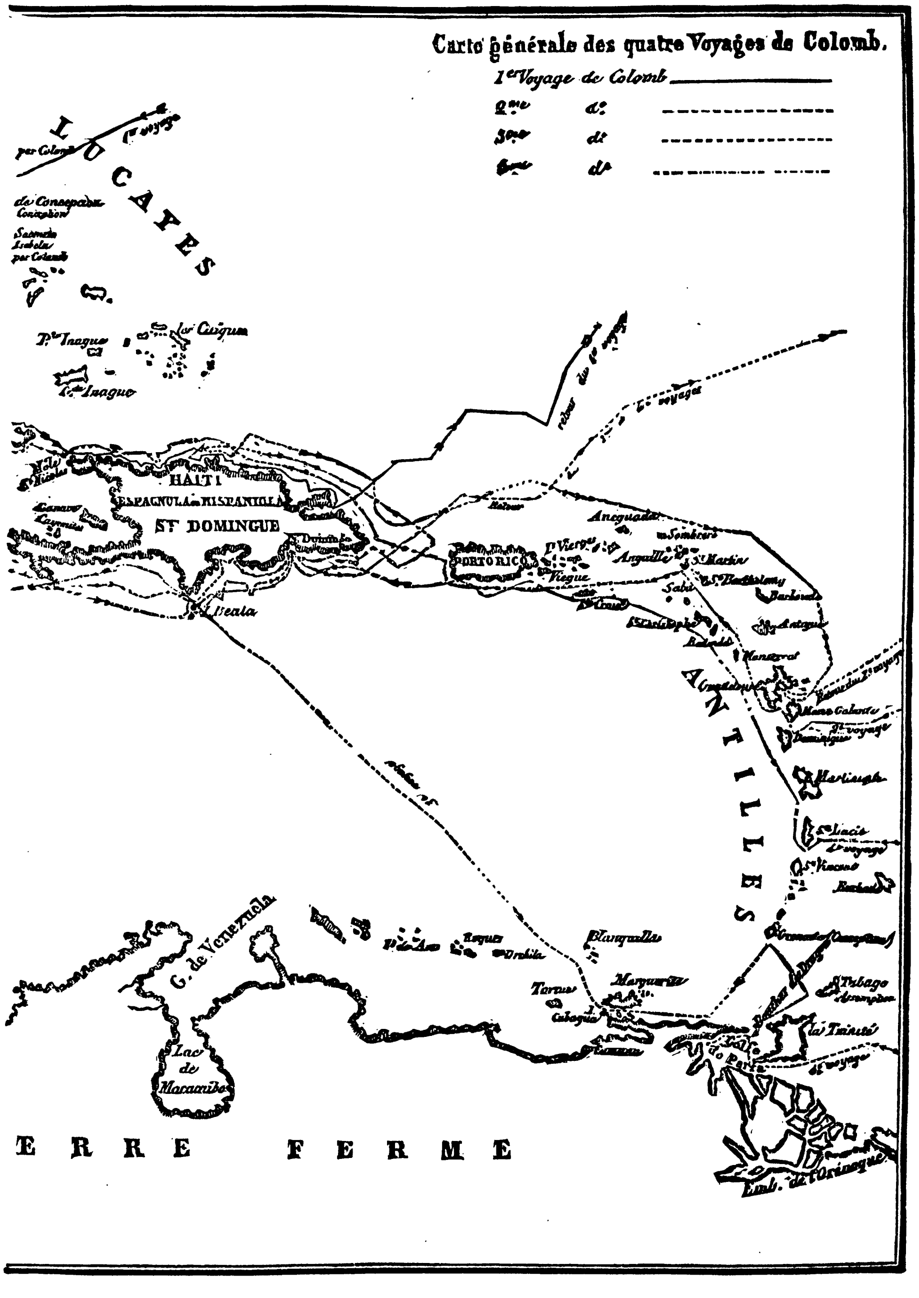
[2] Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, no. 126. The *Coronica de Aragon*, of Fabricius de Vagad, which was published in 1499, makes reference to the new discoveries (*Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, no. 9), as does the *Coronica van Coellen*, published at Cologne, 1499, where, on the verso of folio 339, it speaks of "new lands found, in which men roam like beasts" (Murphy, no. 254; Baer, *Incunabeln*, 1884, no. 172, at 160 marks; London Catalogue (1884), £12 10*s*.). In 1498, at Venice, was published Marc. Ant. Sabellicus' *In rapsodiam historiarum* (copy in British Museum), which has a brief account of Columbus' family and his early life. This was enlarged in the second part, published at Venice in 1504 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 21). An anchor lost by Columbus on this voyage, at Trinidad, is said to have been recovered in 1880 (*Bulletin de la Société Géographique d'Anvers*, v. 515).



MAP OF COLUMBUS' FOUR VOYAGES (WESTERN PART).[1]

---

[1] A reproduction of the map in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 179.



MAP OF COLUMBUS' FOUR VOYAGES.[1] (EASTERN PART.)

---

[1] A reproduction of the map in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 178.

to Ferdinand and Isabella a wild, despondent letter,[1] suggestive of alienation of mind. It brings the story of the voyage down only to July 7, 1503, leaving four months unrecorded. Pinelo says it was printed in the Spanish, as he wrote it; but no such print is known.[2] Navarrete found in the King's private library, at Madrid, a manuscript transcript of it, written, apparently, about the middle of the sixteenth century; and this he printed in his *Coleccion*.[3] It was translated into Italian by Costanzo Bayuera, of Brescia, and published at Venice, in 1505, as *Copia de la lettera per Colombo mandata*.[4] Cavaliere Morelli, the librarian of St. Mark's, reprinted it, with comments, at Bassano, in 1810, as *Lettera rarissima di Cristoforo Colombo*.[5] Navarrete prints two other accounts of this voyage, — one by Diego Porras;[6] the other by Diego Mendez, given in his last will, preserved in the Archives of the Duke of Veraguas.[7]

While Columbus was absent on this voyage, as already mentioned, Bergomas had recorded the Admiral's first discoveries.[8]

G. LIVES AND NOTICES OF COLUMBUS. — Ferdinand Columbus — if we accept as his the Italian publication of 1571 — tells us that the fatiguing career of his father, and his infirmities, prevented the Admiral from writing his own life. For ten years after his death there were various references to the new discoveries, but not a single attempt to commemorate, by even a brief sketch, the life of the discoverer. Such were the mentions in the *Commentariorum urbanorum libri* of Maffei,[9] published in 1506, and again in 1511; in Walter Ludd's *Speculi orbis*, etc.;[10] in F. Petrarca's *Chronica;*[11] and in the *Oratio*[12] of Marco Dandolo (Naples), — all in 1507. In the same year the narrative in the *Paesi novamente retrovati* (1507) established an account which was repeated in later editions, and was followed in the *Novus orbis* of 1532. The next year (1508) we find a reference in the *Oratio*[13] of Fernando Tellez at Rome; in the *Supplementi de le chroniche vulgare, novamente dal frate Jacobo Phillipo al anno* 1503 *vulgarizz., per Francesco C. Fiorentino* (Venice);[14] in Johannes Stamler's *Dyalogus;*[15] in the Ptolemy published at Rome with Ruysch's map; and in the *Collectanea*[16] of Baptista Fulgosus, published at Milan.

In 1509 there is reference to the discoveries in the *Opera nova* of the General of the Carmelites, Battista Mantuanus.[17] Somewhere, from 1510 to 1519, the *New Interlude*[18] presented Vespucius to the English public, rather than Columbus, as the discoverer of America, as had already been done by Waldseemüller at St. Dié. In 1511 Peter Martyr, in his first Decade, and Sylvanus, in his annotations of Ptolemy, drew attention to the New World; as did also Johannes Sobrarius in his *Panegyricum carmen de gestis heroicis divi Ferdinandi*

---

[1] *Que escribió D. Cristóbal Colon á los . . . Rey y Reina de España.* Cf. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 127. It is given, with an English translation, in Major's *Select Letters;* also in the *Relazione delle scoperte fatte da C. Colombo, da A. Vespucci, e da altri dal* 1492 *al* 1506, *tratta dai manoscritti della Biblioteca di Ferrara e pubblicata per la prima volta ed annotata dal Prof. G. Ferraro*, at Bologna, in 1875, as no. 144 of the *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo* xiii *al* xvii. A French translation is given in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 174.

[2] It is usually said that Ferdinand Columbus asserts it was printed; but Harrisse says he can find no such statement in Ferdinand's book.

[3] Vol. i. pp. 277-313.

[4] It is a little quarto of six leaves and an additional blank leaf (Lenox, *Scyllacius*, p. lxi; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 36). There is a copy in the Marciana, which Harrisse compared with the Morelli reprint, and says he found the latter extremely faithful (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 17).

[5] Leclerc, no. 129.

[6] In Italian in Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*, p. 396.

[7] This is also in Italian in Torre, p. 401, and in English in Major's *Select Letters*.

[8] Stevens (*Notes*, etc., p. 31) is said by Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, p. 35) to be in error in saying that Valentim Fernandez's early collection of Voyages, in Portuguese, and called *Marco Paulo*, etc., has any reference to Columbus.

[9] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 43, 67, and p. 463; *Additions*, nos. 22, 40; Thomassy, *Les papes géographes*.

[10] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 49. See the chapter on Vespucius.

[11] Ibid., *Additions*, no. 27.

[12] Ibid., no. 28.

[13] Ibid., no. 30.

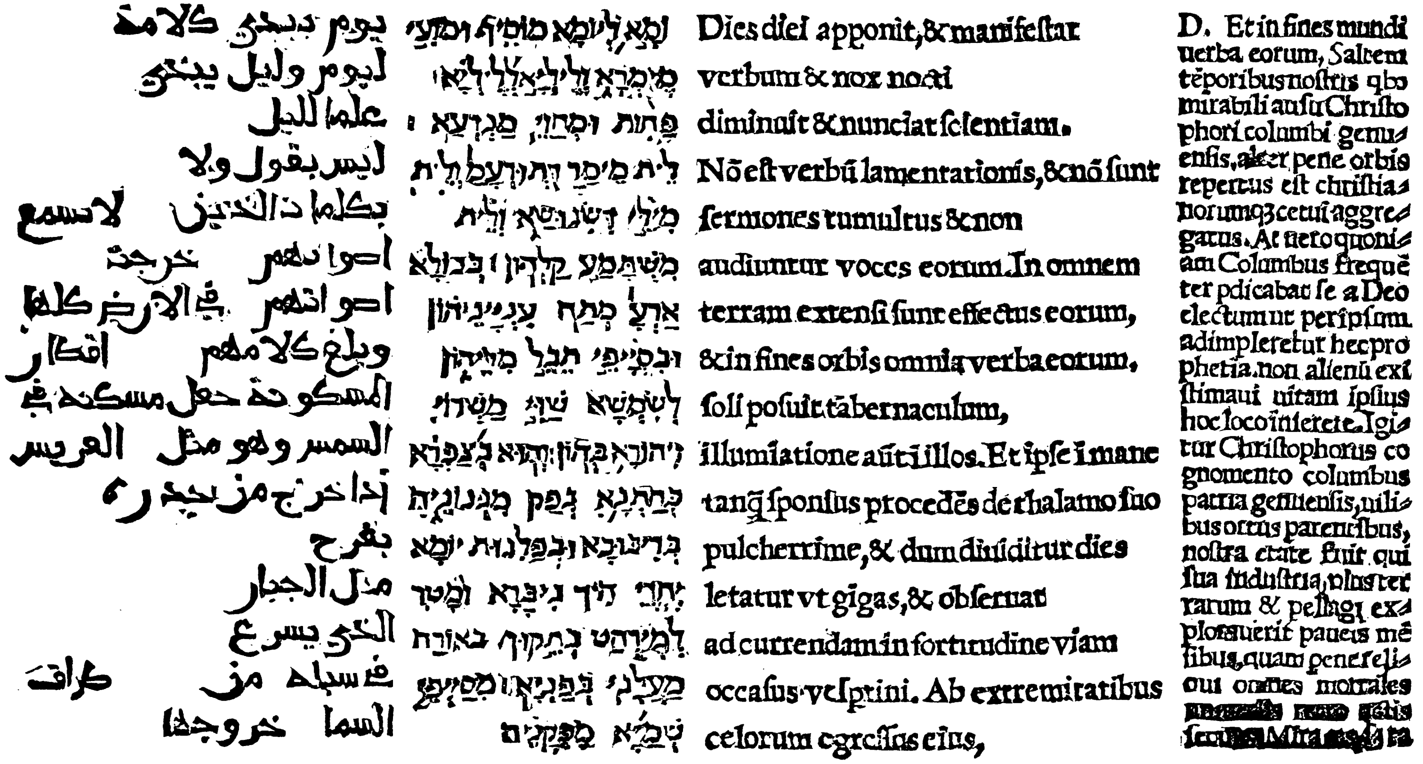
[14] Sabin, vol. vi. no. 24,395.

[15] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 51, 52; Murphy, no. 2,353; Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 2,609. There are copies in the Library of Congress, Harvard College Library, etc.

[16] Sabin, vol. vii. no. 26,140; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 39; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 34; Graesse, ii. 645; Brunet, ii. 1421. There were later editions in 1518, 1565, 1567, 1578, 1604, 1726, etc.

[17] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 35.

[18] See Vol. III. pp. 16, 199; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, pp. 464, 518; and *Additions*, no. 38.



يوم يبدي كلامة
ليوم وليل يبدي
علما لليل
ليس بقول ولا
بكلام ذالذين لا يسمع
اصواتهم خرجت
اصواتهم في الارض كلها
وبلغ كلامهم اقطار
المسكونة جعل مسكنه في
الشمس وهو مثل العريس
اذا خرج من خدره
بفرح
مثل الجبار
الذي يسرع
في سبله من طرف
السما خروجها

יומא ליומא מוסיף ומחוי
מימרא וליליא לליליא
פחות ומחוי מנדעא
לית מימר דתורעמלית
מלי דשגושא ולית
משתמע קלהון ובכולא
ארע מתח ענייניהון
ובסייפי תבל מיליהון
לשמשא שוי משרוי
ויהורא בהון והוא כצפרא
כחתנא נפק מגנוניה
ברטובא ובפלגות יומא
יחדי היך גיברא ומטר
למירהט בתקוף באורח
מעלני דפניא ומסייפי
שמיא מפקניה

Dies diei apponit, & manifeſtat
verbum & nox nocti
diminuit & nunciat ſcientiam.
Nõ eſt verbũ lamentationis, & nõ ſunt
ſermones tumultus & non
audiuntur voces eorum. In omnem
terram extenſi ſunt effectus eorum,
& in fines orbis omnia verba eorum.
ſoli poſuit tabernaculum,
illumiatione aũt illos. Et ipſe ĩ mane
tanq̃ ſponſus procedẽs de thalamo ſuo
pulcherrime, & dum diuiditur dies
letatur vt gigas, & obſeruat
ad currendam in fortitudine viam
occaſus veſptini. Ab extremitatibus
celorum egreſſus eius,

D. Et in fines mundi
uerba eorum, Saltem
tẽporibus noſtris qbꝰ
mirabili auſu Chriſto
phori columbi genu-
enſis, alter pene orbis
repertus eſt chriſtia-
norumq; cetui aggre-
gatus. At uero quoni-
am Columbus frequẽ-
ter pdicabat ſe a Deo
electum ut per ipſum
adimpleretur hec pro
phetia. non alienũ exi
ſtimaui uitam ipſius
hoc loco inſerere. Igi-
tur Chriſtophorus co
gnomento columbus
patria genuenſis, uili-
bus ortus parentibus,
noſtra etate fuit qui
ſua induſtria, plus ter
rarum & pelagi ex-
plorauerit paucis mẽ
ſibus, quam pene reli-
qui omnes mortales
[illegible]
[illegible] Mira [illegible]

THE GIUSTINIANI PSALTER.[1]

---

[1] Fac-simile of a portion of the page of the Giustiniani Psalter, which shows the beginning of the marginal note on Columbus.

Catholici.[1] The Stobnicza (Cracow) Appendix to Ptolemy presented a new map of the Indies in 1512; and the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, of the same date, recorded the appearance of some of the wild men of the West in Rouen, brought over by a Dieppe vessel. Some copies, at least, of Antonio de Lebrija's edition of *Prudentii opera*, printed at Lucca, 1512, afford another instance of an early mention of the New World.[2] Again, in 1513, a new edition of Ptolemy gave the world what is thought to have been a map by Columbus himself; and in the same year there was a *Supplementum supplementi* of Jacobo Philippo, of Bergomas.[3] In 1514 the *De natura locorum* (Vienna), of Albertus Magnus, points again to Vespucius instead of Columbus;[4] but Cataneo, in a poem on Genoa,[5] does not forget her son, Columbus.

These, as books have preserved them for us, are about all the contemporary references to the life of the great discoverer for the first ten years after his death.[6] In 1516, where we might least expect it, we find the earliest small gathering of the facts of his life. In the year of Columbus' death, Agostino Giustiniani had begun the compilation of a polyglot psalter, which was in this year (1516) ready for publication, and, with a dedication to Leo X., appeared in Genoa. The editor annotated the text, and, in a marginal note to verse four of the nineteenth Psalm, we find the earliest sketch of Columbus' life. Stevens[7] says of the note: "There are in it several points which we do not find elsewhere recorded, especially respecting the second voyage, and the survey of the south side of Cuba, as far as Evangelista, in May, 1494. Almost all other accounts of the second voyage, except that of Bernaldez, end before this Cuba excursion began."

Giustiniani, who was born in 1470, died in 1536, and his *Annali di Genoa*[8] was shortly afterward published (1537), in which, on folio ccxlix, he gave another account of Columbus, which, being published by his executors with his revision, repeated some errors or opinions of the earlier Psalter account. These were not pleasing to Ferdinand Columbus,[9] the son of the Admiral, — particularly the statement that Columbus was born of low parentage,—"vilibus ortus parentibus." Stevens points out how Ferdinand accuses Giustiniani of telling fourteen lies about the discoverer; "but on hunting them out, they all appear to be of trifling consequence, amounting to little more than that Columbus sprang from humble parents, and that he and his father were poor, earning a livelihood by honest toil."[10]

To correct what, either from pride or from other reasons, he considered the falsities of the Psalter, Ferdinand was now prompted to compose a Life of his father, — or at least such was, until recently, the universal opinion of his authorship of the book. As to Ferdinand's own relations to that father there is some doubt, or pretence of doubt, particularly on the part of those who have found the general belief in, and pretty conclusive evidence concerning, the illegitimacy of Ferdinand an obstacle in establishing the highly moral character which a saint, like Columbus, should have.[11]

---

[1] In the section "inventio novarum insularum," *Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, no. 39.

[2] Brunet, iv. 915; *Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, no. 44.

[3] Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 57; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 73. There is a copy in the Boston Athenæum.

[4] Carter-Brown, no. 48; Murphy, no. 32.

[5] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 75.

[6] Cf. bibliographical note on Columbus in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 190.

[7] *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 1,554; *Bibl. Hist.* (1870), no. 1,661; J. J. Cooke, no. 2,092; Murphy, no. 2,042 (bought by Cornell University); Panzer, vii. 63; Graesse, v. 469; Brunet, iv. 919; Rosenthal (1884); Baer, *Incunabeln* (1884), no. 116. Cf. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 74, for the note and translation; and other versions in *Historical Magazine*, December, 1862, and in the *Christian Examiner*, September, 1858. Also, see *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 88, for a full account; and the reduced fac-simile of title in Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 51. The book is not very rare, though becoming so, since, as the French sale-catalogues say, referring to the note, "Cette particularité fait de ce livre un objet de haute curiosité pour les collectionneurs Américains." Harrisse says of it: "Although prohibited, confiscated, and otherwise ill-treated by the Court of Rome and the city authorities of Genoa, this work is frequently met with, — owing, perhaps, to the fact that two thousand copies were printed, of which only five hundred found purchasers, while the fifty on vellum were distributed among the sovereigns of Europe and Asia." (Cf. Van Praet, *Catalogue des livres sur vélin*, i. 8.) Its price is, however, increasing. Forty years ago Rich priced it at eighteen shillings. Recent quotations put it, in London and Paris, at £7, 100 marks, and 110 francs. The Editor has used the copy in the Harvard College Library, and in the Boston Public Library, — which last belonged to George Ticknor, who had used George Livermore's copy before he himself possessed the book. Ticknor's *Spanish Literature*, i. 188; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, x. 431.

[8] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 220; Stevens, *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 242. There is a copy in Harvard College Library.

[9] We know that Ferdinand bought a copy of this book in 1537; cf. Harrisse, *Fernand Colomb*, p. 27.

[10] *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 1,554.

[11] On the question of the connection of Columbus with his second companion, Donna Beatrix Enriquez who was of a respectable family in Cordova, — that there was a marriage tie has been claimed by Herrera,

Ferdinand Columbus, or Fernando Colon, was born three or four years before his father sailed on his first voyage.[1] His father's favor at Court opened the way, and in attendance upon Prince Juan and Queen Isabella he gained a good education. When Columbus went on his fourth voyage, in 1502, the boy, then thirteen years of age, accompanied his father. It is said that he made two other voyages to the New World; but Harrisse could only find proof of one. His later years were passed as a courtier, in attendance upon Charles V. on his travels, and in literary pursuits, by which he acquired a name for learning. He had the papers of his father,[2] and he is best known by the Life of Columbus which passes under his name. If it was written in Spanish, it is not known in its original form, and has not been traced since Luis Colon, the Duque de Veraguas, son of Diego, took the manuscript to Genoa about 1568. There is some uncertainty about its later history; but it appeared in 1571 at Venice in an Italian version made by Alfonzo de Ulloa, and was entitled *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo; nelle quali s' ha particolare & vera relatione della vita, & de' fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo, suo padre.* It is thought that this translation was made from an inaccurate copy of the manuscript, and moreover badly made. It begins the story of the Admiral's life with his fifty-sixth year, or thereabout; and it has been surmised that an account of his earlier years — if, indeed, the original draft contained it — was omitted, so as not to obscure, by poverty and humble station, the beginnings of a luminous career.[3] Ferdinand died at Seville, July 12, 1539,[4] and bequeathed, conditionally, his library to the Cathedral. The collection then contained about twenty thousand volumes, in print and manuscript; and it is still preserved there, though, according to Harrisse, much neglected since 1709, and reduced to about four thousand volumes. It is known as the Biblioteca Colombina.[5] Spotorno says that this

---

Tiraboschi, Bossi, Roselly de Lorgues, Barry, and Cadoret (*Vie de Colomb*, Paris, 1869 appendix); and that there was no such tie, by Napione (*Patria di Colombo* and Introduction to *Codice Colombo-Americano*), Spotorno, Navarrete, Humboldt, and Irving. Cf. *Historical Magazine* (August, 1867), p. 225; *Revue des questions historiques* (1879), xxv. 213; Angelo Sanguinetti's *Sull' origine di Ferdinando Colombo* (Genoa, 1876), p. 55; Giuseppe Antonio Dondero's *L'onestá di Cristoforo Colombo* (Genoa, 1877), p. 213; Harrisse, *Fernand Colomb*, p. 2; D'Avezac, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (1872), p. 19. It may be noted that Ferdinand de Galardi, in dedicating his *Traité politique* (Leyden, 1660) to Don Pedro Colon, refers to Ferdinand Colon as "Fernando Henriquez." (Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 1,147).

The inference from Columbus' final testamentary language is certainly against the lady's chastity. In his codicil he enjoins his son Diego to provide for the respectable maintenance of the mother of Ferdinand, "for the discharge of my conscience, for it weighs heavy on my soul." Irving and others refer to this as the compunction of the last hours of the testator. De Lorgues tries to show that this codicil was made April 1, 1502 (though others claim that the document of this date was another will, not yet found), and only copied at Segovia, Aug. 25, 1505, and deposited in legal form with a notary at Valladolid, May 19, 1506, Columbus dying May 20, — the effect of all which is only to carry back, much to Columbus' credit, the compunction to an earlier date. The will (1498), but not the codicil, is given in Irving, app. xxxiv. Cancellieri, in his *Dissertazioni*, gives it imperfectly; but it is accurately given in the *Transactions* of the Genoa Academy. Cf. Harrisse (*Notes on Columbus*) p. 160; Torre's *Scritti di Colombo; Colon en Quisqueya*, Santo Domingo (1877), pp. 81, 99; *Cartas y testamento*, Madrid, 1880; Navarrete, *Coleccion*; and elsewhere.

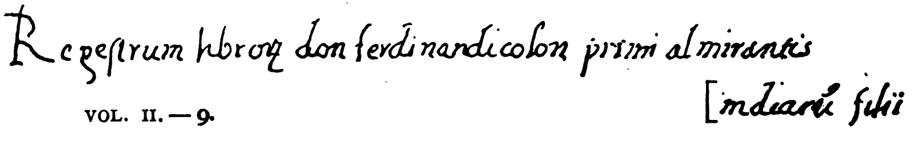
[1] De Lorgues, on the authority of Zúñiga (*Anales eclesiásticos*, p. 496), says he was born Aug. 29, 1487, and not Aug. 15, 1488, as Navarrete and Humboldt had said. Harrisse (*Fernand Colomb*, p. 1) alleges the authority of the executor of his will for the date Aug. 15, 1488. The inscription on his supposed grave would make him born Sept. 28, 1488.

[2] Prescott (*Ferdinand and Isabella*, ii. 507) speaks of Ferdinand Columbus' "experience and opportunities, combined with uncommon literary attainments." Harrisse calculates his income from the bequest of his father, and from pensions, at about 180,000 francs of the present day. (*Fernand Colomb*, p. 29.)

[3] There has been close scrutiny of the publications of Europe in all tongues for the half century and more following the sketch of Guistiniani in 1516, till the publication of the earliest considerable account of Columbus in the Ulloa version of 1571, to gather some records of the growth or vicissitudes of the fame of the great discoverer, and of the interest felt by the European public in the progress of events in the New World. Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, and his *Additions* to the same, give us the completest record down to 1550, coupled with the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* for the whole period.

[4] A copy of the inscription on his tomb in Seville, with a communication by George Sumner, is printed in Major's *Select Letters of Columbus*, p. lxxxi.

[5] Cf. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, and a Memoir of Ferdinand, by Eustaquio Fernandez de Navarrete, in *Colec. de doc. inéd.*, vol. xvi. A fac-simile of the first page of the manuscript catalogue of the books, made by Ferdinand himself, is given in Harrisse's *D. Fernando Colon*, of which the annexed is the heading:—


Regestrum librorum don ferdinandi colon primi almirantis
[indiarum filii

Luis Colon, a person of debauched character, brought this manuscript in the Spanish language to Genoa, and left it in the hands of Baliano de Fornari, from whom it passed to another patrician, Giovanni Baptista Marini, who procured Ulloa to make the Italian version in which it was first published.[1]

Somewhat of a controversial interest has been created of late years by the critiques of Henry Harrisse on Ferdinand Columbus and his Life of his father, questioning the usually accepted statements in Spotorno's introduction of the *Codice* of 1823. Harrisse undertakes to show that the manuscript was never in Don Luis' hands, and that Ferdinand could not have written it. He counts it as strange that if such a manuscript existed in Spain not a single writer in print previous to 1571 refers to it. "About ten years ago," says Henry Stevens,[2] "a society of Andalusian bibliographers was formed at Seville. Their first publication was a fierce Hispano-French attack on the authenticity of the Life of Columbus by his second son, Ferdinand, written by Henri Harrisse in French, and translated by one of the Seville biblióﬁlos, and adopted and published by the Society. The book [by Columbus' son] is boldly pronounced a forgery and a fraud on Ferdinand Columbus. Some fifteen reasons are given in proof of these charges, all of which, after abundant research and study, are pronounced frivolous, false, and groundless." Such is Mr. Stevens's view, colored or not by the antipathy which on more than one occasion has been shown to be reciprocal in the references of Stevens and Harrisse, one to the other, in sundry publications.[3] The views of Harrisse were also expressed in the supplemental volume of his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, published as *Additions* in 1872. In this he says, regarding the Life of Columbus: "It was not originally written by the son of the bold navigator; and many of the circumstances it relates have to be challenged, and weighed with the utmost care and impartiality."

The authenticity of the book was ably sustained by D'Avezac before the French Academy in a paper which was printed in 1873 as *Le livre de Ferdinand Colomb: Revue critique des allégations proposées contre son authenticité.* Harrisse replied in 1875 in a pamphlet of fifty-eight pages, entitled *L'histoire de C. Colomb attribuée à son fils Fernand: Examen critique du mémoire lu par M. d'Avezac à l'Académie*, 8, 13, 22 *Août*, 1873. There were other disputants on the question.[4]

The catalogue of the Colombina Library as made by Ferdinand shows that it contained originally a manuscript Life of the Admiral written about 1525 by Ferdinand Perez de Oliva, who presumably had the aid of Ferdinand Columbus himself; but no trace of this Life now exists,[5] unless, as Harrisse ventures to conjecture, it may

---

There is a list of the books in B. Gallardo's *Ensayo de una bibliotheca de libros españoles raros*. Harrisse gives the fullest account of Ferdinand and his migrations, which can be in part traced by the inscriptions in his books of the place of their purchase; for he had the habit of so marking them. Cf. a paper on Ferdinand, by W. M. Wood, in *Once a Week*, xii. 165.

[1] Barcia says that Baliano began printing it simultaneously in Spanish, Italian, and Latin; but only the Italian seems to have been completed, or at least is the only one known to bibliographers. (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 24.) Oettinger (*Bibl. biog.*, Leipsic, 1850) is in error in giving an edition at Madrid in 1530. The 1571 Italian edition is very rare; there are copies in Harvard College, Carter-Brown, and Lenox libraries. Rich priced it in 1832 at £1 10*s*. Leclerc (no. 138) prices it at 200 francs. The Sobolewski copy (no. 3,756) sold in 1873 for 285 francs, was again sold in 1884 in the Court Sale, no. 77. The *Murphy Catalogue* (no. 2,881) shows a copy. This Ulloa version has since appeared somewhat altered, with several letters added, — in 1614 (Milan, priced in 1832, by Rich, at £1 10*s*.; recently, at 75 francs; Carter-Brown, ii. 165); in 1676 (Venice, Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,141, priced at 35 francs and 45 marks); in 1678 (Venice, Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,181, priced at 50 francs); in 1681 (Paris, Court Sale, no. 79); in 1685 (Venice, Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,310, priced at £1 8*s*.); and later, in 1709 (Harvard College Library), 1728, etc.; and for the last time in 1867, revised by Giulio Antimaco, published in London, though of Italian manufacture. Cancellieri cites editions of 1618 and 1672. A French translation, *La Vie de Cristofle Colomb*, was made by Cotolendi, and published in 1681 at Paris. There are copies in the Harvard College and Carter-Brown (*Catalogue*, vol. ii. no. 1,215) libraries. It is worth from $6 to $10. A new French version, "traduite et annotée par E. Muller," appeared in Paris in 1879, the editor calling the 1681 version "tronqué, incorrect, décharné, glacial." An English version appears in the chief collections of Voyages and Travels, — Churchill (ii. 479), Kerr (iii. 1), and Pinkerton (xii. 1). Barcia gave it a Spanish dress after Ulloa's, and this was printed in his *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias occidentales*, at Madrid, in 1749, being found in vol. i. pp. 1–128. (Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 893.)

[2] *Historical Collections* (1881), vol. i. no. 1,379.

[3] The Spanish title of Harrisse's book is *D. Fernando Colon, historiador de su padre: Ensayo crítico. Sevilla*, 1871. It was not published as originally written till the next year (1872), when it bore the title, *Fernand Colomb: sa vie, ses œuvres; Essai critique.* Paris, Tross, 1872. Cf. Arana, *Bibliog. de obras anónimas* Santiago de Chile (1882), no. 176.

[4] Le Comte Adolphe de Circourt in the *Revue des questions historiques*, xi. 520; and *Ausland* (1873), p. 241, etc.

[5] Harrisse, *Fernand Colomb*, p. 152.

have been in some sort the basis of what now passes for the work of Ferdinand.

For a long time after the *Historie* of 1571 there was no considerable account of Columbus printed. Editions of Ptolemy, Peter Martyr, Oviedo, Grynæus, and other general books, made reference to his discoveries; but the next earliest distinct sketch appears to be that in the *Elogia virorum illustrium* of Jovius, printed in 1551 at Florence, and the Italian version made by Domenichi, printed in 1554.[1] Ramusio's third volume, in 1556, gave the story greater currency than before; but such a book as Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glasse*, in its chapter on America, utterly ignores Columbus in 1559.[2] We get what may probably be called the hearsay reports of Columbus' exploits in the *Mondo nuovo* of Benzoni, first printed at Venice in 1565. There was a brief memorial in the *Clarorum Ligurum elogia* of Ubertus Folieta, published at Rome in 1573.[3] In 1581 his voyages were commemorated in an historical poem, *Laurentii Gambaræ Brixiani de navigatione Christophori Columbi*, published at Rome.[4] Boissard, of the De Bry coterie at Frankfort in 1597, included Columbus in his *Icones virorum illustrium;*[5] and Buonfiglio Costanzo, in 1604, commemorated him in the *Historia Siciliana*, published at Venice.[6]

Meanwhile the story of Columbus' voyages was told at last with all the authority of official sanction in the *Historia general* of Herrera. This historian, or rather annalist, was born in 1549, and died in 1625;[7] and the appointment of historiographer given him by Philip II. was continued by the third and fourth monarchs of that name. There has been little disagreement as to his helpfulness to his successors. All critics place him easily first among the earlier writers; and Muñoz, Robertson, Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, and many others have united in praise of his research, candor, and justness, while they found his literary skill compromised in a measure by his chronological method. Irving found that Herrera depended so much on Las Casas that it was best in many cases to go to that earlier writer in preference;[8] and Muñoz thinks only Herrera's judicial quality preserved for him a distinct character throughout the agglutinizing process by which he constructed his book. His latest critic, Hubert H. Bancroft,[9] calls his style "bald and accurately prolix, his method slavishly chronological," with evidence everywhere in his book of "inexperience and incompetent assistance," resulting in "notes badly extracted, discrepancies, and inconsistencies." The bibliography of Herrera is well done in Sabin.[10]

Herrera had already published (1591) a monograph on the history of Portugal and the conquest (1582–1583) of the Azores, when he produced at Madrid his great work, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos*, in eight decades, four of which, in two volumes, were published in 1601, and the others in 1615.[11] It has fourteen maps; and there should be bound with it, though often found separate, a ninth part, called *Descripcion de las Indias occidentales*.[12] Of the composite work, embracing the nine parts, the best edition is usually held to be one edited by Gonzales Barcia, and supplied by him with an index, which was printed in Madrid during 1727, 1728,

---

[1] Sabin, vol. vii. no. 27,478. Also in 1558, 1559.

[2] Sabin, vol. v. no. 17,971.

[3] Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 293.

[4] Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 340; Leclerc, nos. 226–228; J. J. Cooke, no. 575. There were other editions in 1583 and 1585; they have a map of Columbus' discoveries. Sabin, vol. vii. no. 26,500.

[5] Sabin, vol. ii. no. 6,161–6,162; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 509. There was a second edition, *Bibliotheca, sive thesaurus virtutis et gloriæ*, in 1628.

[6] Sabin, vol. iii. no. 9,195.

[7] He assumed his mother's name, but sometimes added his father's, — Herrera y Tordesillas. Irving (app. xxxi. to his *Life of Columbus*) says he was born in 1565.

[8] *Life of Columbus*, app. xxxi.; Herrera's account of Columbus is given in Kerr's *Voyages*, iii. 242.

[9] *Central America*, i. 317; cf. his *Chroniclers*, p. 22.

[10] *Dictionary;* also issued separately with that of Hennepin.

[11] In comparing Rich's (1832, £4 4*s.*) and recent prices, there does not seem to be much appreciation in the value of the book during the last fifty years for ordinary copies; but Quaritch has priced the Beckford (no. 735, copy so high as £52. There are copies in the Library of Congress, Carter-Brown, Harvard College, and Boston Public Library. Cf. *Ticknor Catalogue;* Sabin, no. 31,544; Carter-Brown, ii. 2; Murphy, 1206; Court, 169.

[12] Sabin, no. 31,539. This *Descripcion* was translated into Latin by Barlæus, and with other tracts joined to it was printed at Amsterdam, in 1622, as *Novus orbis sive descriptio Indiæ occidentalis* (Carter-Brown) vol. ii., no. 266; Sabin, no. 31,540; it is in our principal libraries, and is worth $10 or $15). It copies the maps of the Madrid edition, and is frequently cited as Colin's edition. The Latin was used in 1624 in part by De Bry, part xii. of the *Grands voyages*. (Camus, pp. 147, 160; Tiele, pp. 56, 312, who followed other engravings than Herrera's for the Incas). There was a Dutch version, *Nieuwe Werelt*, by the same publisher, in 1622 (Sabin, no. 31,542; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 264), and a French (Sabin, no. 31,543; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 265; Rich, 1832, £1 10*s.*; Quaritch, £2 12*s.* 6*d.*).

1729, and 1730, so that copies are found with all those dates, though it is commonly cited as of 1730.[1]

The principal chronicles of Spanish affairs in the seventeenth century contributed more or less to Columbus' fame;[2] and he is commemorated in the Dutch compilation of Van den Bos, *Leven en Daden der Zeehelden*, published at Amsterdam in 1676, and in a German translation in 1681.[3]

There were a hundred years yet to pass before Robertson's *History of America* gave Columbus a prominence in the work of a historian of established fame; but this Scotch historian was forced to write without any knowledge of Columbus' own narratives.

In 1781 the earliest of the special Italian commemorations appeared at Parma, in J. Durazzo's *Elogi storici* on Columbus and Doria.[4] Chevalier de Langeac in 1782 added to his poem, *Colomb dans les fers à Ferdinand et Isabelle*, a memoir of Columbus.[5]

The earliest commemoration in the United States was in 1792, on the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery, celebrated by the Massachusetts Historical Society, when Dr. Jeremy Belknap delivered an historical discourse,[6] included later with large additions in his well-known *American Biography*. The unfinished history of Muñoz harbingered, in 1793, the revival in Europe of the study of his career. Finally, the series of modern Lives of Columbus began in 1818 with the publication at Milan of Luigi Bossi's *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo, scritta e corredata di nuove osservazioni*.[7] In 1823 the introduction by Spotorno to the *Codice*, and in 1825 the *Coleccion* of Navarrete, brought much new material to light; and the first to make use of it were Irving, in his *Life of Columbus*, 1828,[8] and Humboldt, in his *Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent*, published originally, in 1834, in a single volume; and again in five volumes, between 1836 and 1839.[9] "No one," says Ticknor,[10] "has comprehended the character of Columbus as Humboldt has, — its generosity, its enthusiasm, its far-reaching visions,

AlHumboldt

---

[1] There are copies in the Boston Athenæum, Boston Public, and Harvard College libraries (Sabin, nos. 31,541, 31,546; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 376, 450; Huth, vol. ii. no. 683; Leclerc, no. 278, one hundred and thirty francs; Field, no. 689; ordinary copies are priced at £3 or £4; large paper at £10 or £12). A rival but inferior edition was issued at Antwerp in 1728, without maps, and with De Bry's instead of Herrera's engravings (Sabin, no. 31,545). A French version was begun at Paris in 1659, but was reissued in 1660–1670 in three volumes (Sabin, nos. 31,548–31,550; Field, no. 690; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 875; Leclerc, no. 282, sixty francs), including only three decades. Portions were included in the Dutch collection of Van der Aa (Sabin, nos. 31,551, etc.; Carter-Brown, iii. 111). It is also included in Hulsius, part xviii. (Carter Brown, i. 496). The English translation of the first three decades, by Captain John Stevens, is in six volumes, London, 1725–1726; but a good many liberties are taken with the text (Sabin, no. 31,557; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 355). New titles were given to the same sheets, in 1740, for what is called a second edition (Sabin, no. 31,558). "How many misstatements are attributed to Herrera which can be traced no nearer that author than Captain John Stevens's English translation? It is absolutely necessary to study this latter book to see where so many English and American authors have taken incorrect facts" (H. Stevens, *Bibliotheca Hist.*, p. xiii.).

[2] Such as the *Anales de Aragon*, 1610; the *Compendio historial de las chrónicas y universal historia de todos los reynos de España*, 1628; Zúñiga's *Annales eclesiasticos y seculares de Seville*, 1677; *Los reyes de Aragon, por Pedro Abarca*, 1682; and the *Monarquia de España, por Don Pedro Salazar de Mendoza*, 1770. The *Varones ilustres del nuevo mondo* of Pizarro y Orellana, published at Madrid in 1639, contained a Life of Columbus, as well as notices of Ojeda, Cortes, Pizarro, etc.

[3] Sabin, vol. ii. no. 6,440; Asher, no. 355; Trömel, no. 366; Muller (1872), no. 126.

[4] Sabin, vol. v. no. 21,418. Cf. Arana's *Bibliografia de obras anónimas*, Santiago de Chile (1882), no. 143.

[5] Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,879. Harrisse (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 190) enumerates some of the earlier and later poems, plays, sonnets, etc., wholly or incidentally illustrating the career of Columbus. Cf. also his *Fernand Colomb*, p. 131, and Larousse's *Grand dictionnaire universel*, vol. iv. The earliest mention of Columbus in English poetry is in Baptist Goodall's *Tryall of Trauell*, London, 1630.

[6] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 45; xii. 65.

[7] A French version, by C. M. Urano, was published at Paris in 1824; again in 1825. It is subjected to an examination, particularly as regards the charge of ingratitude against Ferdinand, in the French edition of Navarrete, i. 309 (Sabin, vol. ii. no. 6,464).

[8] There was a Spanish translation, made by José Garcia de Villalta, published in Madrid in 1833.

[9] In vol. iii., "De quelques faits relatifs à Colomb et à Vespuce." In vol. i. he reviews the state of knowledge on the subject in 1833. The German text, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, was printed in a translation by Jules Louis Ideler, of which the best edition is that of Berlin, 1852, edited by H. Müller. Humboldt never completed this work. The parts on the early maps, which he had intended, were later cursorily touched in his introduction to Ghillany's *Behaim*. Cf. D'Avezac's *Waltzemüller*, p. 2, and B. de Xivrey's *Des premières relations entre l'Amerique et l'Europe d'après les recherches de A. de Humboldt*, Paris, 1835, — taken from the *Revue de Paris*.

[10] *History of Spanish Literature*, i. 190.

which seemed watchful beforehand for the great scientific discovery of the sixteenth century." Prescott was warned by the popularity of Irving's narrative not to attempt to rival him; and his treatment of Columbus' career was confined to such a survey as would merely complete the picture of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.[1]

In 1844 there came the first intimation of a new style of biography, — a protest against Columbus' story being longer told by his natural enemies, as all who failed to recognize his pre-eminently saintly character were considered to be. There was a purpose in it to make the most possible of all his pious ejaculations, and of his intention, expressed in his letter to the Pope in 1502, to rescue the Holy City from the infidel, with his prospective army of ten thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot. The chief spokesman of this purpose has been Roselly de Lorgues. He first shadowed forth his purpose in his *La croix dans les deux mondes* in 1844. It was not till 1864 that he produced the full flower of his spirit in his *Christophe Colomb, Histoire de sa vie et de ses voyages d'après des documents authentiques tirés d'Espagne et d'Italie.*[2] This was followed, in 1874, by his *L'ambassadeur de Dieu et le Pape Pie IX.* All this, however, and much else by the abetters of the scheme of the canonization of Columbus which was urged on the Church, failed of its purpose; and the movement was suspended, for a while at least, because of an ultimate adverse determination.[3]

Of the other later lives of Columbus it remains to mention only the most considerable, or those of significant tendency.

The late Sir Arthur Helps wrote his *Spanish Conquest of America* with the aim of developing the results — political, ethnological, and economic — of the conquest, rather than the day-by-day progress of events, and with a primary regard to the rise of slavery. His *Life of Columbus* is simply certain chapters of this larger work excerpted and fitted in order.[4] Mr. Aaron Goodrich, in *A History of the so-called Christopher Columbus*, New York, 1874, makes a labored and somewhat inconsiderate effort, characterized by a certain peevish air, to prove Columbus the mere borrower of others' glories.[5]

In French, mention may be made of the Baron de Bonnefoux's *Vie de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1853,[6] and the Marquis de Belloy's *Christophe Colomb et la découverte du Nouveau Monde*, Paris, 1864.[7]

In German, under the impulse given by Humboldt, some fruitful labors have been given to Columbus and the early history of American discovery; but it is only necessary to mention the names of Forster,[8] Peschel,[9] and Ruge.[10]

H. PORTRAITS OF COLUMBUS. — Of Columbus there is no likeness whose claim to consideration is indisputable. We have descriptions of his person from two who knew him, — Oviedo and his own son Ferdinand; we have other

---

[1] Harrisse (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 50) speaks of Prescott as "eloquent but imaginative."

[2] The work was patronized by the Pope, and was reproduced in great luxury of ornamentation in 1879. An English abridgment and adaptation, by J. J. Barry, was republished in New York in 1869. A Dutch translation, *Leven en reizen van Columbus*, was printed at Utrecht in 1863.

[3] Some of the other contributions of this movement are these: Roselly de Lorgues, *Satan contre Christophe Colomb, ou la prétendue chute du serviteur de Dieu*, Paris, 1876; Tullio Dandolo's *I secoli di Dante e Colombo*, Milan, 1852, and his *Cristoforo Colombo, Genovese*, 1855; P. Ventura de Raulica's *Cristoforo Colombo rivendicato alla chiesa;* Eugène Cadoret, *La vie de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1869, — in advocacy of canonization; Le Baron van Brocken, *Des vicissitudes posthumes de Christophe Colomb, et de sa béatification possible*, Paris, 1865, — which enumerates most of the publications bearing on the grounds for canonization; Angelo Sanguineti, *La Canonizzazione di Cristoforo Colombo*, Genoa, 1875, — the same author had published a *Vita di Colombo* in 1846; *Sainteté de Christophe Colomb, résumé des mérites de ce serviteur de Dieu, traduit de l'Italien*, twenty-four pages; *Civiltà cattolica*, vol. vii.; a paper, "De l'influence de la religion dans les découvertes du XV^e^ siècle et dans la découverte de l'Amérique," in *Etudes par des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, October, 1876; Baldi, *Cristoforo Colombo glorificato dal voto dell' Episcopato Cattolico*, Genoa, 1881. A popular Catholic Life is Arthur George Knight's *Christopher Columbus*, London, 1877.

[4] There are various reviews of it indicated in Poole's *Index*, p. 29; cf. H. H. Bancroft's *Mexico*, ii. 488.

[5] A somewhat similar view is taken by Maury, in *Harpers' Monthly*, xlii. 425, 527, in "An Examination of the Claims of Columbus."

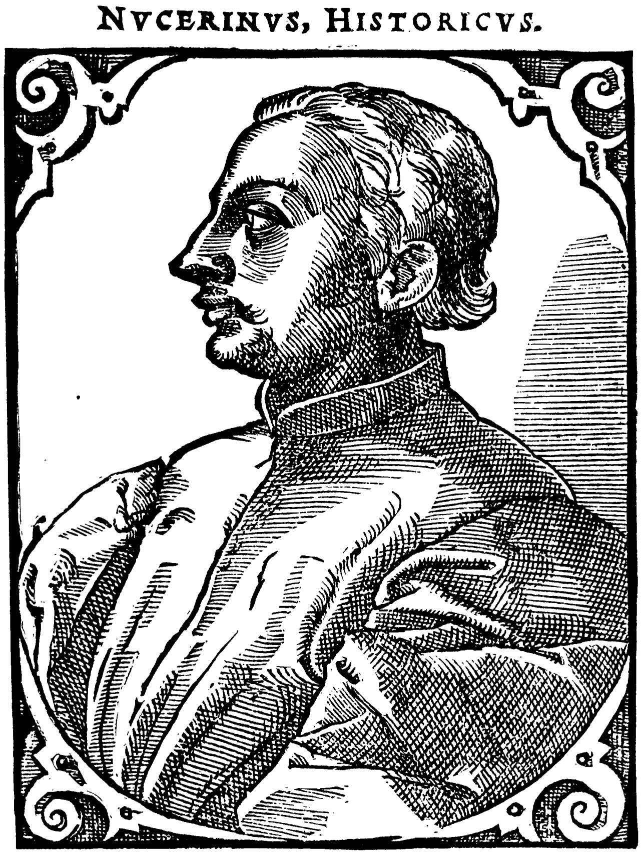
[6] From which the account of Columbus' early life is translated in Becher's *Landfall of Columbus*, pp. 1–58.

[7] An English translation, by R. S. H., appeared in Philadelphia in 1878. We regret not being able to have seen a new work by Henry Harrisse now in press: *Christophe Colomb, son origine, sa vie, ses voyages, sa famille, et ses descendants, d'après documents inédits, avec cinq tableaux généalogiques et un appendice documentaire.* [See *Postscript* following this chapter.]

[8] Fr. Forster, *Columbus, der Entdecker der Neuen Welt*, second edition, 1846.

[9] Oscar Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, second edition, 1877.

[10] Sophus Ruge, *Die Weltanschauung des Columbus*, 1876; *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 1883. Cf. Theodor Schott's "Columbus und seine Weltanschauung," in Virchow and Holtzendorff's *Vorträge*, xiii. 308.


NVCERINVS, HISTORICVS.

PAULUS JOVIUS.[1]

accounts from two who certainly knew his contemporaries, — Gomara and Benzoni; and in addition we possess the description given by Herrera, who had the best sources of information. From these we learn that his face was long, neither full nor thin; his cheek-bones rather high; his nose aquiline; his eyes light gray; his complexion fair, and high colored. His hair, which was of light color before thirty, became gray after that age. In the *Paesi novamente retrovati* of 1507 he is described as having a ruddy, elongated visage, and as possessing a lofty and noble stature.[2]

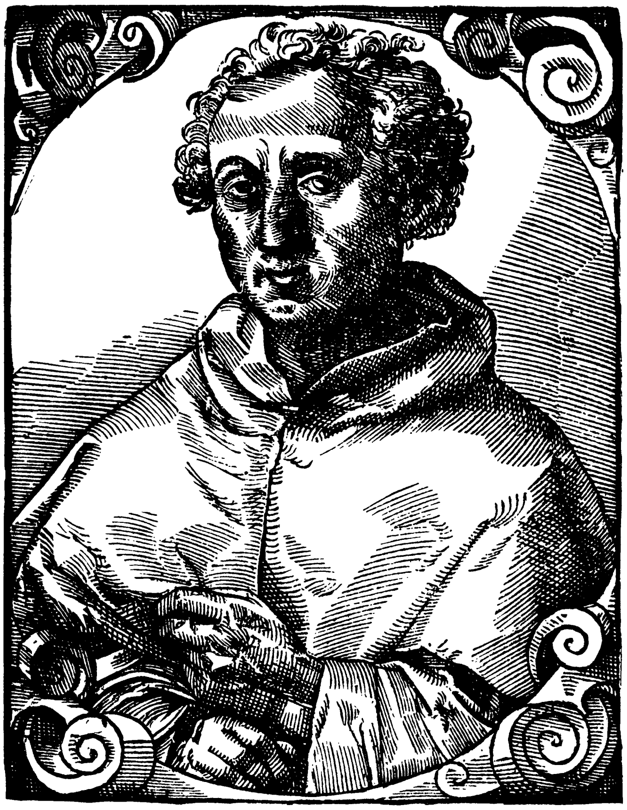
These are the test with which to challenge the very numerous so-called likenesses of Columbus; and it must be confessed not a single one, when you take into consideration the accessories and costume, warrants us in believing beyond dispute that we can bring before us the figure of the discoverer as he lived. Such is the opinion of Feuillet de Conches, who has produced the best critical essay on the subject yet written.[3]

---

[1] Fac-simile of cut in Reusner's *Icones*, Basle, 1589. There is another cut in *Pauli Jovii elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Basle, 1575 (copy in Harvard College Library).

[2] Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 50.

[3] It appeared in the *Revue contemporaine*, xxiv. 484, and was drawn out by a paper on a newly discovered portrait of Columbus, which had been printed by Jomard in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie;* by Valentin Carderera's *Informe sobre los retratos de Cristóbal Colon*, printed by the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, in 1851, in their *Memorias*, vol. viii.; and by an article, by Isidore Löwenstern, of the Academy of Sciences at Turin, in the *Revue Archéologique*, x. 181. The paper by Jomard was the incentive of Carderera;



COLUMBUS (*after Giovio*).[1]

A vignette on the map of La Cosa, dated 1500, represents Saint Christopher bearing on his shoulders the infant Christ across a stream. This has been considered symbolical of the purpose of Columbus in his discoveries; and upholders of the movement to procure his canonization, like De Lorgues, have claimed that La Cosa represented the features of Columbus in the face of Saint Christopher. It has also been claimed that Herrera must have been of the same opinion, since the likeness given by that historian can be imagined to be an enlargement of the head on the map. This theory is hardly accepted, however, by the critics.[2]

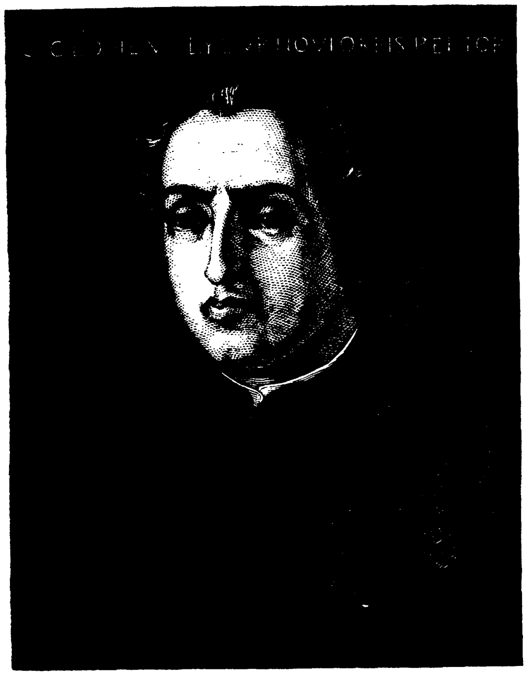
---

both treatises induced the review of Löwenstern; while Feuillet de Conches fairly summed up the results. There has been no thorough account in English. A brief letter on the subject by Irving (printed in the *Life of Irving*, vol. iv.) was all there was till Professor J. D. Butler recently traced the pedigree of the Yanez picture, a copy of which was lately given by Governor Fairchild to the Historical Society of Wisconsin. Cf. Butler's paper in the *Collections* of that Society, vol. ix. p. 76 (also printed separately); and articles in *Lippincott's Magazine*, March, 1883, and *The Nation*, Nov. 16, 1882.

[1] Fac-simile of the woodcut in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basle, 1596), p. 124. There are copies in the Boston Athenæum and Boston Public Library. It is also copied in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 81, from whom Hazard (*Santo Domingo*, New York, 1873, p. 7) takes it. The 1575 edition is in Harvard College Library, and the same portrait is on p. 191. This cut is also re-engraved in Jules Verne's *La découverte de la terre*, p. 113.

[2] The vignette is given in colored fac-simile in Major's *Select Letters of Columbus*, 2d edition. Herrera's picture was reproduced in the English translation by Stevens, and has been accepted in so late a publication as Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, i. 99. Cf. also the portrait in the 1727–1730 edition of Herrera, and its equivalent in Montanus, as shown on a later page. There is a vignette portrait on the titlepage of the 1601 edition of Herrera.

Discarding the La Cosa vignette, the earliest claimant now known is an engraving published in the *Elogia virorum illustrium* (1575)[1] of Paolo Giovio (Paulus Jovius, in the Latin form). This woodcut is thought to have been copied from a picture which Jovius had placed in the gallery of notable people which he had formed in his villa at Lake Como. That collection is now scattered, and the Columbus picture cannot be traced; but that there was a portrait of the discoverer there, we know from the edition of Vasari's *Lives of the Painters* printed by Giunti at Florence (1568), wherein is a list of the pictures, which includes likenesses of Vespucius, Cortes, and Magellan, besides that of "Colombo Genovese." This indicates a single picture; but it is held by some that Jovius must have possessed two pictures, since this woodcut gives Columbus the garb of a Franciscan, while the painting in the gallery at Florence, supposed also to follow a picture belonging to Jovius, gives him a mantle. A claim has been made that the original Jovius portrait is still in existence in what is known as the Yanez picture, now in the National Library in Madrid, which was purchased of Yanez in Granada in 1763. It had originally a close-fitting tunic and mantle, which was later painted over so as to show a robe and fur collar. This external painting has been removed; and the likeness bears a certain resemblance to the woodcut and to the Florence likeness. The Yanez canvas is certainly the oldest in Spain; and the present Duque de Veraguas considers it the most authentic of all the portraits.[3] The annexed cut of it is taken from an engraving in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (p. 235). It bears the inscription shown in the cut.[4]



THE YANEZ COLUMBUS
(*National Library, Madrid*).[2]

The woodcut (1575) already mentioned passes as the prototype of another engraving by Aliprando Capriolo, in the *Ritratti di cento capitani illustri*, published at Rome in 1596.[5]

---

[1] The edition of Florence, 1551, has no engravings, but gives the account of Columbus on p. 171.

[2] This picture was prominently brought before the Congress of Américanistes which assembled at Madrid in 1881, and not, it seems, without exciting suspicion of a contrived piece of flattery for the Duke of Veraguas, then presiding over this same congress. Cf. Cortambert, *Nouvelle histoire des voyages*, p. 40.

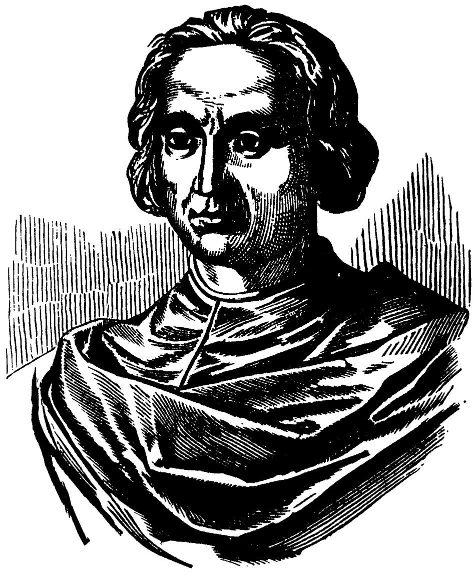
[3] *Magazine of American History*, June, 1884, p. 554.

[4] Cf. *Boletin de la Sociedad geográfica de Madrid*, vol. vi. A portrait in the collection of the Marquis de Malpica is said closely to resemble it. One belonging to the Duke of Veraguas is also thought to be related to it, and is engraved in the French edition of Navarrete. It is thought Antonio del Rincon, a painter well known in Columbus' day, may have painted this Yanez canvas, on the discoverer's return from his second voyage. Carderera believed in it, and Banchero, in his edition of the *Codice Colombo Americano*, adopted it (*Magazine of American History*, i. 511). The picture now in the Wisconsin Historical Society's Rooms is copied directly from the Yanez portrait.

[5] This Capriolo cut is engraved and accepted in Carderera's *Informe*. Löwenstern fails to see how it corresponds to the written descriptions of Columbus' person. It is changed somewhat from the 1575 cut; cf. *Magasin pittoresque*, troisième année, p. 316. The two cuts, one or the other, and a mingling of the two, have given rise apparently to a variety of imitations. The head on panel preserved now, or lately, at Cuccaro, and belonging to Fidele Guglielmo Colombo, is of this type. It was engraved in Napione's *Della patria di Colombo*, Florence, 1808. The head by Crispin de Pas, in the *Effigies regum ac principum*, of an early year in the seventeenth century, is also traced to these cuts, as well as the engraving by Pieter van Opmeer in his *Opus*

The most interesting of all pictures bearing a supposed relation to the scattered collection at Lake Como is in the gallery at Florence, which is sometimes said to have been painted by Cristofano dell 'Altissimo, and before the year 1568. A copy of it was made for Thomas Jefferson in 1784, which was at Monticello in 1814; and, having been sent to Boston to be disposed of, became the property of Israel Thorndike, and was by him given to the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose gallery it now is; and from a photograph of it the cut (p. 74) has been engraved.[1] It is perhaps the most commonly accepted likeness in these later years.[2]

After the woodcut of 1575, the next oldest engraved likeness of Columbus is the one usually called the De Bry portrait. It shows a head with a three-cornered cap, and possesses a Dutch physiognomy, — its short, broad face not corresponding with the descriptions which we find in Oviedo and the others. De Bry says that the original painting was stolen from a saloon in the Council for the Indies in Spain, and, being taken to the Netherlands, fell into his hands. He claims that it was painted from life by order of Ferdinand, the King. De Bry first used the plate in Part V. of his *Grands Voyages*, both in the Latin and German editions, published in 1595, where it is marked as engraved by Jean de Bry. It shows what seem to be two warts on the cheek, which do not appear in later prints.[3] Feuillet de Conches describes a painting in the Versailles gallery like the De Bry, which has been engraved by Mercuri;[5] but it does not appear that it is claimed as the original from which De Bry worked.[6]



COLUMBUS (*after Capriolo*).[4]

---

chronographicum, 1611. Landon's *Galerie historique* (Paris, 1805–1809), also shows an imitation; and another is that on the title of Cancellieri's *Notizia di Colombo*. Navarrete published a lithograph of the 1575 cut. Cf. Irving's letter. A likeness of this type is reproduced in colors, in a very pleasing way, in Roselly de Lorgues' *Christophe Colomb*, 1879, and in woodcut, equally well done, in the same work; also in J. J. Barry's adaptation of De Lorgues, New York, 1869. Another good woodcut of it is given in *Harpers' Monthly* (October, 1882), p. 729. It is also accepted in Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*.

[1] See 3 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vii. 285; *Proc.*, vol. ii. pp. 23, 25, 289.

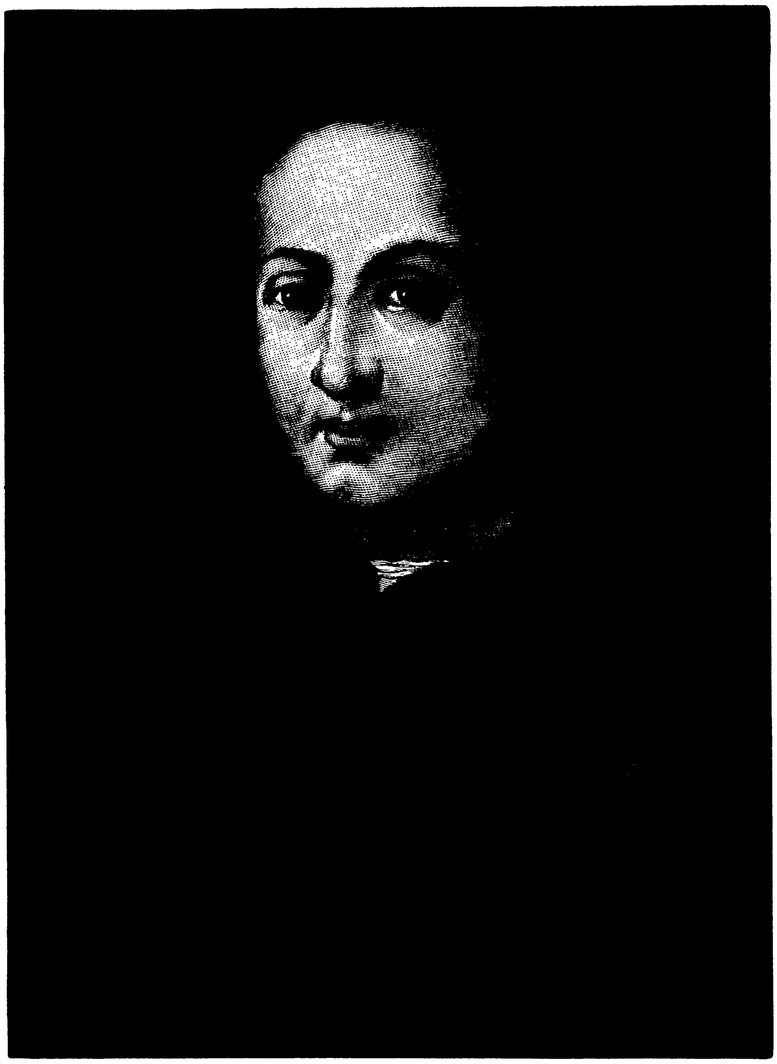
[2] There are two portraits thought to have some relation with this Florentine likeness. One was formerly in the Collection d' Ambras, in the Tyrol, which was formed by a nephew of Charles V., but was in 1805 removed to the museum in Vienna. It is on panel, of small size, and has been engraved in Frankl's German poem on Columbus. The other is one whose history Isnardi, in his *Sulla patria di Colombo*, 1838, traces back for three centuries. It is now, or was lately, in the common council hall at Cogoleto.

[3] What is known as the Venetian mosaic portrait of Columbus, resembling the De Bry in the head, the hands holding a map, is engraved in *Harpers' Monthly*, liv. 1.

[4] This is a reproduction of the cut in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 85. It is also copied in Carderera, and in the *Magasin pittoresque*, troisième année, p. 316.

[5] A proof-copy of this engraving is among the Tosti Engravings in the Boston Public Library.

[6] Engravings from De Bry's burin also appeared, in 1597, in Boissard's *Icones quinquaginta virorum ad vivum effictæ;* again, in the *Bibliotheca sive thesaurus virtutis et gloriæ* (Frankfort, 1628–1634), in four volumes, usually ascribed jointly to De Bry and Boissard; and, finally, in the *Bibliotheca chalcographica* (Frankfort, 1650–1664), ascribed to Boissard; but the plates are marked Jean Théodore de Bry. The De Bry type was apparent in the print in Isaac Bullart's *Académie des Sciences et des Arts*, Paris, 1682; and a few years later (1688), an aquaforte engraving by Rosaspina came out in Paul Freherus' *Théâtre des hommes célèbres*. For the later use made of this De Bry likeness, reference may be made, among others, to the works of Napione and Bossi, Durazzo's *Eulogium*, the *Historia de Mexico* by Francisco Carbajal Espinosa, published at Mexico, in 1862, tome i, J. J. Smith's *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, sundry editions of Irving's *Life of Columbus*, and the London (1867) edition of Ferdinand Columbus' Life of



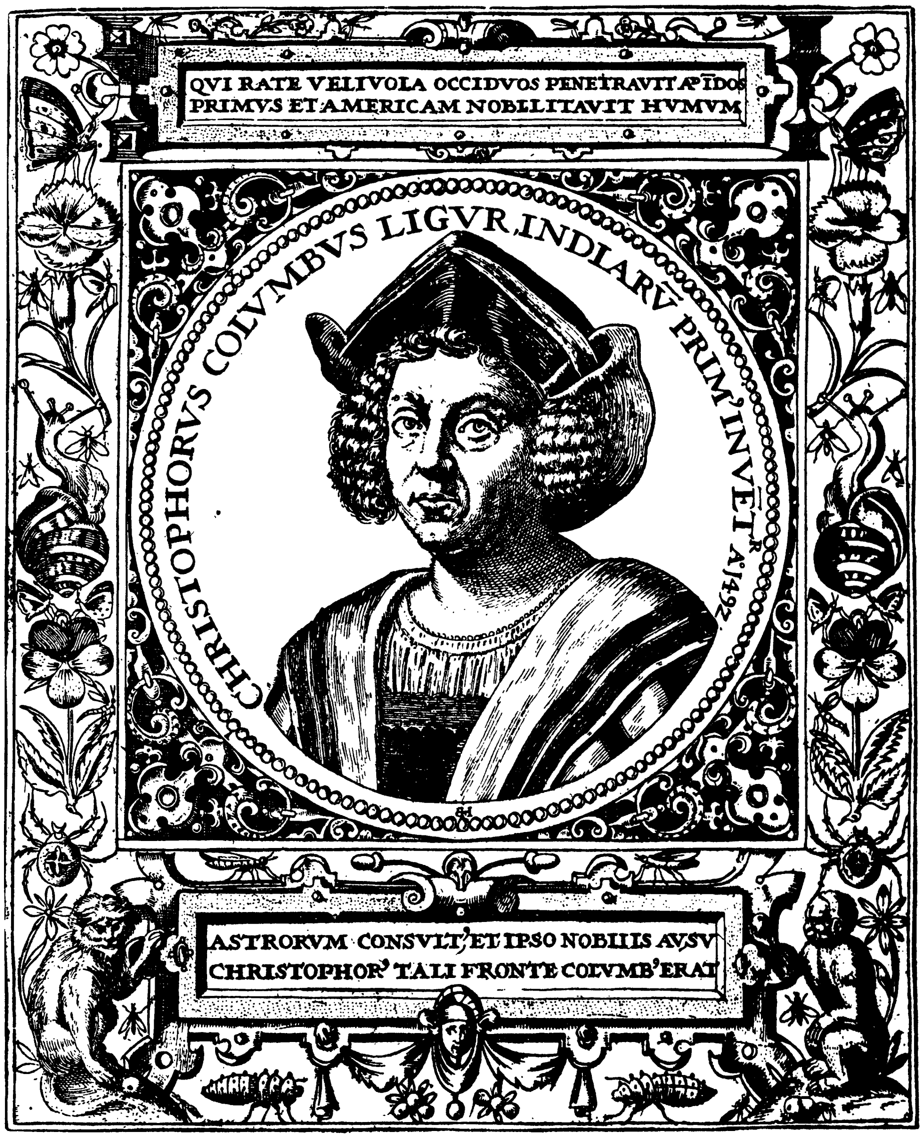
COLUMBUS (*the Jefferson copy of the Florence picture*).

Jomard, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (3d series), iii. 370, printed his "Monument à Christophe Colomb : son portrait,"[1] in explanation and advocacy of a Titianesque canvas

his father. There is a photograph of it in Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus*. De Bry engraved various other pictures of Columbus, mostly of small size, — a full-length in the corner of a half-globe (part vi.); a full-length on the deck of a caravel (in part iv., re-engraved in Bossi, Charton, etc.); a small vignette portrait, together with one of Vespucius, in the Latin and German edition of part iv. (1594); the well-known picture illustrating the anecdote of the egg (part iv.). Not one of these has any claim to be other than imaginative

---

[1] There was a movement at this time (1845) to erect a monument in Genoa.


QVI RATE VELIVOLA OCCIDVOS PENETRAVIT AP̄IDOS
PRIMVS ET AMERICAM NOBILITAVIT HVMVM
CHRISTOPHORVS COLVMBVS LIGVR. INDIARV̄ PRIM. INVET. A° 1492.
ASTRORVM CONSVLT, ET IPSO NOBILIS AVSV
CHRISTOPHOR' TALI FRONTE COLVMB' ERAT

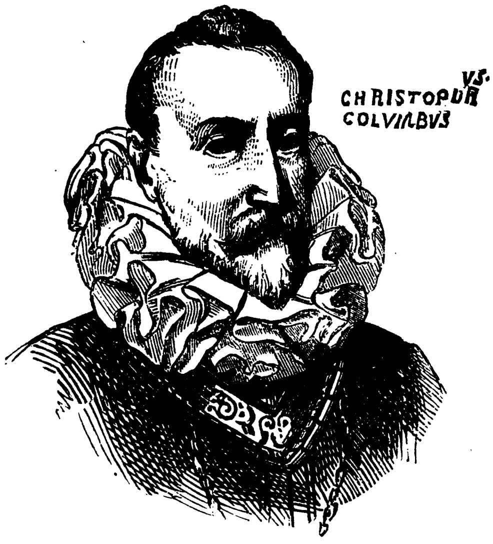
THE DE BRY PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.

which he had found at Vicenza, inscribed "Christophorus Columbus." He claimed that the features corresponded to the written descriptions of Columbus by his contemporaries

---

[1] His larger likeness he reproduced in a small medallion as the title of the Herrera narrative (part xii., German and Latin, 1623–1624), together with likenesses of Vespucius, Pizarro, and Magellan. Another reminiscence of the apocryphal egg story is found in a painting, representing a man in a fur cap, holding up an egg, the face wearing a grin, which was brought forward a few years ago by Mr. Rinck, of New York, and which is described and engraved in the *Compte rendu* of the Congrès des Américanistes, 1877, ii. 375.

and accounted for the Flemish ruff, pointed beard, gold chain, and other anachronous accessories, by supposing that these had been added by a later hand. These adornments, however, prevented Jomard's views gaining any countenance, though he seems to have been confident in his opinion. Irving at the time records his scepticism when Jomard sent him a lithograph of it. Carderera and Feuillet de Conches both reject it.



JOMARD'S PICTURE OF COLUMBUS.[1]

A similar out-of-date ruff and mustache characterize the likeness at Madrid associated with the Duke of Berwick-Alba, in which the finery of a throne makes part of the picture. The owner had a private plate engraved from it by Rafael Esteve, a copy of which, given by the engraver to Obadiah Rich, who seems to have had faith in it, is now in the Lenox Library.[2]

A picture belonging to the Duke of Veraguas is open to similar objections, — with its beard and armor and ruff; but Muñoz adopted it for his official history, the plate being drawn by Mariano Maella.[3]

A picture of a bedizened cavalier, ascribed to Parmigiano (who was three years old when Columbus died), is preserved in the Museo Borbonico at Naples, and is, unfortunately, associated in this country with Columbus, from having been adopted by Prescott for his *Ferdinand and Isabella*,[4] and from having been copied for the American Antiquarian Society.[5] It was long since rejected by all competent critics.

A picture in the Senate chamber (or lately there) at Albany was given to the State of New York in 1784 by Mrs. Maria Farmer, a granddaughter of Governor Jacob Leisler, and was said to have been for many years in that lady's family.[6] There are many other scattered alleged likenesses of Columbus, which from the data at hand it has not been easy to link with any of those already mentioned.[7]

---

[1] This is a reproduction of the cut in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 87.

[2] *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 95. The medallion on the tomb in the cathedral at Havana is usually said to have been copied from this picture; but the picture sent to Havana to be used as a model is said, on better authority, to have been one belonging to the Duke of Veraguas, — perhaps the one said to be in the Consistorial Hall at Havana, which has the garb of a familiar of the Inquisition; and this is represented as the gift of that Duke (*Magazine of American History*, i. 510).

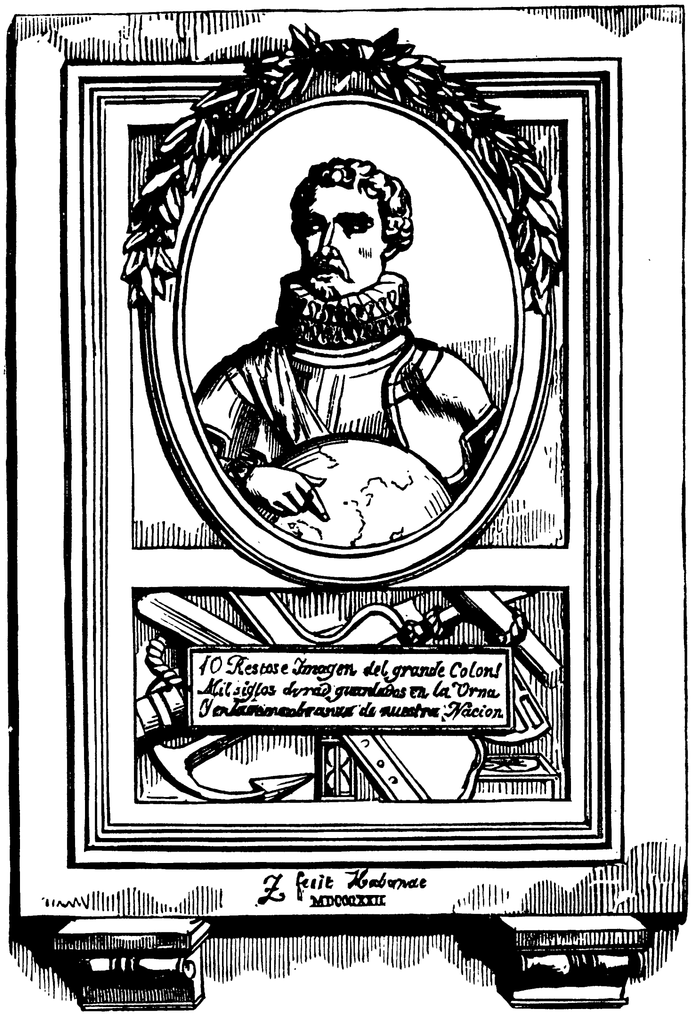
[3] It is re-engraved in the English and German translations. Carderera rejects it; but the portrait in the Archives of the Indies at Seville is said to be a copy of it; and a copy is in the Pennsylvania Academy of Arts in Philadelphia. A three-quarters length of Columbus, representing him in ruff and armor, full face, mustache and imperial, right hand on a globe, left hand holding a truncheon, called "Cristoval Colon: copiado de un Quadro origl. que se conserva en la familia," was engraved, and marked "Bart. Vazque. la Grabo, 1791."

[4] It is still unaccountably retained in the revised 1873 edition.

[5] Cf. their *Proceedings*, April, 1853.

[6] It was restored in 1850 (*Magazine of American History*, v. 446).

[7] Such are the following: (1) In full dress, with ruff and rings, said to have been painted by Sir Anthony More for Margaret of the Netherlands, and taken to England in 1590, — engraved in one of the English editions of Irving, where also has appeared an engraving of a picture by Juan de Borgoña, painted in 1519 for the Chapter-room of the Cathedral of Toledo. (2) A full-length in mail, with ruff, in the Longa or Exchange at Seville, showing a man of thirty or thirty-five years, which Irving thinks may have been taken for Diego Columbus. (3) An engraving in Fuchsius' *Metoposcopia et ophthalmoscopia*, Strasburg, 1610 (Sabin's *Dictionary*, vii. 89). (4) An engraving in N. De Clerck's *Tooneel der beroemder hertogen*, etc. Delft, 1615, — a collection of portraits, including also Cortes, Pizarro, Magellan, Montezuma, etc. (5) A


¡O Restos e Imagen del grande Colon!
Mil siglos durad guardados en la Urna
Y en la remembranza de nuestra Nacion.
Z. fecit Habanae
MDCCCXXII

COLUMBUS. — THE HAVANA MEDALLION.[1]

The best known, probably, of the sculptured effigies of Columbus is the bust of Peschiera, which was placed in 1821 at Genoa on the receptacle of the Columbus manuscripts.[2] The

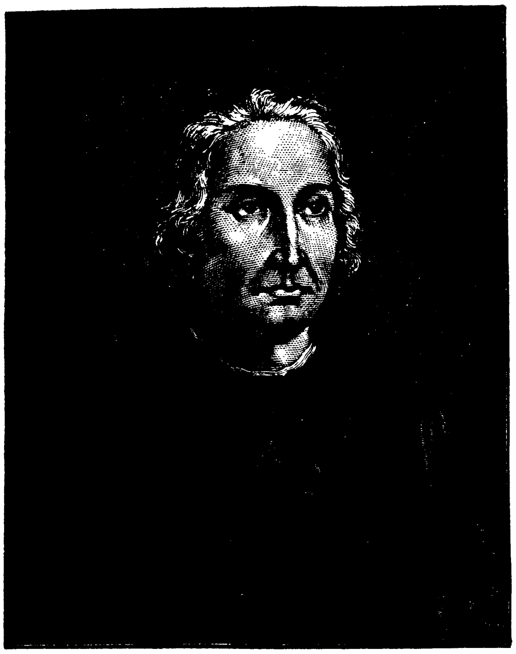
full-length, engraved in Philoponus, 1621. (6) An old engraving, with pointed beard and ruff, preserved in the National Library at Paris. (7) The engraving in the *Nieuwe en onbekende Weereld* of Montanus, 1671–1673, repeated in Ogilby's *America*, and reproduced in Bos's *Leven en Daden*, and in Herrera, edition 1728. A fac-simile of it is given herewith. Cf. Ruyter's *See-Helden*, Nuremberg, 1661. (8) A copper plate, showing a man with a beard, with fur trimmings to a close-fitting vestment, one hand holding an astrolabe, the other pointing upward, — which accompanies a translation of Thevet's account of Columbus artist discarded all painted portraits of Columbus, and followed the descriptions of those who had known the discoverer.[1]

---

[1] Reproduced from a cut in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 188.

[2] A view of this receptacle of the papers, with the bust and the portfolio, is given in *Harpers' Monthly*, vol. liv., December, 1876.

The most imposing of all the memorials is the monument at Genoa erected in 1862 after a design by Freccia, and finished by Michel Canzio.[3]



COLUMBUS.[2]

I. BURIAL AND REMAINS OF COLUMBUS. — There is no mention of the death of Columbus in the Records of Valladolid. Peter Martyr, then writing his letters from that place, makes no reference to such an event. It is said that the earliest contemporary notice of his death is in an official document, twenty-seven days later, where it is affirmed that "the said Admiral is dead."[4] The story which Irving has written of the successive burials of Columbus needs to be rewritten; and positive evidence is wanting to show that his remains were placed first, as is alleged, in a vault of the Franciscans at Valladolid. The further story, as told by Irving, of Ferdinand's ordering the removal of his remains to Seville seven years later, and the erection of a monument, is not confirmed by any known evidence.[5] From the tenor of Diego's will in March, 1509, it would seem that the body of Columbus had already been carried to Seville, and that later, the coffins of his son Diego and of his brother Bartholomew were laid in Seville beside him, in the

---

in the appendix to the Cambridge, 1676, edition of North's *Plutarch.* (9) An old woodcut in the *Neueröffnetes Amphitheatrum*, published at Erfurt in 1723–1724 (*Brinley Catalogue*, no. 48). (10) A man with curly hair, mustache and imperial, ruff and armor, with a finger on a globe, — engraved in Cristóbal Cladera's *Investigaciones históricas, sobre los principales descubrimientos de los Españoles en el mar Oceano en el siglo XV. y principios del XVI.*, Madrid, 1794. (11) Columbus and his sons, Diego and Ferdinand, engraved in Bryan Edwards' *The History, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 1794; again, 1801. Feuillet de Conches in his essay on the portraits calls it a pure fantasy.

[1] It is engraved in the first edition of the *Codice diplomatico Colombo-Americano*, and in the English translation of that book. It is also re-engraved in the Lenox edition of *Scyllacius.* Another bust in Genoa is given in the French edition of Navarrete. Of the bust in the Capitoline Museum at Rome — purely ideal — there is a copy in the New York Historical Society's Gallery, no. 134. The effigies on the monument at Seville, and the bust at Havana, with their costume of the latter part of the sixteenth century, present no claims for fidelity. Cf. *Magazine of American History*, i. 510.

[2] This is copied from one given in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 234, which follows a photograph of the painting in the Ministry of Marine at Madrid.

[3] There is a model of it in the Public Library of Boston, a photograph in Harrisse's *Notes*, p. 182, and engravings in De Lorgues, Torri, etc. There is also a view of this monument in an article on Genoa, the home of Columbus, by O. M. Spencer, in *Harpers' Monthly*, vol. liv., December, 1876. The mailed figure on the Capitol steps at Washington, by Persico, is without claim to notice. There is a colossal statue at Lima, erected in 1850 by Salvatore Revelli, a marble one at Nassau (New Providence), and another at Cardeñas, Cuba.

[4] Navarrete, ii. 316.

[5] The *Informe de la Real Academia* says there is no proof of it; and of the famous inscription, —

> "A Castilla y á Leon
> Nuevo Mundo dió Colon," —

said to have been put on his tomb, there is no evidence that it ever was actually used, being only proposed in the *Elegias* of Castellanos, 1588.

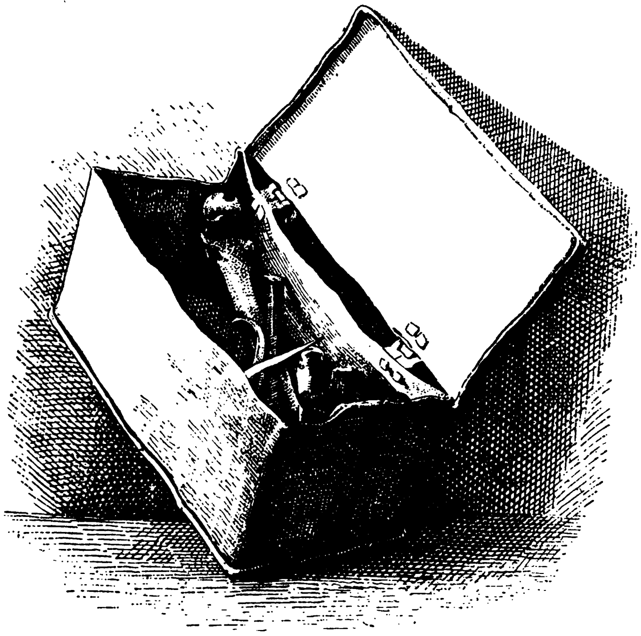
COLUMBUS (*from Montanus*).

cuevas, or vaults of the Carthusians. Meanwhile the Cathedral in Santo Domingo was begun,—not to be completed till 1540; and in this island it had been the Admiral's wish to be buried. His family were desirous of carrying out that wish; but it seemed to require three royal orders to make good the project, and overcome objections or delays. These orders were dated June 2, 1537, Aug. 22, 1539, and Nov. 5, 1540.[1] It has been conjectured from the language of

---

[1] They are in the Archives at Madrid. Harrisse found one in the Archives of the Duke of Veraguas (*Los restos*, etc., p. 41. The orders are printed by Roque Cocchia, Prieto, Colmeiro, etc.

Ferdinand Columbus' will, in 1539, that the remains were still in the *cuevas;* and it is supposed that they were carried to Santo Domingo in 1541, — though, if so, there is no record of their resting-place from 1536, — when they are said, in the Convent's Records,[1] to have been delivered up for transportation. The earliest positive mention of their being in the Cathedral at Santo Domingo is in 1549;[3] and it is not till the next century that we find a positive statement that the remains of Diego were also removed.[4] Not till 1655 does any record say that the precise spot in the Cathedral containing the remains was known, and not till 1676 do we learn what that precise spot was, — "on the right of the altar." In 1683 we first learn of "a leaden case in the sanctuary, at the side of the platform of the high altar, with the remains of his brother Don Luis on the other side, according to the tradition of the aged in this island."[5] The book from which this is extracted[6] was published in Madrid, and erred in calling Luis a brother instead of grandson, whose father, Diego, lying beside the Admiral, seems at the time to have been forgotten.[7]



COFFER AND BONES.[2]

Just a century later, in 1783, Moreau de Saint-Méry, prefacing his *Description topographique* of Santo Domingo,[8] sought more explicit information, and learned that, shortly before his inquiry, the floor of the chancel had been raised so as to conceal the top of the vault, which was "a case of stone" (containing the leaden coffin), on the "Gospel side of the sanctuary." This case had been discovered during the repairs, and, though "without inscription, was known from uninterrupted and invariable tradition to contain the remains of Columbus;" and the Dean of the Chapter, in certifying to this effect, speaks of the "leaden urn as a little damaged, and containing several human bones;" while he had also, some years earlier, found on "the Epistle side" of the altar a similar stone case, which, according to tradition, contained the bones of the Admiral's brother.[9]

A few years later the treaty of Basle, July 22, 1795, gave to France the half of Santo Domingo still remaining to Spain; and at the cost of the Duke of Veraguas, and with the concurrence of the Chapter of the Cathedral, the Spanish General, Gabriel de Aristazabal, somewhat hurriedly opened a vault on the left of the altar, and, with due ceremony and notarial record,[1] took from it fragments of a leaden case and some human bones, which were unattested by any inscription found with them. The relics were placed in a gilt leaden case, and borne with military honors to Havana.[2] It is now claimed that these remains were of Diego, the son, and that the vault then opened is still empty in the Cathedral, while the genuine remains of Columbus were left undisturbed.

---

[1] Harrisse, *Los restos*, p. 44.

[2] This follows an engraving given in John G. Shea's "Where are the Remains of Columbus?" in *Magazine of American History*, January, 1883, and separately. There are other engravings in Tejera, pp. 28, 29 and after a photograph in the *Informe de la Real Academia*, p. 197. The case is 16⅝ × 8½ × 8⅛ inches.

[3] Prieto, *Exámen*, etc., p. 18.

[4] Colmeiro, p. 160.

[5] Quoted in Harrisse, *Les sépultures*, etc., p. 22.

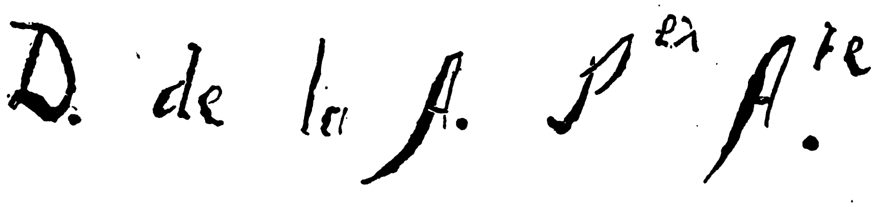
[6] *Synodo Diocesan del Arzobispado di Santo Domingo*, p. 13.

[7] Plans of the chancel, with the disposition of the tombs in 1540 or 1541, as now supposed, are giv[illegible] Tejera, p. 10; Cocchia, p. 48, etc.

[8] Published both in French and English at Philadelphia in 1796.

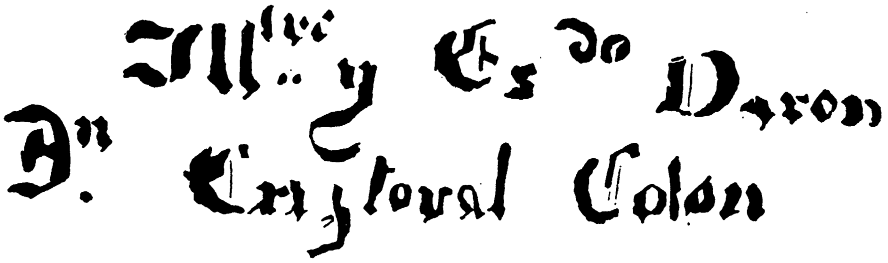
[9] Harrisse, *Los restos*, p. 47.

In 1877, in making some changes about the chancel, on the right of the altar, the workmen opened a vault, and found a leaden case containing human bones, with an inscription showing them to be those of Luis, the grandson. This led to a search on the opposite, or "Gospel, side" of the chancel, where they found an empty vault, supposed to be the one from which the remains were taken to Havana. Between this and the side wall of the building, and separated from the empty vault by a six-inch wall, was found another cavity, and in it a leaden case. There seem to have been suitable precautions taken to avoid occasion for imputations of deceit, and with witnesses the case was examined.[3] In it were found some bones and dust, a leaden bullet,[4] two iron screws, which fitted the holes in a small silver plate found beneath the mould in the bottom of the case.[5] This casket bore on the outside, on the front, and two ends — one letter on each surface — the letters C. C. A. On the top was an inscription here reduced : —



D. de la A. Per Ate.

This inscription is supposed to mean "Discoverer of America, first Admiral." Opening the case, which in this situation presented the appearance shown in the cut on page 80, the under surface of the lid was found to bear the following legend : —



Illtre. y Esdo. Varon
Dn. Cristoval Colon

This legend is translated, "Illustrious and renowned man, Christopher Columbus."[6] A fac-simile of the inscription found on the small silver plate is given on page 82, the larger of which is understood to mean "A part of the remains of the first Admiral, Don Christopher Columbus, discoverer."[7] The discovery was made

---

[1] Navarrete, ii. 365; Prieto's *Exámen*, p. 20; Roque Cocchia, p. 280; Harrisse, *Los restos*, app. 4.

[2] Irving's account of this transportation is in his *Life of Columbus*, app. i. Cf. letter of Duke of Veraguas (March 30, 1796) in *Magazine of American History*, i. 247. At Havana the reinterment took place with great parade An oration was delivered by Caballero, the original manuscript of which is now in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library (cf. *Proceedings*, ii. 105, 168). Prieto (*Los restos*) prints this oration; Navarrete (vol. ii. pp. 365–381) gives extracts from the official accounts of the transfer of the remains.

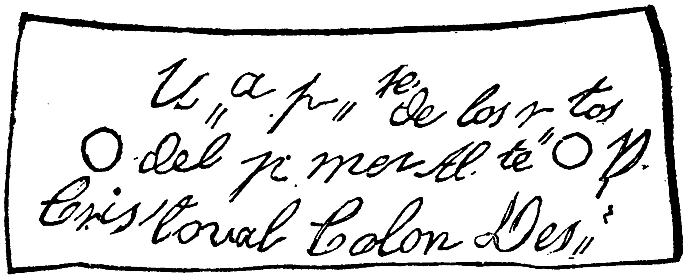
[3] The Spanish consul is said to have been satisfied with the precautions. Cf. *Do existen depositadas las cenizas de Colon?* by Don José de Echeverri (Santander, 1878). There are views of the Cathedral in Hazard's *Santo Domingo*, p. 224, and elsewhere.

[4] Which some have supposed was received in Columbus' body in his early piratical days.

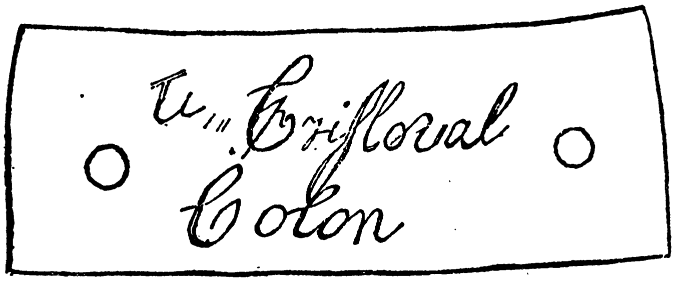
[5] This plate was discovered on a later examination.

[6] Both of these inscriptions are given in fac-simile in Cocchia, p. 290; in Tejera, p. 30; and in Armas, who calls it "inscripcion auténtica — escritura gótica-alemana" of the sixteenth century.

[7] Fac-similes of these are given in the *Informe de la Real Academia*, Tejera (pp. 33, 34), Prieto, Cocchia (pp. 170, 171), Shea's paper, and in Armas, who calls the inscription, "Apócrifas — escritura inglesa de la época actual."



U,a p,te de los r-tos
del p.r mor Al.te D.
Cristoval Colon Des,



U,, Cristoval
Colon

known by the Bishop, Roque Cocchia, in a pastoral letter,[1] and the news spread rapidly.[2] The Spanish King named Señor Antonio Lopez Prieto, of Havana, to go to Santo Domingo, and, with the Spanish consul, to investigate. Prieto had already printed a tract, which went through two editions, *Los restos de Colon: exámen histórico-critico*, Havana, 1877. In March, 1878, he addressed his Official Report to the Captain-general of Cuba, which was printed in two editions during the same year, as *Informe sobre los restos de Colon.* It was an attack upon the authenticity of the remains at Santo Domingo. Later in the same year, Oct. 14, 1878, Señor Manuel Colmeiro presented, in behalf of the Royal Academy of History of Madrid, a report to the King, which was printed at Madrid in 1879 as *Los restos de Colon: informe de la Real Academia de la Historia*, etc. It reinforced the views of Prieto's Report; charged Roque Cocchia with abetting a fraud; pointed to the A (America) of the outside inscription as a name for the New World which Spaniards at that time never used;[3] and claimed that the remains discovered in 1877 were those of Christopher Columbus, the grandson of the Admiral, and that the inscriptions had been tampered with, or were at least much later than the date of reinterment in the Cathedral.[4] Besides Bishop Roque Cocchia, the principal upholder of the Santo Domingo theory has been Emiliano Tejera, who published his

---

[1] *Descubrimiento de los verdaderos restos de Cristóbal Colon: carta pastoral*, Santo Domingo, 1877, — reprinted in *Informe de la Real Academia*, p. 191, etc.

[2] The Bishop, in his subsequent *Los restos de Colon* (Santo Domingo, 1879), written after his honesty in the matter was impugned, and with the aim of giving a full exposition, shows, in cap. xviii. how the discovery, as he claimed it, interested the world. Various contemporaneous documents are also given in *Colon en Quisqueya, Coleccion de documentos*, etc., Santo Domingo, 1877. A movement was made to erect a monument in Santo Domingo, and some response was received from the United States. *New Jersey Historical Society's Proceedings*, v. 134; *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, iii. 465.

[3] Mr. J. C. Brevoort, in "Where are the Remains of Columbus?" in *Magazine of American History*, ii. 157, suggests that the "D. de la A." means "Dignidad de la Almirantazgo."

[4] This was a view advanced by J. I. de Armas in a Caracas newspaper, later set forth in his *Las cenizas de Cristóbal Colon suplantadas en la Catedral de Santo Domingo*, Caracas, 1881. The same view is taken by Sir Travers Twiss, in his *Christopher Columbus: A Monograph on his True Burial-place* (London, 1879), a paper which originally appeared in the *Nautical Magazine*. M. A. Baguet, in "Où sont ces restes de Colomb?" printed in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Anvers* (1882), vi. 449, also holds that the remains are those of the grandson, Cristoval Colon. For an adverse view, see the *Informe* of the Amigos del Pais, published at Santo Domingo, 1882. Cf. also Juan Maria Asensio, *Los restos de Colon*, segunda ed., Sevile, 1881.

Los restos de Colon en Santo Domingo in 1878, and his *Los dos restos de Cristóbal Colon* in 1879, both in Santo Domingo. Henry Harrisse, under the auspices of the "Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces," printed his *Los restos de Don Cristóval Colon* at Seville in 1878, and his *Les sépultures de Christophe Colomb: revue critique du premier rapport officiel publié sur ce sujet*, the next year (1879) at Paris.[1] From Italy we have Luigi Tommaso Belgrano's *Sulla recente scoperta delle ossa di Colombo* (Genoa, 1878). One of the best and most recent summaries of the subject is by John G. Shea in the *Magazine of American History*, January, 1883; also printed separately, and translated into Spanish. Richard Cortambert (*Nouvelle histoire des voyages*, p. 39) considers the Santo Domingo theory overcome by the evidence.

J. DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH OF COLUMBUS, AND ACCOUNTS OF HIS FAMILY. — The year and place of Columbus' birth, and the station into which he was born, are questions of dispute. Harrisse[2] epitomizes the authorities upon the year of his nativity. Oscar Peschel reviews the opposing arguments in a paper printed in *Ausland* in 1866.[3] The whole subject was examined at greater length and with great care by D'Avezac before the Geographical Society of Paris in 1872.[4] The question is one of deductions from statements not very definite, nor wholly in accord. The extremes of the limits in dispute are about twenty years; but within this interval, assertions like those of Ramusio[5] (1430) and Charlevoix[6] (1441) may be thrown out as susceptible of no argument.[7]

In favor of the earliest date — which, with variations arising from the estimates upon fractions of years, may be placed either in 1435, 1436, or 1437 — are Navarrete, Humboldt, Ferdinand Höfer,[8] Émile Deschanel,[9] Lamartine,[10] Irving, Bonnefoux, Roselly de Lorgues, l'Abbé Cadoret, Jurien de la Gravière,[11] Napione,[12] Cancellieri, and Cantù.[13] This view is founded upon the statement of one who had known Columbus, Andres Bernaldez, in his *Reyes católicos*, that Columbus was about seventy years old at his death, in 1506.

The other extreme — similarly varied from the fractions between 1455 and 1456 — is taken by Oscar Peschel,[14] who deduces it from a letter of Columbus dated July 7, 1503, in which he says that he was twenty-eight when he entered the service of Spain in 1484; and Peschel argues that this is corroborated by adding the fourteen years of his boyhood, before going to sea, to the twenty-three years of sea-life which Columbus says he had had previous to his voyage of discovery, and dating back from 1492, when he made this voyage.

A middle date — placed, according to fractional calculations, variously from 1445 to 1447 — is held by Cladera,[15] Bossi, Muñoz, Casoni,[16] Salinerio,[17] Robertson, Spotorno, Major, Sanguinetti, and Canale. The argument for this view, as presented by Major, is this: It was in 1484, and not in 1492, that this continuous sea-service, referred to by Columbus, ended; accordingly, the thirty-seven years already mentioned should be deducted from 1484, which would point to 1447 as the year of his birth, — a statement confirmed also, as is thought, by the assertion which Columbus makes, in 1501, that it was forty years since he began, at fourteen, his sea-life. Similar reasons avail with D'Avezac, whose calculations, however, point rather to the year 1446.[18]

A similar uncertainty has been made to appear regarding the place of Columbus' birth. Outside of Genoa and dependencies, while discarding such claims as those of England,[19]

---

[1] Originally in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, October, 1878. Cf. also his paper in the *Revue critique*, Jan. 5, 1878, "Les restes mortels de Colomb."

[2] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 3.

[3] Pages 1177-1181: "Ueber das Geburtsjahre des Entdeckers von America."

[4] *Année véritable de la naissance de Christophe Colomb, et revue chronologique des principales époques de sa vie*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Juillet, 1872; also printed separately in 1873, pp. 64.

[5] Based on a statement in the Italian text of Peter Martyr (1534) which is not in the original Latin.

[6] Also in Prévost's *Voyages*, and in Tiraboschi's *Letteratura Italiana.*

[7] Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iii. 252.

[8] *Nouvelle biographie générale*, xi. 209.

[9] *Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1862.

[10] *Christopher Colomb.*

[11] *Les marins du XVe et du XVIe siècle*, i. 80.

[12] *Patria di Colombo.*

[13] *Storia universale.*

[14] *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 97; *Ausland*, 1866, p. 1178.

[15] *Investigaciones históricas*, p. 38.

[16] *Annali di Genova.* 1708, p. 26.

[17] *Annotationes ad Tacitum.*

[18] These various later arguments are epitomized in Ruge, *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 219.

[19] Charles Malloy's *Treatise of Affairs Maritime*, 3d ed., London, 1682; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 69.

Corsica,[1] and Milan,[2] there are more defensible presentations in behalf of Placentia (Piacenza), where there was an ancestral estate of the Admiral, whose rental had been enjoyed by him and by his father;[3] and still more urgent demands for recognition on the part of Cuccaro in Montferrat, Piedmont, the lord of whose castle was a Dominico Colombo, — pretty well proved, however, not to have been the Dominico who was father of the Admiral. It seems certain that the paternal Dominico did own land in Cuccaro, near his kinspeople, and lived there as late as 1443.[4]

In consequence of these claims, the Academy of Sciences in Genoa named a commission, in 1812, to investigate them; and their report,[5] favoring the traditional belief in Genoa as the true spot of Columbus' birth, is given in digest in Bossi.[6] The claim of Genoa seems to be generally accepted to-day, as it was in the Admiral's time by Peter Martyr, Las Casas, Bernaldez, Giustiniani, Geraldini, Gallo, Senaraya, and Foglietto.[7] Columbus himself twice, in his will (1498), says he was born in Genoa; and in the codicil (1506) he refers to his "beloved country, the Republic of Genoa." Ferdinand calls his father "a Genoese."[8] Of modern writers Spotorno, in the Introduction to the *Codice diplomatico Colombo-Americano* (1823), and earlier, in his *Della origine e della patria di Colombo* (1819), has elaborated the claim, with proofs and arguments which have been accepted by Irving, Bossi, Sanguinetti, Roselly, De Lorgues, and most other biographers and writers.

There still remains the possibility of Genoa, as referred to by Columbus and his contemporaries, signifying the region dependent on it, rather than the town itself; and with this latitude recognized, there are fourteen towns, or hamlets as Harrisse names them,[9] which present their claims.[10]

Ferdinand Columbus resented Giustiniani's statement that the Admiral was of humble origin, and sought to connect his father's descent with the Colombos of an ancient line and fame; but his disdainful recognition of such a descent is, after all, not conducive to a belief in Ferdinand's own conviction of the connection.

---

[1] Documentary proof, as it was called, has been printed in the *Revue de Paris*, where (August, 1841) it is said that the certificate of Columbus' marriage has been discovered in Corsica. Cf. Margry, *Navigations Françaises*, p. 357. The views of the Abbé Martin Casanova, that Columbus was born in Calvi in Corsica, and the act of the French President of Aug. 6, 1883, approving of the erection of a monument to Columbus in that town, have been since reviewed by Harrisse in the *Revue critique* (18 Juin, 1883), who repeats the arguments for a belief in Genoa as the birthplace, in a paper, "Christophe Colomb et la Corse," which has since been printed separately.

[2] Domingo de Valtanas, *Compendio de cosas notables de España*, Seville, 1550; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 183.

[3] The claim is for Pradello, a village neighboring to Placentia. Cf. Campi, *Historia ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, Piacenza, 1651–1662, which contains a "discorso historico circa la nascita di Colombo," etc.; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 67; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 711.

[4] Napione, in *Mémoires de l'Académie de Turin* (1805), xii. 116, and (1823) xxvii. 73, — the first part being printed separately at Florence, in 1808, as *Della Patria di Colombo*, while he printed, in 1809, *Del primo scopritore del continente del nuovo mondo*. In the same year J. D. Lanjuinais published at Paris, in reference to Napione, his *Christophe Colomb, ou notice d'un livre Italien concernant cet illustre navigateur*. Cf. the same author's *Etudes* (Paris, 1823), for a sketch of Columbus, pp. 71–94; *Dissertazioni di Francesco Cancellieri sopra Colombo*, Rome, 1809; and Vicenzio Conti's historical account of Montferrat. In 1853 Luigi Colombo, a prelate of the Roman Church, who claimed descent from an uncle of the Admiral, renewed the claim in his *Patria e biografia del grande ammiraglio D. Cristoforo Colombo de' conti e signori di Cuccaro*, Roma, 1853. Cf. *Notes on Columbus*, p. 73.

[5] *Ragionamento nel quale si conferma l'opinione generale intorno al patria di Cristoforo Colombo*, in vol. iii. of the *Transactions* of the Society.

[6] A view of the alleged house and chamber in which the birth took place is given in *Harpers' Monthly*, vol. liv., December, 1876.

[7] In his *Clarorum Ligurum elogia*, where the Genoese were taunted for neglecting the fame of Columbus.

[8] See his will in Navarrete, and in Harrisse's *Fernan Colon*.

[9] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, pp. xix, 2.

[10] The claims of Savona have been urged the most persistently. The Admiral's father, it seems to be admitted, removed to Savona before 1469, and lived there some time; and it is found that members of the Colombo family, even a Cristoforo Colombo, is found there in 1472; but it is at the same time claimed that this Cristoforo signed himself as of Genoa. The chief advocate is Belloro, in the *Corres. Astron. Géograph. du Baron de Zach*, vol. xi, whose argument is epitomized by Irving, app. v. Cf. Giovanni Tommaso Belloro, *Notizie d' atti esistenti nel publico archivio de' notaj di Savona, concernenti la famiglia di Cristoforo Colombo*, Torino, 1810, reprinted by Spotorno at Genoa in 1821. Sabin (vol. ii. no. 4,565), corrects errors of Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 68. Other claims for these Genoese towns are brought forward, for which see Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus;* J. R. Bartlett, in *Historical Magazine*, February, 1868, p. 100; Felice Isnardi's *Dissertazione*, 1838, and *Nuovi documenti*, 1840, etc. Caleb Cushing in his *Reminiscences of Spain*, i. 292 (Boston, 1833), gave considerable attention to the question of Columbus' nativity.

FERDINAND OF SPAIN.[1]

There seems little doubt that his father[2] was a wool-weaver or draper, and owned small landed properties, at one time or another, in or not far from Genoa;[3] and, as Harrisse infers,

---

[1] This follows an ancient medallion as engraved in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion*. Cf. also the sign-manual on p. 56.

[2] Bernardo Pallastrelli's *Il suocero e la moglie di C. Colombo* (Modena, 1871; second ed., 1876), with a genealogy, gives an account of his wife's family. Cf. also *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Beilage no. 118 (1872), and *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1873.

[3] Philip Casoni's *Annali di Genova*, Genoa, 1708.

BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS.[1]

it was in one of the houses on the Bisagno road, as you go from Genoa, that Columbus was perhaps born.[2]

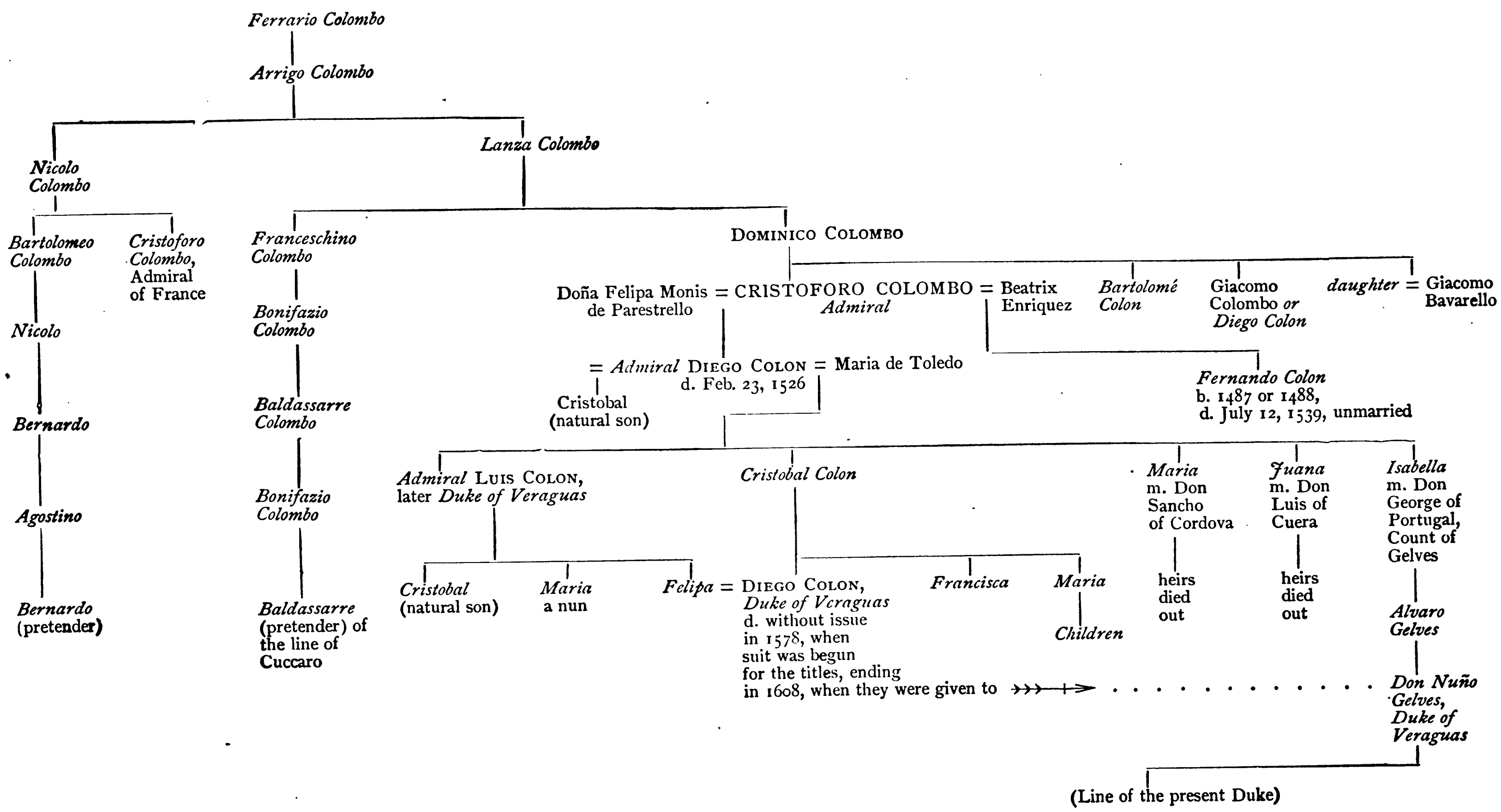
The pedigree (p. 87) shows the alleged descent of Columbus, as a table in Spotorno's *Della origine e della patria di Colombo*, 1819, connects it with other lines, whose heirs at a later day were aroused to claim the Admiral's honors; and as the usual accounts of his immediate descendants record the transmission of his rights. After Columbus' death, his son Diego demanded the restitution of the offices and privileges[3] which had been suspended during the Admiral's later years. He got no satisfac-

---

[1] This is a fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera (Barcia's edition). There is a vignette likeness on the title of vol i., edition of 1601. Navarrete's Memoir of Bartholomew Columbus is in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, vol. xvi.

[2] Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 73. Harrisse, in his *Les Colombo de France et d'Italie, fameux marins du XVe siècle*, 1461-1492 (Paris, 1874), uses some new material from the archives of Milan, Paris, and Venice, and gathers all that he can of the Colombos; and it does not seem probable that the Admiral bore anything more than a very remote relationship to the family of the famous mariners. Major (*Select Letters*, p. xliii) has also examined the alleged connection with the French sea-leader, Caseneuve, or Colon. Cf. Desimoni's *Rassegna del nuovo libro di Enrico Harrisse: Les Colombo de France et d'Italie* (Parigi, 1874, pp. 17); and the appendices to Irving's *Columbus* (nos. iv. and vi.) and Harrisse's *Les Colombo* (no. vi).

[3] Conferred by the Convention of 1492; ratified April 23, 1497; confirmed by letter royal, March 14, 1502.


Ferrario Colombo
Arrigo Colombo
Nicolo Colombo
Lanza Colombo
Bartolomeo Colombo
Cristoforo Colombo, Admiral of France
Franceschino Colombo
Dominico Colombo
Nicolo
Bernardo
Agostino
Bernardo (pretender)
Bonifazio Colombo
Baldassarre Colombo
Bonifazio Colombo
Baldassarre (pretender) of the line of Cuccaro
Doña Felipa Monis de Parestrello = CRISTOFORO COLOMBO Admiral = Beatrix Enriquez
Bartolomé Colon
Giacomo Colombo or Diego Colon
daughter = Giacomo Bavarello
= Admiral Diego Colon d. Feb. 23, 1526 = Maria de Toledo
Cristobal (natural son)
Fernando Colon b. 1487 or 1488, d. July 12, 1539, unmarried
Admiral Luis Colon, later Duke of Veraguas
Cristobal Colon
Maria m. Don Sancho of Cordova
Juana m. Don Luis of Cuera
Isabella m. Don George of Portugal, Count of Gelves
Cristobal (natural son)
Maria a nun
Felipa = Diego Colon, Duke of Veraguas d. without issue in 1578, when suit was begun for the titles, ending in 1608, when they were given to
Francisca
Maria
Children
heirs died out
heirs died out
Alvaro Gelves
Don Nuño Gelves, Duke of Veraguas
(Line of the present Duke)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

tion but the privilege of contending at law with the fiscal minister of the Crown, and of giving occasion for all the latent slander about the Admiral to make itself heard. The tribunal was the Council of the Indies; the suit was begun in 1508, and lasted till 1527. The documents connected with the case are in the Archives of the Indies. The chief defence of the Crown was that the original convention was against law and public policy, and that Columbus, after all, did not discover *Terra firma*, and for such discovery alone honors of this kind should be the reward. Diego won the Council's vote; but Ferdinand, the King, hesitated to confirm their decision. Meanwhile Diego had married a niece of the Duke of Alva, the King's favorite, and got in this way a royal grant of something like vice-royal authority in the Indies, to which he went (1509) with his bride, prepared for the proper state and display. His uncles, Bartholomew and Diego, as well as Ferdinand Columbus, accompanied him. The King soon began to encroach on Diego's domain, creating new provinces out of it.[1] It does not belong to this place to trace the vexatious factions which, through Fonseca's urging, or otherwise created, Diego was forced to endure, till he returned to Spain, in 1515, to answer his accusers. When he asked of the King a share of the profits of the Darien coast, his royal master endeavored to show that Diego's father had never been on that coast. After Ferdinand's death (Jan. 23, 1516), his successor, Charles V., acknowledged the injustice of the charges against Diego, and made some amends by giving him a viceroy's functions in all places discovered by his father. He was subjected, however, to the surveillance of a supervisor to report on his conduct, upon going to his government in 1520.[2] In three years he was again recalled for examination, and in 1526 he died. Don Luis, who succeeded to his father Diego, after some years exchanged, in 1556, his rights of vice-royalty in the Indies for ten thousand gold doubloons and the title of Duque de Veraguas (with subordinate titles), and a grandeeship of the first rank;[3] the latter, however, was not confirmed till 1712.

His nephew Diego succeeded to the rights, silencing those of the daughter of Don Luis by marrying her. They had no issue; and on his death, in 1578, various claimants brought suit for the succession (as shown in the table), which was finally given, in 1608, to the grandson of Isabella, the granddaughter of Columbus. This suit led to the accumulation of a large amount of documentary evidence, which was printed.[4] The vexations did not end here, the Duke of Berwick still contesting; but a decision in 1790 confirmed the title in the present line. The revolt of the Spanish colonies threatened to deprive the Duke of Veraguas of his income; but the Spanish Government made it good by charging it upon the revenues of Cuba and Porto Rico, the source of the present Duke's support.[5]

POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER the foregoing chapter had been completed, there came to hand the first volume of *Christophe Colomb, son origine, sa vie, ses voyages, sa famille, et ses descendants, d'après des documents inédits tirés des Archives de Gênes, de Savone, de Séville, et de Madrid, études d'histoire critique par Henry Harrisse*, Paris, 1884.

The book is essentially a reversal of many long-established views regarding the career of Columbus. The new biographer, as has been shown, is not bound by any respect for the Life of the Admiral which for three hundred years has been associated with the name of Ferdinand Columbus. The grounds of his discredit of that book are again asserted; and he considers the story as given in Las Casas as much more likely to represent the prototype both of the *Historia general* of this last writer and of the *Historie* of 1571, than the mongrel production which he imagines this Italian text of Ulloa to be, and which he accounts utterly unworthy of credit by reason of the sensational perversions and additions with which it is alloyed by some irresponsible editor. This revolutionary spirit makes the critic acute, and sustains him in laborious search; but it is one which seems sometimes to imperil his judgment. He does not at times hesitate to involve Las Casas himself in the same condemnation for the use which, if we understand him, Las Casas may be supposed, equally with the author or editor of the *Historie*, to have made of their common prototype. That any received incident in Columbus' career is only traceable to the *Historie* is sufficient, with our critic, to assign it to the category of fiction.

---

[1] Such as New Andalusia, on the Isthmus of Darien, intrusted to Ojeda; and Castilla del Oro, and the region about Veragua, committed to Nicuessa. There was a certain slight also in this last, inasmuch as Don Diego had been with the Admiral when he discovered it.

[2] The ruins of Diego Columbus' house in Santo Domingo, as they appeared in 1801, are shown in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 186, and Samuel Hazard's *Santo Domingo*, p. 47; also pp. 213, 228.

[3] Papers relating to Luis Colon's renunciation of his rights as Duke of Veraguas, in 1556, are in Peralta's *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá*, Madrid, 1883, p. 162.

[4] Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 3. Leclerc (*Bibl. Amer.*, no. 137) notes other original family documents priced at 1,000 francs.

[5] The arms granted by the Spanish sovereigns at Barcelona, May 20, 1493, seem to have been altered at a later date. As depicted by Oviedo, they are given on an earlier page. Cf. Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario general* (Madrid, 1632), pt. ii. p. 312; Muñoz, *Historia del nuevo mondo*, p. 165; *Notes and Queries* (2d series), xii. 530; (5th series) ii. 152; *Mem. de la Real Academia de Madrid* (1852), vol. viii.; Roselly de Lorgues, *Christophe Colomb* (1856); *Documentos inéditos* (1861), xxxi. 295; *Cod. diplom. Colombo-Americano*, p. lxx; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 168; Charlevoix, *Isle Espagnole*, i. 61, 236, and the engraving given in Ramusio (1556), iii. 84. I am indebted to Mr. James Carson Brevoort for guidance upon this point.

This new Life adds to our knowledge from many sources; and such points as have been omitted or slightly developed in the preceding chapter, or are at variance with the accepted views upon which that chapter has been based, it may be well briefly to mention.

The frontispiece is a blazon of the arms of Columbus, "du cartulaire original dressé sous ses yeux à Séville en 1502," following a manuscript in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris. The field of the quarter with the castle is red; that of the lion is silver; that of the anchors is blue; the main and islands are gold, the water blue. It may be remarked that the disposition of these islands seems to have no relation to the knowledge then existing of the Columbian Archipelago. Below is a blue bend on a gold field, with red above (see the cut, *ante*, p. 15).

In writing in his Introduction of the sources of the history of Columbus, Harrisse says that we possess sixty-four memoirs, letters, or extracts written by Columbus, of which twenty-three are preserved in his own autograph. Of these sixty-four, only the *Libro de las profecias* has not been printed entire, if we except a *Memorial que presentó Cristóbal Colon á los Reyes Catolicos sobre las cosas necesarias para abastecer las Indias* which is to be printed for the first time by Harrisse, in the appendix of his second volume. Las Casas' transcript of Columbus' *Journal* is now, he tells us, in the collection of the Duque d' Osuna at Madrid. The copy of Dr. Chanca's relation of the second voyage, used by Navarrete, and now in the Academy of History at Madrid, belonged to a collection formed by Antonio de Aspa. The personal papers of Columbus, confided by him to his friend Gaspar Gorricio, were preserved for over a century in an iron case in the custody of monks of Las Cuevas; but they were, on the 15th of May, 1609, surrendered to Nuño Gelves, of Portugal, who had been adjudged the lawful successor of the Admiral. Such as have escaped destruction now constitute the collection of the present Duque de Veraguas; and of them Navarrete has printed seventy-eight documents. Of the papers concerning Columbus at Genoa, Harrisse finds only one anterior to his famous voyage, and that is a paper of the Father Dominico Colombo, dated July 21, 1489, of whom such facts as are known are given, including references to him in 1463 and 1468 in the records of the Bank of St. George in Genoa. Of the two letters of 1502 which Columbus addressed to the Bank, only one now exists, as far as Harrisse could learn, and that is in the Hôtel de Ville. Particularly in regard to the family of Columbus, he has made effective use of the notarial and similar records of places where Columbus and his family have lived. But use of depositions for establishing dates and relationship imposes great obligation of care in the identification of the persons named; and this with a family as numerous as the Colombos seem to have been, and given so much to the repeating of Christian names, is more than usually difficult. In discussing the evidence of the place and date of Columbus' birth (p. 137), as well as tracing his family line (pp. 160 and 166), the conclusion reached by Harrisse fixes the humble origin of the future discoverer; since he finds Columbus' kith and kin of the station of weavers, — an occupation determining their social standing as well in Genoa as in other places at that time. The table which is given on a previous page (*ante*, p. 87) shows the lines of supposable connection, as illustrating the long contest for the possession of the Admiral's honors. His father's father, it would seem, was a Giovanni Colombo (pp. 167–216), and he the son of a certain Luca Colombo. Giovanni lived in turn at Terrarossa and Quinto. Domenico, the Admiral's father, married Susanna Fontanarossa, and removed to Genoa between 1448 and 1551, living there afterward, except for the interval 1471–1484, when he is found at Savona. He died in Genoa not far from 1498. We are told (p. 29) how little the Archives of Savona yield respecting the family. Using his new notarial evidence mainly, the critic fixes the birth of Columbus about 1445 (pp. 223–241); and enforces a view expressed by him before, that Genoa as the place of Columbus' birth must be taken in the broader sense of including the dependencies of the city, in one of which he thinks Columbus was born (p. 221) in that humble station which Gallo, in his

"De navigatione Columbi," now known to us as printed in Muratori (xxiii. 301), was the first to assert. Giustiniani, in his Psalter-note, and Senarega, in his "De rebus Genuensibus" (Muratori, xxiv. 354) seem mainly to have followed Gallo on this point. There is failure (p. 81) to find confirmation of some of the details of the family as given by Casoni in his *Annali della republica di Genova* (1708, and again 1799). In relation to the lines of his descendants, there are described (pp. 49–60) nineteen different memorials, bearing date between 1590 and 1792 — and there may be others — which grew out of the litigations in which the descent of the Admiral's titles was involved.

The usual story, told in the *Historie*, of Columbus' sojourn at the University of Pavia is discredited, chiefly on the ground that Columbus himself says that from a tender age he followed the sea (but Columbus' statements are often inexact), and from the fact that in cosmography Genoa had more to teach him than Pavia. Columbus is also kept longer in Italy than the received opinion has allowed, which has sent him to Portugal about 1470; while we are now told — if his identity is unassailable — that he was in Savona as late as 1473 (pp. 253–254).

Documentary Portuguese evidence of Columbus' connection with Portugal is scant. The Archivo da Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, which Santarem searched in vain for any reference to Vespucius, seem to be equally barren of information respecting Columbus, and they only afford a few items regarding the family of the Perestrellos (p. 44).

The principal contemporary Portuguese chronicle making any reference to Columbus is Ruy de Pina's *Chronica del Rei Dom João II.*, which is contained in the *Collecção de livros ineditos de historia Portugueza*, published at Lisbon in 1792 (ii. 177), from which Garcia de Resende seems to have borrowed what appears in his *Choronica*, published at Lisbon in 1596; and this latter account is simply paraphrased in the *Decada primeira do Asia* (Lisbon, 1752) of João de Barros, who, born in 1496, was too late to have personal knowledge of earlier time of the discoveries. Vasconcellos' *Vida y acciones del Rey D. Juan al segundo* (Madrid, 1639) adds nothing.

The statement of the *Historie* again thrown out, doubt at least is raised respecting the marriage of Columbus with Philippa, daughter of Bartholomeu Perestrello; and if the critic cannot disprove such union, he seems to think that as good, if not better, evidence exists for declaring the wife of Columbus to have been the daughter of Vasco Gil Moniz, of an old family, while it was Vasco Gill's sister Isabel who married the Perestrello in question. The marriage of Columbus took place, it is claimed there is reason to believe, not in Madeira, as Gomara and others have maintained, but in Lisbon, and not before 1474. Further, discarding the *Historie*, there is no evidence that Columbus ever lived at Porto Santo or Madeira, or that his wife was dead when he left Portugal for Spain in 1484. If this is established, we lose the story of the tie which bound him to Portugal being severed by the death of his companion; and the tale of his poring over the charts of the dead father of his wife at Porto Santo is relegated to the region of fable.

We have known that the correspondence of Toscanelli with the monk Martinez took place in 1474, and the further communication of the Italian *savant* with Columbus himself has always been supposed to have occurred soon after; but reasons are now given for pushing it forward to 1482.

The evidences of the offers which Columbus made, or caused to be made, to England, France, and Portugal, — to the latter certainly, and to the two others probably, — before he betook himself to Spain, are also reviewed. As to the embassy to Genoa, there is no trace of it in the Genoese Archives and no earlier mention of it than Ramusio's; and no Genoese authority repeats it earlier than Casoni in his *Annali di Genova*, in 1708. This is now discredited altogether. No earlier writer than Marin, in his *Storia del commercio de' Veneziani* (vol. vii. published 1800), claims that Columbus gave Venice the opportunity of embarking its fortunes with his; and the document which Pesaro claimed to have seen has never been found.

There is difficulty in fixing with precision the time of Columbus' leaving Portugal, if we reject the statements of the *Historie*, which places it in the last months of 1484. Other evidence is here presented that in the summer of that year he was in Lisbon; and no indisputable evidence exists, in the critic's judgment, of his being in Spain till May, 1487, when a largess was granted to him. Columbus' own words would imply in one place that he had taken service with the Spanish monarchs in 1485, or just before that date; and in another place that he had been in Spain as early as January, 1484, or even before, — a time when now it is claimed he is to be found in Lisbon.

The pathetic story of the visit to Râbida places that event at a period shortly after his arriving in Spain; and the *Historie* tells also of a second visit at a later day. It is now contended that the two visits were in reality one, which occurred in 1491. The principal argument to upset the *Historie* is the fact that Juan Rodriguez Cabezudo, in the lawsuit of 1513, testified that it was "about twenty-two years" since he had lent a mule to the Franciscan who accompanied Columbus away from Râbida!

With the same incredulity the critic spirits away (p. 358) the junto of Salamanca. He can find no earlier mention of it than that of Antonio de Remesal in his *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vincente de Chyapa*, published in Madrid in 1619; and accordingly asks why Las Casas, from whom Remesal borrows so much, did not know something of this junto? He counts for much that Oviedo does not mention it; and the Archives of the University at Salamanca throw no light. The common story he believes to have grown out of conferences which probably took place while the Court was at Salamanca in the winter of 1486–1487, and which were conducted by Talavera; while a later one was held at Santa Fé late in 1491, at which Cardinal Mendoza was conspicuous.

Since Alexander Geraldinus, writing in 1522, from his own acquaintance with Columbus, had made the friar Juan Perez, of Rábida, and Antonio de Marchena, who was Columbus' steadfast friend, one and the same person, it has been the custom of historians to allow that Geraldinus was right. It is now said he was in error; but the critic confesses he cannot explain how Gomara, abridging from Oviedo, changes the name of Juan Perez used by the latter to Perez de Marchena, and this before Geraldinus was printed. Columbus speaks of a second monk who had befriended him; and it has been the custom to identify this one with Diego de Deza, who, at the time when Columbus is supposed to have stood in need of his support, had already become a bishop, and was not likely, the critic thinks, to have been called a monk by Columbus. The two friendly monks in this view were the two distinct persons Juan Perez and Antonio de Marchena (p. 372).

The interposition of Cardinal Mendoza, by which Columbus secured the royal ear, has usually been placed in 1486. Oviedo seems to have been the source of subsequent writers on the point; but Oviedo does not fix the date, and the critic now undertakes to show (p. 380) that it was rather in the closing months of 1491.

Las Casas charges Talavera with opposing the projects of Columbus: we have here (p. 383) the contrary assertion; and the testimony of Peter Martyr seems to sustain this view. So again the new biographer measurably defends, on other contemporary evidence, Fonseca (p. 386) as not deserving the castigations of modern writers; and all this objurgation is considered to have been conveniently derived from the luckless *Historie* of 1571.

The close student of Columbus is not unaware of the unsteady character of much of the discoverer's own testimony on various points. His imagination was his powerful faculty; and it was as wild at times as it was powerful, and nothing could stand in the way of it. No one has emphasized the doleful story of his trials and repressions more than himself, making the whole world, except two monks, bent on producing his ignominy; and yet his biographer can pick (p. 388) from the Admiral's own admissions enough to show that during all this time he had much encouragement from high quarters. The critic is not slow to take advantage of this weakness of Columbus' character, and more than once makes him the strongest witness against himself.

It is now denied that the money advanced by Santangel was from the treasury of Aragon. On the contrary, the critic contends that the venture was from Santangel's private resources; and he dismisses peremptorily the evidence of the document which Argensola, in his *Anales de Aragon* (Saragossa, 1630), says was preserved in the archives of the treasury of Aragon. He says a friend who searched at Barcelona in 1871, among the "Archivo general de la Corona de Aragon," could not find it.

Las Casas had first told — guardedly, to be sure — the story of the Pinzons' contributing the money which enabled Columbus to assume an eighth part of the expense of the first voyage; but it is now claimed that the assistance of that family was confined to exerting its influence to get Columbus a crew. It is judged that the evidence is conclusive that the Pinzons did not take pecuniary risk in the voyage of 1492, because only their advances of this sort for the voyage of 1499 are mentioned in the royal grant respecting their arms. But such evidence is certainly inconclusive; and without the evidence of Las Casas it must remain uncertain whence Columbus got the five hundred thousand maravedis which he contributed to the cost of that momentous voyage.

The world has long glorified the story in the *Historie* of 1571 about the part which the crown jewels, and the like, played in the efforts of Isabella to assist in the furnishing of Columbus' vessels. Peter Martyr, Bernaldez, and others who took frequent occasion to sound the praises of her majesty, say nothing of it; and, as is now contended, for the good reason that there was no truth in the story, the jewels having long before been pledged in the prosecution of the war with the Moors.

It is inferred (p. 417) from Las Casas that his abridgment of Columbus' Journal was made from a copy, and not from the original (Navarrete, i. 134); and Harrisse says that from two copies of this abridgment, preserved in the collection of the Duque d' Osuna at Madrid, Varnhagen printed his text of it which is contained in his *Verdadera Guanahani*. This last text varies in some places from that in Navarrete, and Harrisse says he has collated it with the

Osuna copies without discovering any error. He thinks, however, that the *Historie* of 1571, as well as Las Casas' account, is based upon the complete text; and his discrediting of the *Historie* does not prevent him in this case saying that from it, as well as from Las Casas, a few touches of genuineness, not of importance to be sure, can be added to the narrative of the abridgment. He also points out that we should discriminate as to the reflections which Las Casas intersperses; but he seems to have no apprehension of such insertions in the *Historie* in this particular case.

The Ambrosian text of the first letter is once more reprinted (p. 419), accompanied by a French translation. In some appended notes the critic collates it with the Cosco version in different shapes, and with that of Simancas. He also suggests that this text was printed at Barcelona toward the end of March, 1493, and infers that it may have been in this form that the Genoese ambassadors took the news to Italy when they left Spain about the middle of the following month.

The closing chapter of this first volume is on the question of the landfall. The biographer discredits attempts to settle the question by nautical reasoning based on the log of Columbus, averring that the inevitable inaccuracies of such records in Columbus' time is proved by the widely different conclusions of such experienced men as Navarrete, Becher, and Fox. He relies rather on Columbus' description and on that in Las Casas. The name which the latter says was borne in his day by the island of the landfall was "Triango;" but the critic fails to find this name on any earlier map than that first made known in the *Cartas de Indias* in 1877. To this map he finds it impossible to assign an earlier date than 1541, since it discloses some reminders of the expedition of Coronado. He instances other maps in which the name in some form appears attached to an island of the Bahamas, — as in the Cabot mappemonde of 1544 (Triangula), the so-called Vallard map (Triango), that of Gutierrez in 1550 (Trriango), that of Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Islario* of 1560 (Triangulo). Unfortunately on some of the maps Guanahani appears as well as the name which Las Casas gives. Harrisse's solution of this conjunction of names is suggested by the fact that in the Weimar map of 1527 (see sketch, *ante*, p. 43) an islet "Triango" lies just east of Guanahani, and corresponds in size and position to the "Triangula" of Cabot and the "Triangulo" of Santa Cruz. Guanahani he finds to correspond to Acklin Island, the larger of the Crooked Island group (see map, *ante*, p. 55); while the Plana Cays, shown east of it, would stand for "Triango." Columbus, with that confusion which characterizes his writings, speaks in one place of his first land being an "isleta," and in another place he calls it an "isla grande." This gives the critic ground for supposing that Columbus saw first the islet, the "Triango" of Las Casas, or the modern "Plana Cays," and that then he disembarked on the "isla grande," which was Acklin Island. So it may be that Columbus' own confused statement has misled subsequent writers. If this theory is not accepted, Fox, in selecting Samana, has, in the critic's opinion, come nearer the truth than any other.

THE EARLIEST MAPS

OF THE

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE enumeration of the cartographical sources respecting the discoveries of the earlier voyagers began with the list, "Catalogus auctorum tabularum geographicarum, quotquot ad nostram cognitionem hactenus pervenere; quibus addidimus, ubi locorum, quando et a quibus excusi sunt," which Ortelius in 1570 added to his *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, many of whose titles belong to works not now known. Of maps now existing the best-known enumerations are those in the *Jean et Sébastien Cabot* of Harrisse; the *Mapoteca Colombiana* of Uricoechea; the *Cartografia Mexicana* of Orozco y Berra, published by the Mexican Geographical Society; and Gustavo Uzielli's *Elenco descritto degli Atlanti, planisferi e carte nautiche*, originally published in 1875, but made the second volume, edited by Pietro Amat, of the new edition of the *Studi biografici e bibliografici della Società Geografica Italiana*, Rome, 1882, under the specific title of *Mappamondi, carte nautiche, portolani ed altri monumenti cartografici specialmente Italiani dei secoli XIII–XVII.*[1]

The Editor has printed in the *Harvard University Bulletin* a bibliography of Ptolemy's geography, and a calendar, with additions and annotations, of the Kohl Collection of early maps, belonging to the Department of State at Washington, both of which contributions called for enumerations of printed and manuscript maps of the early period, and included their reproductions of later years.

The development of cartography is also necessarily made a part of histories of geography like those of Santarem, Lelewel, St.-Martin, and Peschel; but their use of maps hardly made chronological lists of them a necessary part of their works. Santarem has pointed out how scantily modern writers have treated of the cartography of the Middle Ages previous to the era of Spanish discovery; and he enumerates such maps as had been described before the appearance of his work, as well as publications of the earlier ones after the Spanish discovery.[2]

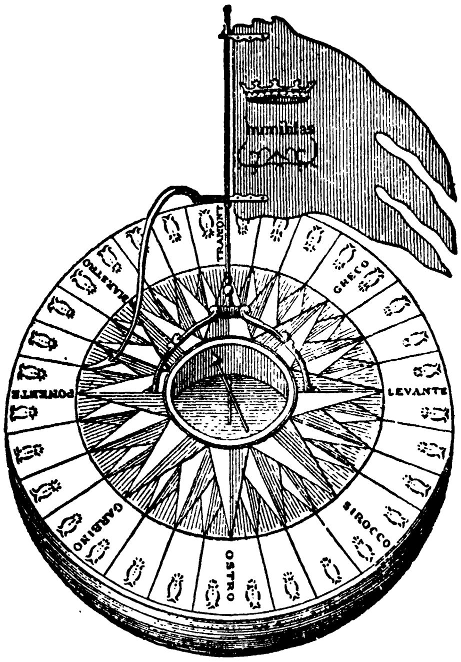
---

[1] Vol. i. of the *Studi* is a chronological account of Italian travellers and voyages, beginning with Grimaldo (1120-1122), and accompanied by maps showing the routes of the principal ones. Cf. Theobald Fischer, "Ueber italienische Seekarten und Kartographen des Mittelalters," in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xvii. 5.

As to the work which has been done in the geographical societies of Germany, we shall have readier knowledge when Dr. Johannes Müller's *Die wissenschaftlichen Vereine und Gesellschaften Deutschlands,— Bibliographie ihrer Veröffentlichungen*, now announced in Berlin, is made public. One of the most important sale-catalogues of maps is that of the Prince Alexandre Labanoff Collection, Paris, 1823,—a list now very rare. Nos. 1–112 were given to the world, and 1480–1543 to America separately.

[2] Santarem, *Histoire de la cartographie*, etc., vol. i., preface, pp. xxxix, l, and 194. After the present volume was printed to this point, and

To what extent Columbus had studied the older maps from the time when they began to receive a certain definiteness in the fourteenth century, is not wholly clear, nor how much he knew of the charts of Marino Sanuto, of Pizignani, and of the now famous Catalan map of that period; but it is doubtless true that the maps of Bianco (1436) and Mauro (1460) were well known to him.[1] "Though these early maps and charts of the fifteenth century," says Hallam,[2] "are to us but a chaos of error and confusion, it was on them that the patient eye of Columbus had rested through long hours of meditation, while strenuous hope and unsubdued doubt were struggling in his soul."



EARLY COMPASS.[5]

A principal factor in the development of map-making, as of navigation, had been the magnet. It had been brought from China to the eastern coast of Africa as early as the fourth century, and through the Arabs[3] and Crusaders it had been introduced into the Mediterranean, and was used by the Catalans and Basques in the twelfth century, a hundred years or more before Marco Polo brought to Europe his wonderful stories.[4] In that century even it had become so familiar a sight that poets used it in their metaphors. The variation of its needle was not indeed unknown long before Columbus, but its observation in mid-ocean in his day gave it a new significance. The Chinese had studied the phenomenon, and their observations upon it had followed shortly upon the introduction of the compass itself to Western knowledge; and as early as 1436 the variation of the needle was indicated on maps in connection with places of observation.[6]

---

after Vols. III. and IV. were in type, Mr. Arthur James Weise's *Discoveries of America to the year 1525* was published in New York. A new draft of the Maiollo map of 1527 is about its only important feature.

[1] See an enumeration of all these earlier maps and of their reproductions in part i. of *The Kohl Collection of Early Maps*, by the present writer. Bianco's map was reproduced in 1869 at Venice, with annotations by Oscar Peschel; and Mauro's in 1866, also at Venice.

[2] *Literature of Europe*, chap. iii. sect. 4.

[3] Cf., on the instruments and marine charts of the Arabs, Codine's *La mer des Indes*, p. 74; Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie du moyen-âge;* Sédillot's *Les instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, etc.

[4] Major, *Prince Henry* (1868 ed.), pp. 57, 60. There is some ground for believing that the Northmen were acquainted with the loadstone in the eleventh century. Prescott (*Ferdinand and Isabella*, 1873 ed., ii. 111) indicates the use of it by the Castilians in 1403. Cf. Santarem, *Histoire de la cartographie*, p. 280; *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, xxii. 68; *American Journal of Science*, lx. 242. Cf. the early knowledge regarding the introduction of the compass in Eden's *Peter Martyr* (1555), folio 320; and D'Avezac's *Aperçus historiques sur la boussole*, Paris, 1860, 16 pp.; also Humboldt's *Cosmos*, Eng. tr. ii. 656.

[5] This follows the engraving in Pigafetta's *Voyage* and in the work of Jurien de la Gravière. The main points were designated by the usual names of the winds, *Levante*, east; *Sirocco*, south-east, etc.

[6] For instance, the map of Bianco. The variation in Europe was always easterly after observations were first made.

The earliest placing of a magnetic pole seems due to the voyage of Nicholas of Lynn, whose narrative was presented to Edward III. of England. This account is no longer known,[1] though the title of it, *Inventio fortunata*, is preserved, with its alleged date of 1355. Cnoyen, whose treatise is not extant, is thought to have got his views about the regions of the north and about the magnetic pole from Nicholas of Lynn,[2] while he was in Norway in 1364; and it is from Cnoyen that Mercator says he got his notion of the four circumpolar islands which so long figured in maps of the Mercator and Finæus school. In the Ruysch map (1508) we have the same four polar islands, with the magnetic pole placed within an insular mountain north of Greenland. Ruysch also depended on the *Inventio fortunata*. Later, by Martin Cortes in 1545, and by Sanuto in 1588, the pole was placed farther south.[3]

Ptolemy, in the second century, accepting the generally received opinion that the world as known was much longer east and west than north and south, adopted with this theory the terms which naturally grew out of this belief, *latitude* and *longitude*, and first instituted them, it is thought, in systematic geography.[4]

Pierre d'Ailly, in his map of 1410,[5] in marking his climatic lines, had indicated the beginnings, under a revival of geographical inquiry, of a systematic notation of latitude. Several of the early Ptolemies[6] had followed, by scaling in one way and another the distance from the equator; while in the editions of 1508 and 1511 an example had been set of marking longitude. The old Arabian cartographers had used both latitude and longitude; but though there were some earlier indications of the adoption of such lines among the European map-makers, it is generally accorded that the scales of such measurements, as we understand them, came in, for both latitude and longitude, with the map which Reisch in 1503 annexed to his *Margarita philosophica*.[7]

Ptolemy had fixed his first meridian at the Fortunate Islands (Canaries), and in the new era the Spaniards, with the sanction of the Pope, had adopted the same point; though the Portuguese, as if in recognition of their own enterprise, had placed it at Madeira, — as is shown in the globes of Behaim and Schöner, and in the map of Ruysch. The difference was not great; the Ptolemean example prevailed, however, in the end.[8]

---

[1] Hakluyt, i. 122.

[2] *Journal of the American Geographical Society*, xii. 185.

[3] It is supposed to-day to be in Prince Albert Land, and to make a revolution in about five hundred years. Acosta contended that there were four lines of no variation, and Halley, in 1683, contended for four magnetic poles.

[4] Cf. notes on p. 661, *et seq.*, in Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. i., on the ancients' calculations of latitude and measurements for longitude. Ptolemy carried the most northern parts of the known world sixty-three degrees north, and the most southern parts sixteen degrees south, of the Equator, an extent north and south of seventy-nine degrees. Marinus of Tyre, who preceded Ptolemy, stretched the known world, north and south, over eighty-seven degrees. Marinus had also made the length of the known world 225 degrees east and west, while Ptolemy reduced it to 177 degrees; but he did not, nor did Marinus, bound it definitely in the east by an ocean, but he left its limit in that direction undetermined, as he did that of Africa in the south, which resulted in making the Indian Ocean in his conception an inland sea, with the possibility of passing by land from Southern Africa to Southern Asia, along a parallel. Marinus had been the first to place the Fortunate Islands farther west than the limits of Spain in that direction, though he put them only two and a half degrees beyond, while the meridian of Ferro is nine degrees from the most westerly part of the main.

[5] Cf. Lelewel, pl. xxviii., and Santarem, *Histoire de la cartographie*, iii. 301, and *Atlas*, pl. 15.

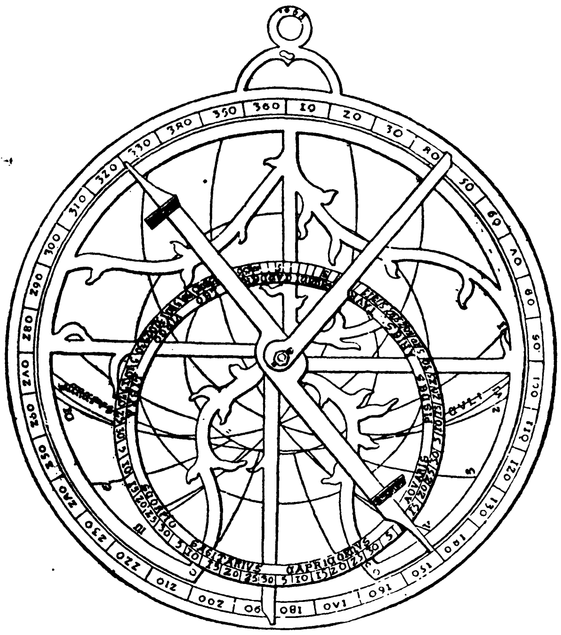
[6] Cf. editions of 1482, 1486, 1513, 1535.

[7] The earliest instance in a *published* Spanish map is thought to be the woodcut which in 1534 appeared at Venice in the combination of Peter Martyr and Oviedo which Ramusio is thought to have edited. This map is represented on a later page.

[8] There was a tendency in the latter part of the sixteenth century to remove the prime meridian to St. Michael's, in the Azores, for the reason that there was no variation in the needle there at that time, and in ignorance of the forces which to-day at St. Michael's make it point twenty-five degrees off the true north. As late as 1634 a congress of European mathematicians confirmed it at the west edge of the Isle de Fer (Ferro), the most westerly of the Canaries.

In respect to latitude there was not in the rude instruments of the early navigators, and under favorable conditions, the means of closely approximate accuracy. In the study which the Rev. E. F. Slafter[1] has made on the average extent of the error which we find in the records of even a later century, it appears that while a range of sixty geographical miles will probably cover such errors in all cases, when observations were made with ordinary care the average deviation will probably be found to be at least fifteen miles. The fractions of degrees were scarcely ever of much value in the computation, and the minute gradation of the instruments in use were subject to great uncertainty of record in tremulous hands. It was not the custom, moreover, to make any allowance for the dip of the horizon, for refraction or for the parallax; and when, except at the time of the equinox, dependence had to be placed upon tables of the sun's declination, the published ephemerides, made for a series of years, were the subjects of accumulated error.[2]

With these impediments to accurate results, it is not surprising that even errors of considerable extent crept into the records of latitude, and long remained unchallenged.[3] Ptolemy, in A. D. 150, had placed Constantinople two degrees out of the way; and it remained so on maps for fourteen hundred years. In Columbus' time Cuba was put seven or eight degrees too far north; and under this false impression the cartography of the Antilles began.



REGIOMONTANUS' ASTROLABE.[4]

The historic instrument for the taking of latitude was the astrolabe, which is known to have been in use by the Majorcan and Catalanian sailors in the latter part of the thirteenth century; and it is described by Raymond Lullius in his *Arte de navegar* of that time.[5] Behaim, the contemporary of Columbus, one of the explorers of the African coast, and a pupil of Regiomontanus, had somewhat changed the old form of the astrolabe in adapting it for use on shipboard. This was in 1484 at Lisbon, and Behaim's improvement was doubtless what Columbus used. Of the form in use before Behaim we have that (said to have belonged to Regiomontanus) in the cut on page 96; and in the following cut the remodelled shape which it took after Behaim.

---

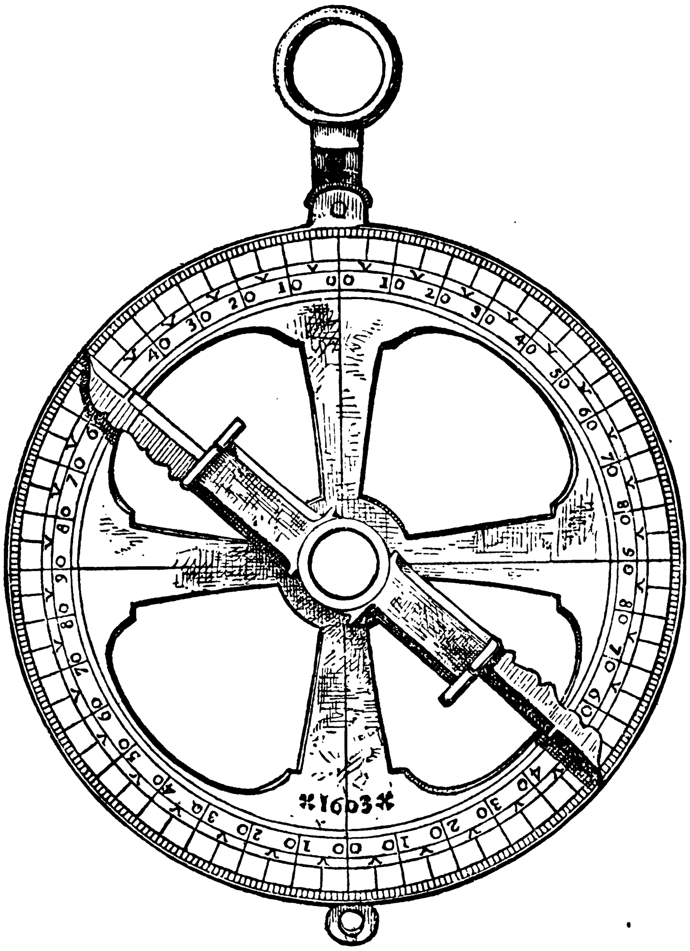
[1] Edmund Farwell Slafter, *History and Causes of the Incorrect Latitudes as recorded in the Journals of the Early Writers, Navigators, and Explorers relating to the Atlantic Coast of North America* (1535–1740). Boston: Privately printed, 1882. 20 pages. Reprinted from the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* for April, 1882.

[2] Regiomontanus, — as Johannes Müller, of Königsberg, in Franconia, was called, from his town, — published at Nuremberg his *Ephemerides* for the interval 1475–1506; and these were what Columbus probably used. Cf. Alex. Ziegler's *Regiomontanus, ein geistiger Vorläufer des Columbus*, Dresden, 1874. Stadius, a professor of mathematics, published an almanac of this kind in 1545, and the English navigators used successive editions of this one.

[3] Cf. Kohl, *Die beiden General-Karten von Amerika*, p. 17, and Varnhagen's *Historia geral do Brazil*, i. 432.

[4] This cut follows the engravings in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 106, and in Ghillany's *Ritter Behaim*, p. 40. Cf. Von Murr, *Memorabilia bibliothecarum Norimbergensium*, i. 9.

[5] Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 630, 670; Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* (1535), p. 1416; D'Avezac's *Waltzemüller*, p. 64.



LATER ASTROLABE.[1]

---

[1] This cut follows an engraving (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 178) after a photograph of one used by Champlain, which bears the Paris maker's date of 1603. There is another cut of it in Weise's *Discoveries of America*, p. 68. Having been lost by Champlain in Canada in 1613, it was ploughed up in 1867 (see Vol. IV. p. 124; also *Canadian Monthly*, xviii. 589). The small size of the circle used in the sea-instrument to make it conveniently serviceable, necessarily operated to make the ninety degrees of its quarter circle too small for accuracy in fractions. On land much larger circles were sometimes used; one was erected in London in 1594 of six feet radius. The early books on navigation and voyages frequently gave engravings of the astrolabe; as, for instance, in Pigafetta's voyage (Magellan), and in the *Lichte der Zee-Vaert* (Amsterdam, 1623), translated as *The Light of Navigation* (Amsterdam, 1625). The treatise on navigation

An instrument which could more readily adapt itself to the swaying of the observer's body in a sea-way, soon displaced in good measure the astrolabe on shipboard. This was the cross-staff, or jackstaff, which in several modified forms for a long time served mariners as a convenient help in ascertaining the altitude of the celestial bodies. Precisely when it was first introduced is not certain; but the earliest description of it which has been found is that of Werner in 1514. Davis, the Arctic navigator, made an improvement on it; and his invention was called a backstaff.

While the observations of the early navigators in respect to latitude were usually accompanied by errors, which were of no considerable extent, their determinations of longitude, when attempted at all, were almost always wide of the truth,[1] — so far, indeed, that their observations helped them but little then to steer their courses, and are of small assistance now to us in following their tracks. It happened that while Columbus was at Hispaniola on his second voyage, in September, 1494, there was an eclipse of the

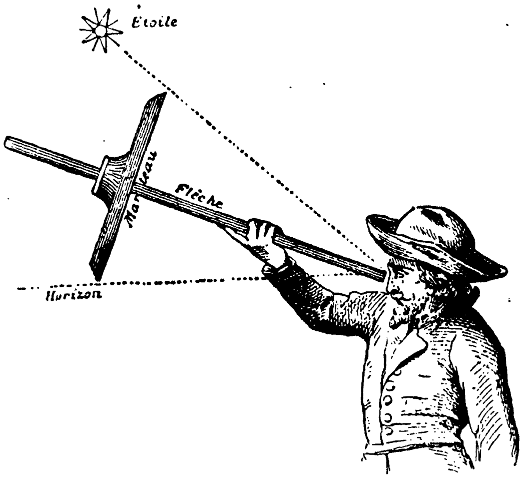
---

which became the most popular with the successors of Columbus was the work of Pedro de Medina (born about 1493), called the *Arte de navegar*, published in 1545 (reprinted in 1552 and 1561), of which there were versions in French (1554, and Lyons, 1569, with maps showing names on the coast of America for the first time), Italian (1555 with 1554, at end; *Court Catalogue*, no. 235), German (1576), and English (1591). (Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 266.) Its principal rival was that of Martin Cortes, *Breve compendio de la sphera y de la arte de navegar*, published in 1551. In Columbus' time there was no book of the sort, unless that of Raymond Lullius (1294) be considered such; and not till Enciso's *Suma de geografia* was printed, in 1519, had the new spirit instigated the making of these helpful and explanatory books. The *Suma de geografia* is usually considered the first book printed in Spanish relating to America. Enciso, who had been practising law in Santo Domingo, was with Ojeda's expedition to the mainland in 1509, and seems to have derived much from his varied experience; and he first noticed at a later day the different levels of the tides on the two sides of the isthmus. The book is rare; Rich in 1832 (no. 4) held it at £10 10*s.* (Cf. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, 171; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 97, 153, 272, — there were later editions in 1530 and 1546, — Sabin, vol. vi. no. 22,551, etc.; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 329, 339; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 58, with a fac-simile of the title: *Cat. Hist. do Brazil, Bibl. Nac. do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 2.) Antonio Pigafetta in 1530 produced his *Trattato di navigazione;* but Medina and Cortes were the true beginners of the literature of seamanship. (Cf. Brevoort's *Verrazano*, p. 116, and the list of such publications given in the *Davis Voyages*, p. 342, published by the Hakluyt Society, and the English list noted in Vol. III. p. 206, of the present *History.*) There is an examination of the state of navigation in Columbus' time in Margry's *Navigations Françaises*, p. 402, and in M. F. Navarrete's *Sobre la historia de la náutica y de las ciencias matemáticas*, Madrid, 1846, — a work now become rare.

The rudder, in place of two paddles, one on each quarter, had come into use before this time; but the reefing of sails seems not yet to have been practised. (Cf. *Da Gama's Voyages*, published by the Hakluyt Society, p. 242.) Columbus' record of the speed of his ship seems to have been the result of observation by the unaided eye. The log was not yet known; the Romans had fixed a wheel to the sides of their galleys, each revolution of which threw a pebble into a tally-pot. The earliest description which we have in the new era of any device of the kind is in connection with Magellan's voyage; for Pigafetta in his Journal (January, 1521), mentions the use of a chain at the hinder part of the ship to measure its speed. (Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 631; v. 56.) The log as we understand it is described in 1573 in Bourne's *Regiment of the Sea*, nothing indicating the use of it being found in the earlier manuals of Medina, Cortes, and Gemma Frisius. Humfrey Cole is said to have invented it. Three years later than this earliest mention, Eden, in 1576, in his translation of Taisnier's *Navigatione*, alludes to an artifice "not yet divulgate, which, placed in the pompe of a shyp, whyther the water hath recourse, and moved by the motion of the shypp, with wheels and weyghts, doth exactly shewe what space the shyp hath gone" (*Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. no. 310), — a reminiscence of the Roman side-wheels, and a reminder of the modern patent-log. Cf. article on "Navigation" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth ed. vol. xvii.

[1] Cf. Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen-âge*, ii. 160. The rules of Gemma Frisius for discovering longitude were given in Eden's *Peter Martyr* (1555), folio 360. An earlier book was Francisco Falero's *Regimiento para observar la longitud en la mar*, 1535. Cf. E. F. de Navarrete's "El problema de la longitud en la mar," in volume 21 of the *Doc. inéditos* (*España*); and *Vasco da Gama* (Hakluyt Soc.), pp. 19, 25, 33, 43, 63, 138.

moon.[1] Columbus observed it; and his calculations placed himself five hours and a half from Seville, — an error of eighteen degrees, or an hour and a quarter too much. The error was due doubtless as much to the rudeness of his instruments as to the errors of the lunar tables then in use.[2]



THE JACKSTAFF.

The removal of the Line of Demarcation from the supposed meridian of non-variation of the needle did not prevent the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism becoming of vast importance in the dispute between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal. It characterizes the difference between the imaginative and somewhat fantastic quality of Columbus' mind and the cooler, more practical, and better administrative apprehension of Sebastian Cabot, that while each observed the phenomenon of the variation of the needle, and each imagined it a clew to some system of determining longitude, to Columbus it was associated with wild notions of a too-ample revolution of the North Star about the true pole.[3] It was not disconnected in his mind from a fancy which gave the earth the shape of a pear; so that when he perceived on his voyage a clearing of the atmosphere, he imagined he was ascending the stem-end of the pear; where he would find the terrestrial paradise.[4] To Cabot the phenomenon had only its practical significance; and he seems to have pondered on a solution of the problem during the rest of his life, if, as Humboldt supposes, the intimations of his death-bed in respect to some as yet unregistered way of discovering longitude refer to his observations on the magnetic declination.[1]

---

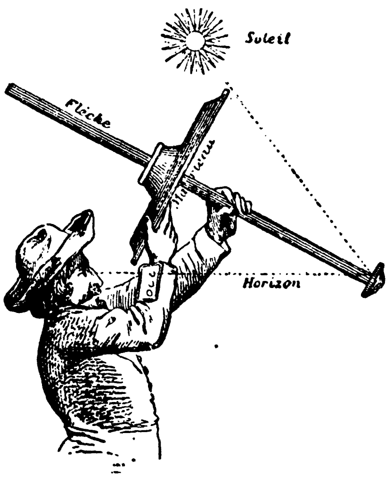
[1] The *Germaniæ ex variis scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio* of Bilibaldus Pirckeymerus, published in 1530, has a reference to this eclipse. Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 96; *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 1,992. The paragraph is as follows: "Proinde compertum est ex observatione eclypsis, quæ fuit in mense Septembri anno salutis 1494. Hispaniam insulam, quatuor ferme horarum intersticio ab Hyspali, quæ Sibilia est distare, hoc est gradibus 60, qualium est circulus maximus 360, medium vero insulæ continet gradus 20 circiter in altitudine polari. Navigatur autem spacium illud communiter in diebus 35 altitudo vero continentis oppositi, cui Hispani sanctæ Marthæ nomen indidere, circiter graduum est 12 Darieni vero terra et sinus de Uraca gradus quasi tenent 7½ in altitudine polari, unde longissimo tractu occidentem versus terra est, quæ vocatur Mexico et Temistitan, a qua etiam non longa remota est insula Jucatan cum aliis nuper repertis." The method of determining longitude by means of lunar tables dates back to Hipparchus.

[2] These were the calculations of Regiomontanus (Müller), who calls himself "Monteregius" in his *Tabulæ astronomice Alfonsi regis*, published at Venice in the very year (1492) of Columbus' first voyage. (Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 83.) At a later day the Portuguese accused the Spaniards of altering the tables then in use, so as to affect the position of the Papal line of Demarcation. Barras, quoted by Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Eng. tr. ii. 671.

Johann Stoeffler was a leading authority on the methods of defining latitude and longitude in vogue in the beginning of the new era; cf. his *Elucidatio fabricæ ususque astrolabii*, Oppenheim, 1513 (colophon 1512), and his edition of *In Procli Diadochi sphæram omnibus numeris longe absolutissimus commentarius*, Tübingen, 1534, where he names one hundred and seventy contemporary and earlier writers on the subject. (Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, nos. 2,633–2,634.)

[3] The polar distance of the North Star in Columbus' time was 3° 28′; and yet his calculations made it sometimes 5°, and sometimes 10°. It is to-day 1° 20′ distant from the true pole. *United States Coast Survey Report*, 1880, app. xviii.

[4] Santarem, *Histoire de la cartographie*, vol. ii. p. lix. Columbus would find here the centre of the earth, as D'Ailly, Mauro, and Behaim found it at Jerusalem.



THE BACKSTAFF.

The idea of a constantly increasing declination east and west from a point of non-variation, which both Columbus and Cabot had discovered, and which increase could be reduced to a formula, was indeed partly true; except, as is now well known, the line of non-variation, instead of being a meridian, and fixed, is a curve of constantly changing proportions.[2]

The earliest variation-chart was made in 1530 by Alonzo de Santa Cruz;[3] and schemes of ascertaining longitude were at once based on the observations of these curves, as they had before been made dependent upon the supposed gradation of the change from meridian to meridian, irrespective of latitude.[4] Fifty years later (1585), Juan Jayme made a voyage with Gali from the Philippine Islands to Acapulco to test a "declinatorum" of his own invention.[5] But this was a hundred years (1698–1702) before Halley's Expedition was sent, — the first which any government fitted out to observe the forces of terrestrial magnetism;[6] and though there had been suspicions of it much earlier, it was not till 1722 that Graham got unmistakable data to prove the hourly variation of the needle.[7]

---

[1] *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 658. Humboldt also points out how Columbus on his second voyage had attempted to fix his longitude by the declination of the needle (Ibid., ii. 657; v. 54). Cf. a paper on Columbus and Cabot in the *Nautical Magazine*, July, 1876.

It is a fact that good luck or skill of some undiscernible sort enabled Cabot to record some remarkable approximations of longitude in an age when the wildest chance governed like attempts in others. Cabot indeed had the navigator's instinct; and the modern log-book seems to have owed its origin to his practices and the urgency with which he impressed the importance of it upon the Muscovy Company.

[2] Appendix xix. of the *Report of the United States Coast Survey* for 1880 (Washington, 1882) is a paper by Charles A. Schott of "Inquiry into the Variation of the Compass off the Bahama Islands, at the time of the Landfall of Columbus in 1492," which is accompanied by a chart, showing by comparison the lines of no-variation respectively in 1492, 1600, 1700, 1800, and 1880, as far as they can be made out from available data. In this chart the line of 1492 runs through the Azores, — bending east as it proceeds northerly, and west in its southerly extension. The no-variation line in 1882 leaves the South American coast between the mouths of the Amazon and the Orinoco, and strikes the Carolina coast not far from Charleston. The Azores to-day are in the curve of 25° W. variation, which line leaves the west coast of Ireland, and after running through the Azores sweeps away to the St. Lawrence Gulf.

[3] Navarrete, *Noticia del cosmografo Alonzo de Santa Cruz.*

[4] Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 672; v. 59.

[5] *Cosmos*, v. 55.

[6] *Cosmos*, v. 59.

[7] Charts of the magnetic curves now made by the Coast Survey at Washington are capable of supplying, if other means fail, and particularly in connection with the dipping-needle, data of a ship's longitude with but inconsiderable error. The inclination or dip was not measured till 1576; and Humboldt shows how under some conditions it can be used also to determine latitude.

In 1714 the English Government, following an example earlier set by other governments, offered a reward of £20,000 to any one who would determine longitude at sea within half a degree. It was ultimately given to Harrison, a watchmaker who made an improved marine chronometer. An additional £3,000 was given

The earliest map which is distinctively associated with the views which were developing in Columbus' mind was the one which Toscanelli sent to him in 1474. It is said to have been preserved in Madrid in 1527;[1] and fifty-three years after Columbus' death, when Las Casas was writing his history, it was in his possession.[2] We know that this Italian geographer had reduced the circumference of the globe to nearly three quarters of its actual size, having placed China about six thousand five hundred miles west of Lisbon, and eleven thousand five hundred miles east. Japan, lying off the China coast, was put somewhere from one hundred degrees to one hundred and ten degrees west of Lisbon; and we have record that Martin Pinzon some years later (1491) saw a map in Rome which put Cipango (Japan) even nearer the European side.[3] A similar view is supposed

at the same time to the widow of Tobias Meyer, who had improved the lunar tables. It also instigated two ingenious mechanicians, who hit upon the same principle independently, and worked out its practical application, — the Philadelphian, Thomas Godfrey, in his "mariner's bow" (*Penn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 422); and the Englishman, Hadley, in his well-known quadrant.

It can hardly be claimed to-day, with all our modern appliances, that a ship's longitude can be ascertained with anything more than approximate precision. The results from dead-reckoning are to be corrected in three ways. Observations on the moon will not avoid, except by accident, errors which may amount to seven or eight miles. The difficulties of making note of Jupiter's satellites in their eclipse, under the most favorable conditions, will be sure to entail an error of a half, or even a whole, minute. This method, first tried effectively about 1700, was the earliest substantial progress which had been made; all the attempts of observation on the opposition of planets, the occultations of stars, the difference of altitude between the moon and Jupiter, and the changes in the moon's declination, having failed of satisfactory results (Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 671). John Werner, of Nuremberg, as early as 1514, and Gemma Frisius, in 1545, had suggested the measure of the angle between the altitude of the moon and some other heavenly body; but it was not till 1615 that it received a trial at sea, through the assiduity of Baffin. The newer method of Jupiter's satellites proved of great value in the hands of Delisle, the real founder of modern geographical science. By it he cut off three hundred leagues from the length of the Mediterranean Sea, and carried Paris two and a half degrees, and Constantinople ten degrees, farther west. Corrections for two centuries had been chiefly made in a similar removal of places. For instance, the longitude of Gibraltar had increased from 7° 50′ W., as Ptolemy handed it down, to 9° 30′ under Ruscelli, to 13° 30′ under Mercator, and to 14° 30′ under Ortelius. It is noticeable that Eratosthenes, who two hundred years and more before Christ was the librarian at Alexandria and chief of its geographical school, though he made the length of the Mediterranean six hundred geographical miles too long, did better than Ptolemy three centuries later, and better even than moderns had done up to 1668, when this sea was elongated by nearly a third beyond its proper length. Cf. Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, i. 635; Gosselin, *Géog. des Grecs*, p. 42. Sanson was the last, in 1668, to make this great error.

The method for discovering longitude which modern experience has settled upon is the noting at noon, when the weather permits a view of the sun, of the difference of a chronometer set to a known meridian. This instrument, with all its modern perfection, is liable to an error of ten or fifteen seconds in crossing the Atlantic, which may be largely corrected by a mean, derived from the use of more than one chronometer. The first proposition to convey time as a means of deciding longitude dates back to Alonzo de Santa Cruz, who had no better timekeepers than sand and water clocks (Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 672).

On land, care and favorable circumstances may now place an object within six or eight yards of its absolute place in relation to the meridian. Since the laying of the Atlantic cable has made it possible to use for a test a current which circles the earth in three seconds, it is significant of minute accuracy, in fixing the difference of time between Washington and Greenwich, that in the three several attempts to apply the cable current, the difference between the results has been less than $\frac{7}{100}$ of a second.

But on shipboard the variation is still great, though the last fifty years has largely reduced the error. Professor Rogers, of the Harvard College Observatory, in examining one hundred log-books of Atlantic steamships, has found an average error of three miles; and he reports as significant of the superior care of the Cunard commanders that the error in the logs of their ships was reduced to an average of a mile and a half.

[1] Lelewel, ii. 130.

[2] Humboldt, *Examen critique*, ii. 210.

[3] The breadth east and west of the Old World was marked variously, — on the Laon globe, 250°; Behaim's globe, 130°; Schöner's

BILIBALDVS PIRCHAIMERVS PATR.
Noricus, Hiſtoricus.

Carminis auctor eram bonus, hiſtoriæq; : ſed orno
Carminis auctores hiſtoriæq; magis.
M. D. XXXI.

PIRCKEYMERUS.[1]

to have been presented in the map which Bartholomew Columbus took to England in 1488;[2] but we have no trace of the chart itself.[3] It has always been supposed that in the

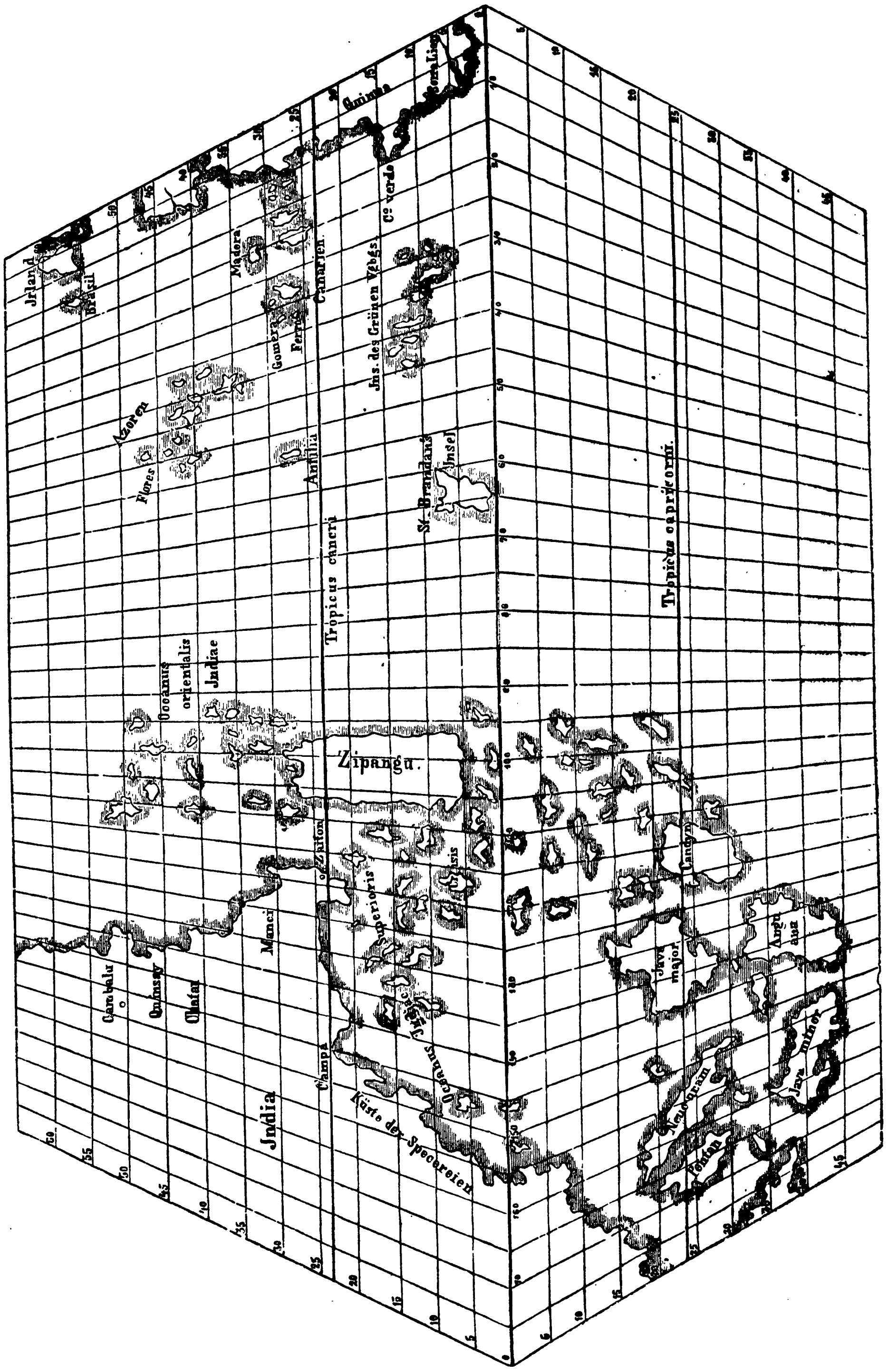
---

globe, 228°; Ruysch's map, 224°; Sylvanus' map, 220°; and the Portuguese chart of 1503, 220°.

[1] Fac-simile of a cut in Reusner's *Icones*, Strasburg, 1590, p. 42. This well-known cosmographical student was one of the collaboraters of the series of the printed Ptolemies, beginning with that of 1525. There is a well-known print of Pirckeymerus by Albert Dürer, 1524, which is reproduced in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xix. 114. Cf. Friedrich Campe's *Zum Andenken Wilibald Pirkheimers, Mitglieds des Raths zu Nürnberg* (Nürnberg, 58 pp., with portrait), and *Wilibald Pirkheimer's Aufenthalt zu Neunhof, von ihm selbst geschildert; nebst Beiträgen zu dem Leben und dem Nachlasse seiner Schwestern und Töchter, von Moritz Maximilian Meyer* (Nürnberg, 1828).

[2] This sea-chart was the first which had been seen in England, and almanacs at that time had only been known in London for fifteen years, with their tables for the sun's declination and the altitude of the pole-star.

[3] Cf. *Atti della Società Ligure*, 1867, p. 174, Desimoni in *Giornale Ligustico*, ii. 52. Bartholomew is also supposed to have been the



TOSCANELLI'S MAP.[1]

---

[1] This is a restoration of the map as given in *Das Ausland*, 1867, p. 5. The language of the original was doubtless Latin. Another restoration is given in St. Martin's *Atlas*, pl. ix.

well-known globe of Martin Behaim we get in the main an expression of the views held by Toscanelli, Columbus, and other of Behaim's contemporaries, who espoused the notion of India lying over against Europe.

Eratosthenes, accepting the spherical theory, had advanced the identical notion which nearly seventeen hundred years later impelled Columbus to his voyage. He held the known world to span one third of the circuit of the globe, as Strabo did at a later day, leaving an unknown two thirds of sea; and "if it were not that the vast extent of the Atlantic Sea rendered it impossible, one might even sail from the coast of Spain to that of India along the same parallel." [1]

MARTIN BEHAIM.[2]

Behaim had spent much of his life in Lisbon and the Azores, and was a friend of Columbus. He had visited Nuremberg, probably on some family matters arising out of the death of his mother in 1487. While in this his native town, he gratified some of his townspeople by embodying in a globe the geographical views which prevailed in the maritime countries; and the globe was finished before Columbus had yet accomplished his voyage. The next year (1493) Behaim returned to Portugal; and after having been sent to the Low Countries on a diplomatic mission, he was captured by English cruisers and carried to England. Escaping finally, and reaching the Continent, he passes from our view in 1494, and is scarcely heard of again.

Of Columbus' maps it is probable that nothing has come down to us from his own hand.[3] Humboldt would fain believe that the group of islands studding a gulf which

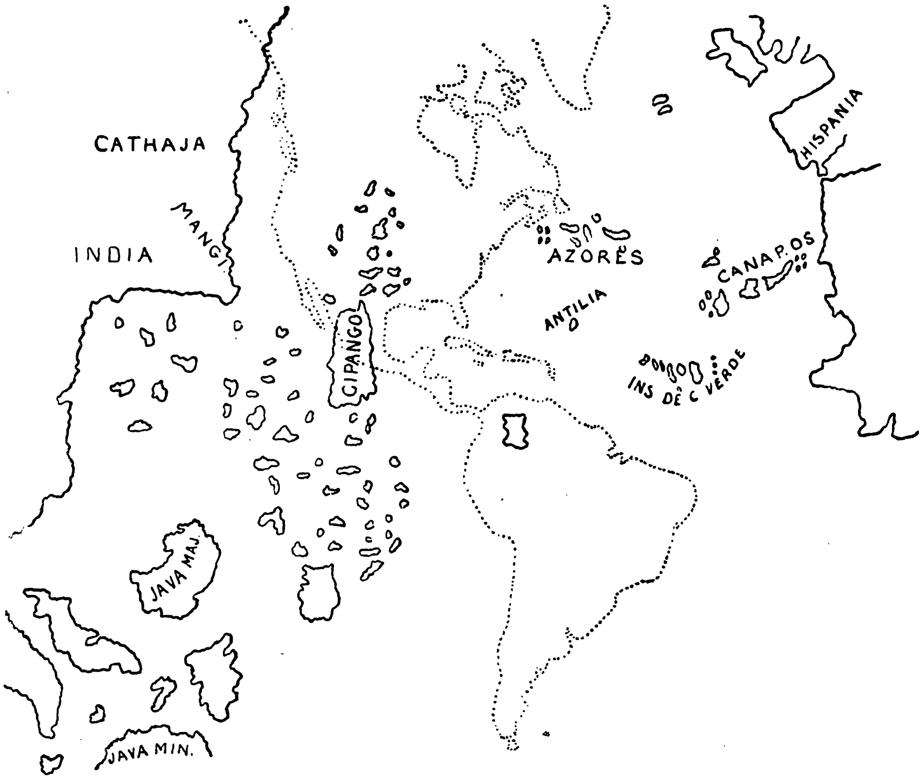
---

maker of an anonymous planisphere of 1489 (Peschel, *Ueber eine alte Weltkarte*, p. 213).

[1] Strabo, i. 65. Bunbury, *Ancient Geography*, i. 627, says the passage is unfortunately mutilated, but the words preserved can clearly have no other signification. What is left to us of Eratosthenes are fragments, which were edited by Seidel, at Göttingen, in 1789; again and better by Bernhardy (Berlin, 1822). Bunbury (vol. i. ch. xvi.) gives a sufficient survey of his work and opinions. The spherical shape of the earth was so generally accepted by the learned after the times of Aristotle and Euclid, that when Eratosthenes in the third century, B.C. went to some length to prove it, Strabo, who criticised him two centuries later, thought he had needlessly exerted himself to make plain what nobody disputed. Eratosthenes was so nearly accurate in his supposed size of the globe, that his excess over the actual size was less than one-seventh of its great circle.

[2] This cut follows the engravings in Ghillany's *Behaim*, and in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 105.

[3] There is a manuscript map of Hispaniola attached to the copy of the 1511 edition of Peter Martyr in the Colombina Library which is sometimes ascribed to Columbus; but Harrisse



SECTION OF BEHAIM'S GLOBE.[1]

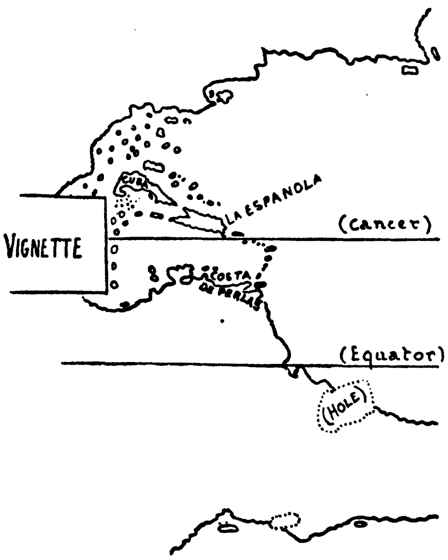
appears on a coat-of-arms granted Columbus in May, 1493, has some interest as the earliest of all cartographical records of the New World; but the early drawings of the

---

thinks it rather the work of his brother Bartholomew (*Bibl. Amer. Vet., Add.*, xiii.) A map of this island, with the native divisions as Columbus found them, is given in Muñoz. The earliest separate map is in the combined edition of Peter Martyr and Oviedo edited by Ramusio in Venice in 1534 (Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 1,778). *Le discours de la navigation de Jean et Raoul Parmentier, de Dieppe*, including a description of Santo Domingo, was edited by Ch. Schefer in Paris, 1883; a description of the "isle de Haity" from *Le grand insulaire et pilotage d'André Thevet* is given in its appendix.

[1] This globe is made of papier-maché, covered with gypsum, and over this a parchment surface received the drawing; it is twenty inches in diameter. It having fallen into decay, the Behaim family in Nuremberg caused it to be repaired in 1825. In 1847 a copy was made of it for the Dépôt Géographique (National Library) at Paris; the original is now in the city hall at Nuremberg. The earliest known engraving of it is in J. G. Doppelmayr's *Historische Nachricht von den nürnbergischen Mathematikern und Künstlern* (1730), which preserved some names that have since become illegible (Stevens, *Historical Collection*, vol. i. no. 1,396). Other representations are given in Jomard's *Monuments de la géographie;* Ghillany's *Martin Behaim* (1853) and his *Erdglobus des Behaim und der des Schöner* (1842); C. G. von Murr's *Diplomatische Geschichte des Ritters Behaim* (1778, and later editions and translations); Cladera's *Investigaciones* (1794); Amoretti's translation of Pigafetta's *Voyage de Magellan* (Paris, 1801); Lelewel's *Moyen-âge* (pl. 40; also see vol. ii. p. 131, and *Epilogue*, p. 184); Saint-Martin's *Atlas;* Santarem's *Atlas*, pl. 61; the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xviii.; Kohl's *Discovery of Maine;*

arms are by no means constant in the kind of grouping which is given to these islands.[1] Queen Isabella, writing to the Admiral, Sept. 5, 1493, asks to see the marine chart which he had made; and Columbus sent such a map with a letter.[2] We have various other references to copies of this or similar charts of Columbus. Ojeda used such a one in following Columbus' route,[3] as he testified in the famous suit against the heirs of Columbus. Bernardo de Ibarra, in the same cause, said that he had seen the Admiral's chart, and that he had heard of copies of it being used by Ojeda, and by some others.[4] It is known that about 1498 Columbus gave one of his charts to the Pope, and one to René of Lorraine. Angelo Trivigiano, secretary of the Venetian Ambassador to Spain, in a letter dated Aug. 21, 1501, addressed to Dominico Malipiero, speaks of a map of the new discoveries which Columbus had.[5]



LA COSA, 1500.

Three or four maps at least have come down to us which are supposed to represent in some way one or several of these drafts by Columbus. The first of these is the celebrated map of the pilot Juan de la Cosa,[6] dated in 1500, of which some account, with a heliotype fac-simile

---

Irving's *Columbus* (some editions); Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, i. 103; Barnes' *Popular History of the United States; Harpers' Monthly*, vol. xlii.; H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, i. 93. Ruge, in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 230, reproduces the colored fac-simile in Ghillany, and shows additionally upon it the outline of America in its proper place. The sketch in the text follows this representation. Cf. papers on Behaim and his globe (besides those accompanying the engravings above indicated) in the *Journal* of the American Geographical Society (1872), iv. 432, by the Rev. Mytton Maury; in the publications of the Maryland Historical Society by Robert Dodge and John G. Morris; in the *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde* (Dresden, 1866), p. 59. Peschel, in his *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (1858), p. 90, and in the new edition edited by Ruge, has a lower opinion of Behaim than is usually taken.

[1] *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 647. One of these early engravings is given on page 15.

[2] Navarrete, i. 253, 264.

[3] Navarrete, i. 5.

[4] Navarrete, iii. 587.

[5] Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 34; Morelli's *Lettera rarissima* (Bassano, 1810), appendix. A "carta nautica" of Columbus is named under 1501 in the *Atti della Società ligure*, 1867, p. 174, and *Giornale Ligustico*, ii. 52.

[6] Of La Cosa, who is said to have been of Basque origin, we know but little. Peter Martyr tells us that his "cardes" were esteemed, and mentions finding a map of his in 1514 in Bishop Fonseca's study. We know he was with Columbus in his expedition along the southern coast of Cuba, when the Admiral, in his folly, made his companions sign the declaration that they were on the coast of Asia. This was during Columbus' second voyage, in 1494; and Stevens (*Notes*, etc.) claims that the way in which La Cosa cuts off Cuba to the west with a line of green paint — the conventional color for "terra incognita" — indicates this possibility of connection with the main, as Ruysch's scroll does in his map. The interpretation may be correct; but it might still have been drawn an island from intimations of the natives, though Ocampo did not circumnavigate it till 1508. The natives of Guanahani distinctly told Columbus that Cuba was an island, as he relates in his Journal. Stevens also remarks how La Cosa colors, with the same green, the extension of Cuba beyond the limits of Columbus' exploration on the north coast in 1492. La Cosa, who had been with Ojeda in 1499, and with Rodrigo de Bastidas in 1501, was killed on the coast in 1509. Cf. En-

of the American part of the map, is given in another place.[1] After the death (April 27, 1852) of Walckenaer (who had bought it at a moderate cost of an ignorant dealer in second-hand articles), it was sold at public auction in Paris in the spring of 1853, when Jomard failed to secure it for the Imperial Library in Paris, and it went to Spain, where, in the naval museum at Madrid, it now is.

Of the next earliest of the American maps the story has recently been told with great fulness by Harrisse in his *Les Cortereal*, accompanied by a large colored fac-simile of the map itself, executed by Pilinski. The map was not unknown before,[2] and Harrisse had earlier described it in his *Cabots*.[3]

We know that Gaspar Cortereal[4] had already before 1500 made some explorations, during which he had discovered a mainland and some islands, but at what precise date it is impossible to determine;[5] nor can we decide upon the course he had taken, but it seems likely it was a westerly one. We know also that in this same year (1500) he made his historic voyage to the Newfoundland region,[6] coasting the neighboring shores, probably, in September and October. Then followed a second expedition from January to October of the next year (1501), — the one of which we have the account in the *Paesi novamente retrovati*, as furnished by Pasqualigo.[7] There was at this time in Lisbon one Alberto Cantino, a correspondent — with precisely what quality we know not — of Hercule d' Este, Duke of Ferrara; and to this noble personage Cantino, on the 19th of October, addressed a letter embodying what he had seen and learned of the newly returned companions of Gaspar Cortereal.[8]

The Report of Cantino instigated the Duke to ask his correspondent to procure for him a map of these explorations. Cantino procured one to be made; and inscribing it, "Carta da navigar per le Isole novam^{te} tr. . . . in le parte de l'India: dono Alberto Cantino Al S. Duca Hercole," he took it to Italy, and delivered it by another hand to the Duke at Ferrara. Here in the family archives it was preserved till 1592, when the reigning Duke retired to Modena, his library following him. In 1868, in accordance with an agreement between the Italian Government and the Archduke Francis of Austria, the cartographical monuments of the ducal collection were transferred to the Biblioteca Estense, where this precious map now is. The map was accompanied when it left Cantino's hands by a note

---

rique de Leguina's *Juan de la Cosa, estudio biográfico* (Madrid, 1877); Humboldt's *Examen critique* and his *Cosmos*, Eng. tr. ii., 639; De la Roquette, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, Mai, 1862, p. 298; Harrisse's *Cabots*, pp. 52, 103, 156, and his *Les Cortereal*, p. 94; and the references in Vol. III. of the present *History*, p. 8.

[1] Vol. III. p. 8. The fac-simile there given follows Jomard's. Harrisse (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 40), comparing Jomard's reproduction with Humboldt's description, thinks there are omissions in it. Becher (*Landfall of Columbus*) speaks of the map as "the clumsy production of an illiterate seaman." There is also a reproduction of the American parts of the map in Weise's *Discoveries of America*, 1884.

[2] Ongania, of Venice, announced some years ago a fac-simile reproduction in his *Raccolta di mappamundi*, edited by Professor Fischer, of Kiel. It was described in 1873 by Giuseppe Boni in *Cenni storici della Reale Biblioteca Estense in Modena*, and by Gustavo Uzielli in his *Studi bibliografici e biografici*, Rome, 1875.

[3] Pages 143, 158.

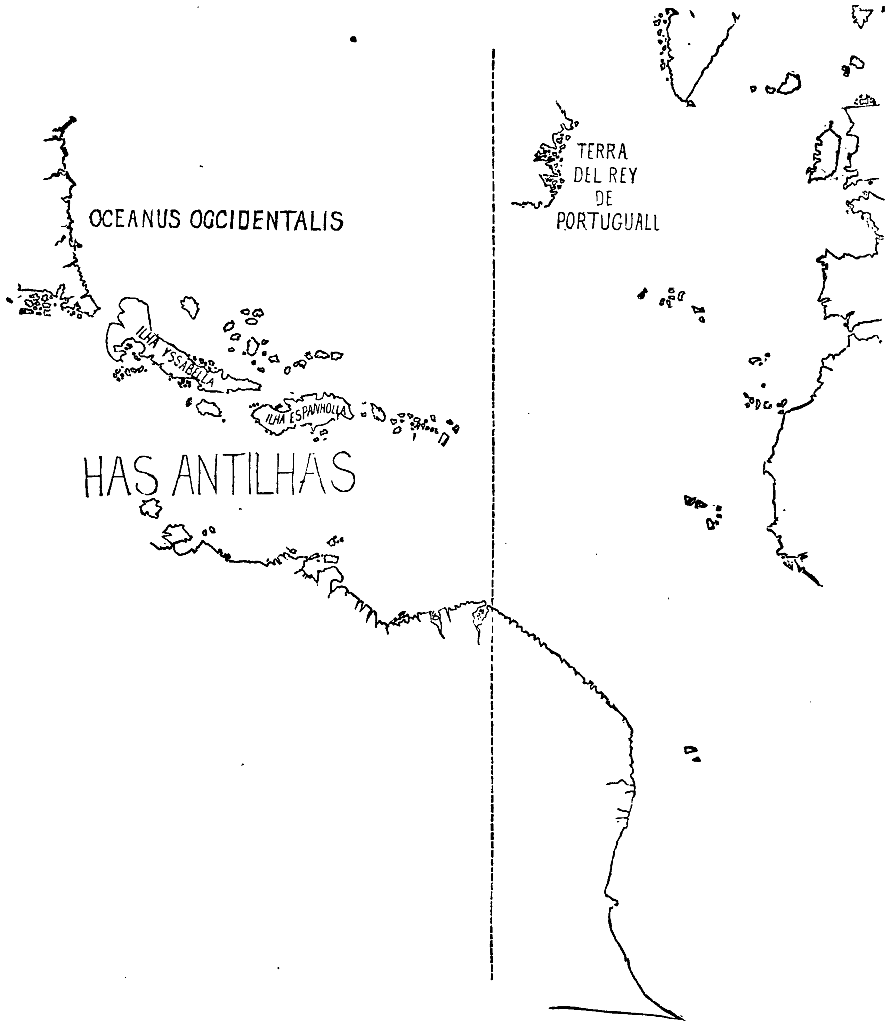
[4] He was born about 1450; *Les Cortereal*, p. 36. Cf. E. do Canto's *Os Corte-Reaes* (1883), p. 28.

[5] *Les Cortereal*, p. 45.

[6] See Vol. IV. chap. I.

[7] Harrisse, *Les Cortereal*, p. 50, translates this

[8] Printed for the first time in Harrisse, *Les Cortereal*, app. xvii. From Pasqualigo and Cantino down to the time of Gomara we find no mention of these events; and Gomara, writing fifty years later, seems to confound the events of 1500 with those of 1501. Gomara also seems to have had some Portuguese charts, which we do not now know, when he says that Cortereal gave his name to some islands in the entrance of the gulf "Cuadrado" (St. Lawrence?), lying under 50° north latitude. Further than this, Gomara, as well as Ramusio, seems to have depended mainly on the Pasqualigo letter; and Herrera followed Gomara (Harrisse, *Les Cortereal*, p. 59). Harrisse can now collate, as he does (p. 65), the two narratives of Pasqualigo and Cantino for the first time, and finds Cortereal's explorations to have covered the Atlantic coast from Delaware Bay to Baffin's Bay, if not farther to the north.



THE CANTINO MAP.[1]

addressed to the Duke and dated at Rome, Nov. 19, 1502,[2] which fortunately for us fixes very nearly the period of the construction of the map. A much reduced sketch is annexed.

For the northern coast of South America La Cosa and Cantino's draughtsmen seem to have had different authorities. La Cosa attaches forty-five names to that coast: Cantino only twenty-nine; and only three of them are common to the two.[3] Harrisse argues from the failure of the La Cosa map to give certain intelligence of the Atlantic coast of the United States (here represented in the north and south trend of shore, north of Cuba), that there was existing in October, 1500, at least in Spanish circles, no knowledge of it,[1] but that explorations must have taken place before the summer of 1502 which afforded the knowledge embodied in this Cantino map. This coast was not visited, so far as is positively known, by any Spanish expedition previous to 1502. Besides the eight Spanish voyages of this period (not counting the problematical one of Vespucius) of which we have documentary proof, there were doubtless others of which we have intimations; but we know nothing of their discoveries, except so far as those before 1500 may be embodied in La Cosa's chart.[2] The researches of Harrisse have failed to discover in Portugal any positive trace of voyages made from that kingdom in 1501, or thereabout, records of which have been left in the Cantino map. Humboldt had intimated that in Lisbon at that time there was a knowledge of the connection of the Antilles with the northern discoveries of Cortereal by an intervening coast; but Harrisse doubts if Humboldt's authority — which seems to have been a letter of Pasqualigo sent to Venice, dated Oct. 18, 1501, found in the *Diarii* of Marino Sanuto, a manuscript preserved in Vienna — means anything more than a conjectural belief in such connection. Harrisse's conclusion is that between the close of 1500 and the summer of 1502, some navigators, of whose names and nation we are ignorant, but who were probably Spanish, explored the coast of the present United States from Pensacola to the Hudson. This Atlantic coast of Cantino terminates at about 59° north latitude, running nearly north and south from the Cape of Florida to that elevation. Away to the east in mid-ocean, and placed so far easterly as doubtless to appear on the Portuguese side of the Line of Demarcation, and covering from about fifty to fifty-nine degrees of latitude, is a large island which stands for the discoveries of Cortereal, "Terra del Rey du Portuguall;" and northeast of this is the point of Greenland apparently, with Iceland very nearly in its proper place.[3] This Cantino map, now positively fixed in 1502, establishes the earliest instance of a kind of delineation of North America which prevailed for some time. Students of this early cartography have long supposed this geographical idea to date from about this time, and have traced back the origin of what is known as "The Admiral's Map"[4] to data accumulated in the earliest years of the sixteenth century. Indeed Lelewel,[5] thirty years ago, made up what he called a Portuguese chart of 1501–1504, by combining in one draft the maps of the 1513 Ptolemy, with a hint or two from the Sylvanus map of 1511, acting on the belief that the Portuguese were the real first pursuers, or at least recorders, of explorations of the Floridian peninsula and of the coast northerly.[6]

---

[1] This is sketched from Harrisse's fac-simile, which is of the size of the original map. The dotted line is the Line of Demarcation,—"Este he omarco dantre castella y Portuguall,"—which has been calculated by Harrisse to be at 62° 30,' west of Paris.

[2] Harrisse, *Les Cortereal*, p. 71.

[3] Ibid., p. 96.

The earliest Spanish map after that of La Cosa which has come down to us is the one which is commonly known as Peter Martyr's map. It is a woodcut measuring 11 × 7½ inches, and is usually thought to have first appeared in the *Legatio Babylonica*, or

---

[1] Some have considered that this Atlantic coast in Cantino may in reality have been Yucatan. But this peninsula was not visited earlier than 1506, if we suppose Solis and Pinzon reached it, and not earlier than 1517 if Cordova's expedition was, as is usually supposed, the first exploration. The names on this coast, twenty-two in number, are all legible but six. They resemble those on the Ptolemy maps of 1508 and 1513, and on Schöner's globe of 1520, which points to an earlier map not now known.

[2] These earliest Spanish voyages are, —

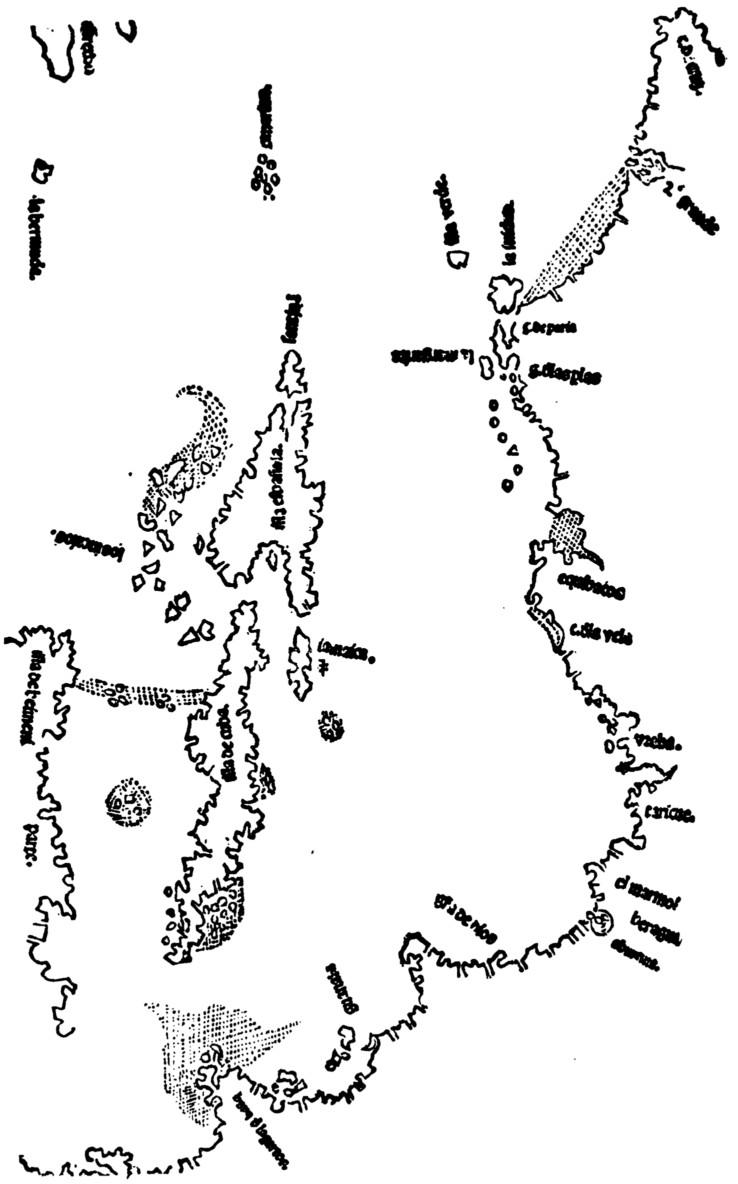
1. Columbus, Aug. 3, 1492 — March 15, 1493.
2. Columbus, Sept. 25, 1493 — June 11, 1496.
3. Columbus, May 30, 1498 — Nov. 25, 1500.
4. Alonzo de Ojeda, May 20, 1499 — June, 1500, to the Orinoco.
5. Piro Alonzo Niño and Christoval Guerra, June, 1499 — April, 1500, to Paria.
6. Vicente Yañez Pinzon, December, 1499 — September, 1500, to the Amazon.
7. Diego de Lepe, December, 1499 (?) — June, 1500, to Cape St. Augustin.
8. Rodrigo de Bastidas, October, 1500 — September, 1502, to Panama.

[3] The Greenland peninsula seems to have been seen by Cortereal in 1500 or 1501, and to be here called "Ponta d' Asia," in accordance with the prevalent view that any mainland hereabout must be Asia.

[4] See fac-simile on page 112, *post.*

[5] Plate 43 of his *Géographie du Moyen-âge.*

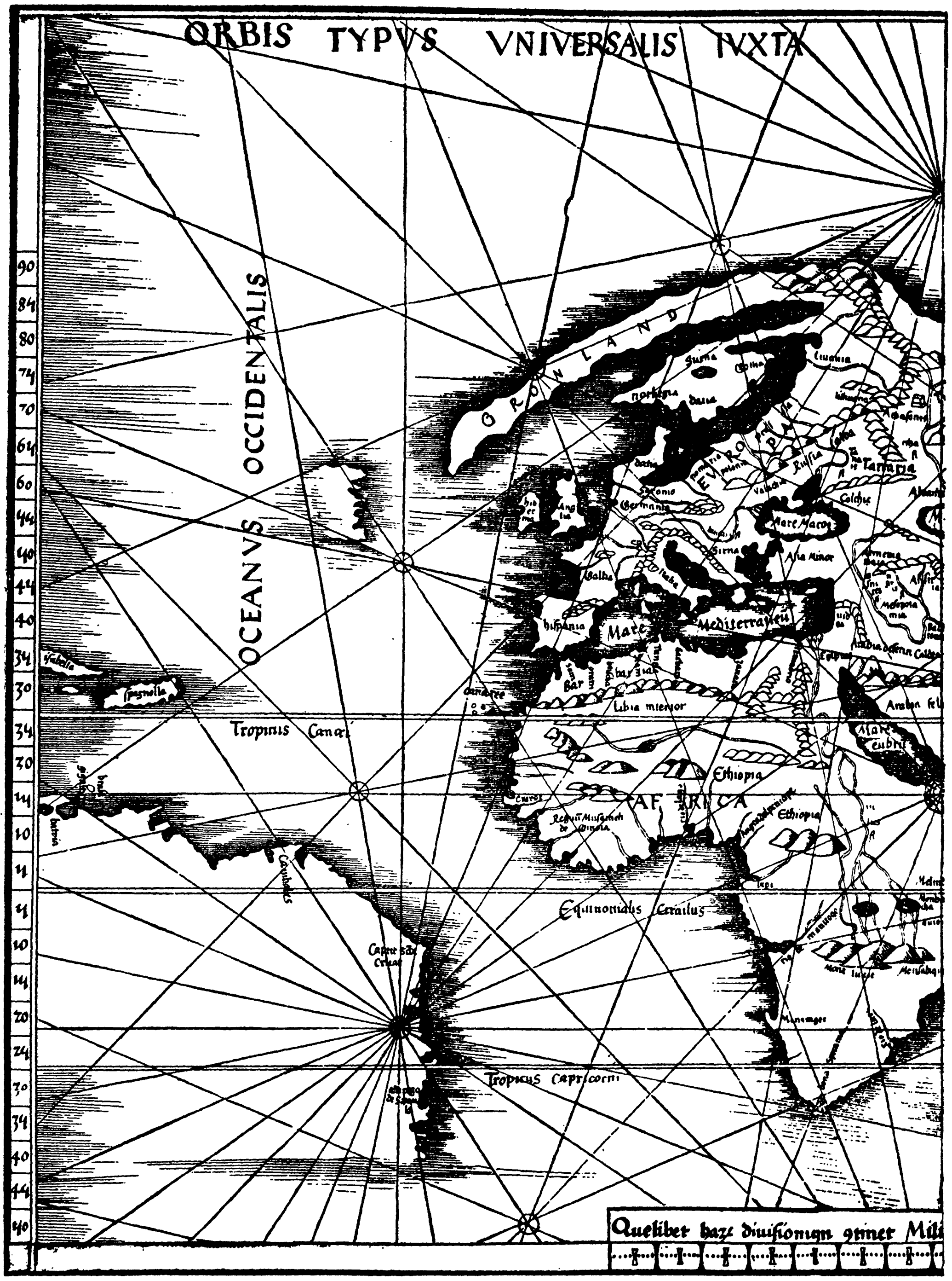
[6] De Costa points out that La Cosa complains of the Portuguese being in this region in 1503.



PETER MARTYR, 1511.[1]

---

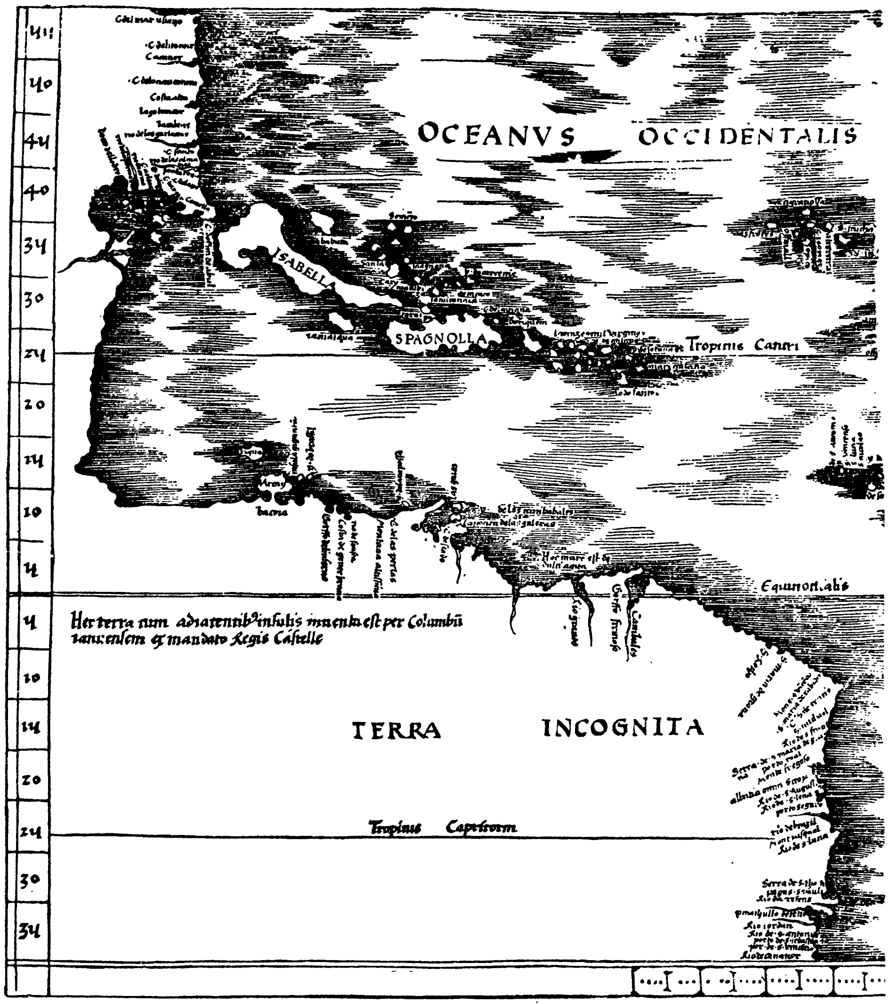
[1] The 1511 map, here given in fac-simile after another fac-simile in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, has been several times reproduced, — in Stevens's *Notes*, pl. 4; J. H. Lefroy's *Memorials of the Bermudas*, London, 1877; H. A. Schumacher's *Petrus Martyr*, New York, 1879; and erroneously in H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, i. 127. Cf. also Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 66; *Additions*, p. viii and no. 41; *Notes on Columbus*, p. 9; and his *Les Cortereal*, p. 113. Copies of the book are in the Carter-Brown, Lenox, Daly, and Barlow libraries. A copy (no. 1605*) was sold in the Murphy sale. Quaritch has priced a perfect copy at £100. The map gives the earliest knowledge which we have of the Bermudas. Cf. the "Descripcion de la isla Bermuda" (1538), in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 92.



PART OF THE ORBIS TYPUS UNIVERSALIS (PTOLEMY, 1513).[1]

---

[1] The European prolongation of Gronland resembles that of a Portuguese map of 1490. Another reduced fac-simile is given in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (1881.)



TABULA TERRE NOVE, OR THE ADMIRAL'S MAP (PTOLEMY, 1513).[1]

Martyr's first decade, at Seville, 1511; but Harrisse is inclined to believe that the map did not originally belong to Martyr's book, because three copies of it in the original vellum

---

These 1513 maps were reprinted in the Strasburg, 1520, edition of *Ptolemy* (copies in the Carter-Brown Library and in the *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,053), and were re-engraved on a reduced scale, but with more elaboration and with a few changes, for the *Ptolemies* of 1522 and 1525; and they were again the basis of those in Servetus' *Ptolemy* of 1535.

[1] Kohl remarks that the names on the South American coast (north part) are carried no farther than Ojeda went in 1499, and no farther south than Vespucius went in 1503; while the connection made of the two Americas was probably conjectural. Other fac-similes of the map are given in Varnhagen's *Premier voyage de Vespucci*, in Weise's *Discoveries of America*, p. 124; and in Stevens's *Historical and Geographical Notes*, pl. 2. Cf. Santarem (Childe's tr.), 153. Wieser, in his *Magalhâes-Strasse* (Innsbruck, 1881), p. 15, mentions a manuscript note-book

which he has examined do not have the map. Quaritch [1] says that copies vary, that the leaf containing the map is an insertion, and that it is sometimes on different folios. Thus of two issues, one is called a second, because two leaves seem to have been reprinted to correct errors, and two new leaves are inserted, and a new title is printed. It is held by some that the map properly belongs to this issue. Brevoort [2] thinks that the publication of the map was distasteful to the Spanish Government (since the King this same year forbade maps being given to foreigners); and he argues that the scarcity of the book may indicate that attempts were made to suppress it.[3]

The maker of the 1513 map as we have it was Waldseemüller, or Hylacomylus, of St. Dié, in the Vosges Mountains; and Lelewel [4] gives reasons for believing that the plate had been engraved, and that copies were on sale as early as 1507. It had been engraved at the expense of Duke René II. of Lorraine, from information furnished by him to perfect some anterior chart; but the plate does not seem to have been used in any book before it appeared in this 1513 edition of Ptolemy.[5] It bears along the coast this legend: "Hec terra adjacentibus insulis inventa est per Columbū ianuensem ex mandato Regis Castelle;" and in the Address to the Reader in the Supplement appears the following sentence, in which the connection of Columbus with the map is thought to be indicated: "Charta antē marina quam Hydrographiam vocant per Admiralem [? *Columbus*] quondam serenissi. Portugalie [? *Hispaniæ*] regis Ferdinandi ceteros denique lustratores verissimis p̄agratiōibus lustrata, ministerio Renati, dum vixit, nunc pie mortui, Ducis illustris. Lotharingie liberalius prelographationi tradita est." [6]

This "Admiral's map" seems to have been closely followed in the map which Gregor Reisch annexed to his popular encyclopædia,[7] the *Margarita philosophica*, in 1515; though there is some difference in the coast-names, and the river mouths and deltas on the coast west of Cuba are left out. Stevens and others have contended that this represents Columbus' Ganges; but Varnhagen makes it stand for the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi, — a supposition more nearly like Reisch's interpretation, as will be seen by his distinct separation of the new lands from Asia. Reisch is, however, uncertain of their

---

of Schöner, the globe-maker, preserved in the Hof-bibliothek at Vienna, which has a sketch resembling this 1513 map. Harrisse (*Les Cortereal*, pp. 122, 126) has pointed out the correspondence of its names to the Cantino map, though the Waldseemüller map has a few names which are not on the Cantino. Again, Harrisse (*Les Cortereal*, p. 128) argues from the fact that the relations of Duke René with Portugal were cordial, while they were not so with Spain, and from the resemblance of René's map in the Ptolemy of 1513 to that of Cantino, that the missing map upon which Waldseemüller is said to have worked to produce, with René's help, the so-called "Admiral's map," was the original likewise of that of Cantino.

[1] *Catalogue* of February, 1879, pricing a copy of the book, with the map, at £100. This Quaritch copy is now owned by Mr. C. H. Kalbfleisch, of New York, and its title is different from the transcription given in Sabin, the Carter-Brown and Barlow catalogues, which would seem to indicate that the title was set up three times at least.

[2] *Verrazano*, p. 102.

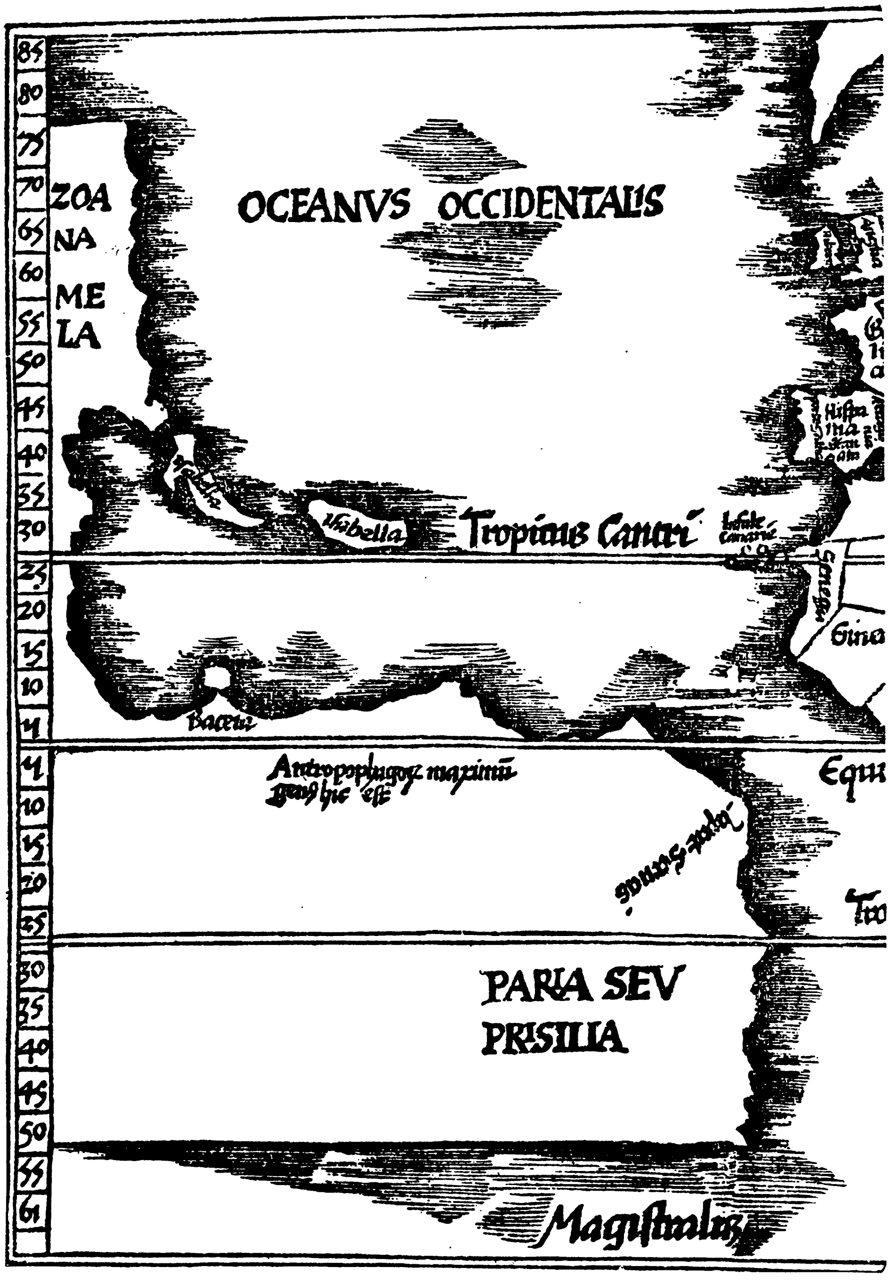
[3] The editions of 1516 and 1530 have no map, and no *official* map was published in Spain till 1790. The Cabot map of 1544 is clearly from Spanish sources, and Brevoort is inclined to think that the single copy known is the remainder after a like suppression. The Medina sketch of 1545 is too minute to have conveyed much intelligence of the Spanish knowledge, and may have been permitted.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 143.

[5] This edition will come under more particular observation in connection with Vespucius. There are copies in the Astor Library and in the libraries of Congress, of the American Antiquarian Society, and of Trinity College, Hartford (Cooke sale, no. 1,950), and in the Carter-Brown, Barlow, and Kalbfleisch collections. There was a copy in the Murphy sale, no. 2,052.

[6] Cf. Santarem in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* (1837), viii. 171, and in his *Recherches sur Vespuce et ses voyages*, p. 165; Wieser's *Magalhâes-Strasse*, p. 10. It will be seen that in the Latin quoted in the text there is an incongruity in making a "Ferdinand" king of Portugal at a time when no such king ruled that kingdom, but a Ferdinand did govern in Spain. The Admiral could hardly have been other than Columbus, but it is too much to say that he made the map, or even had a chief hand in it.

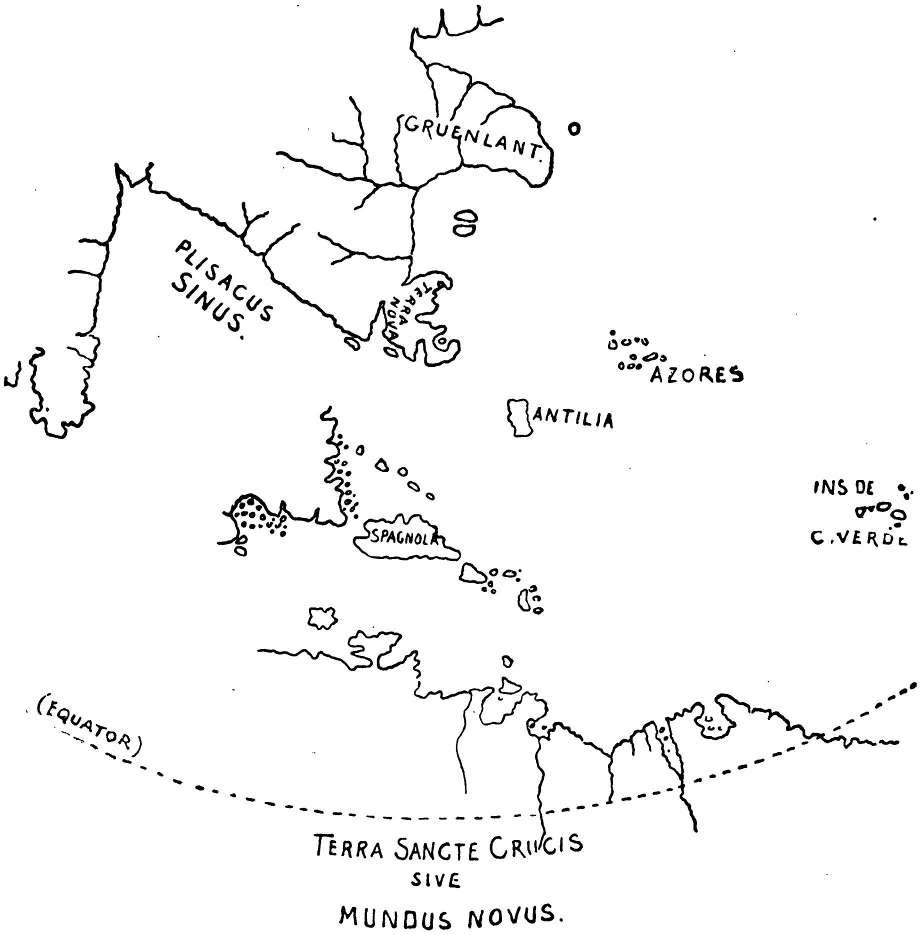
[7] Cf. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 620, 621.



PART OF REISCH'S MAP, 1515.[1]

---

[1] There is another fac-simile in Stevens's *Historical and Geographical Notes*, pl. 4. An edition of Reisch appeared at Freiburg in 1503 (Murphy, no. 3,089); but in 1504 there were two editions, with a mappemonde which had no other reference to America than in the legend·

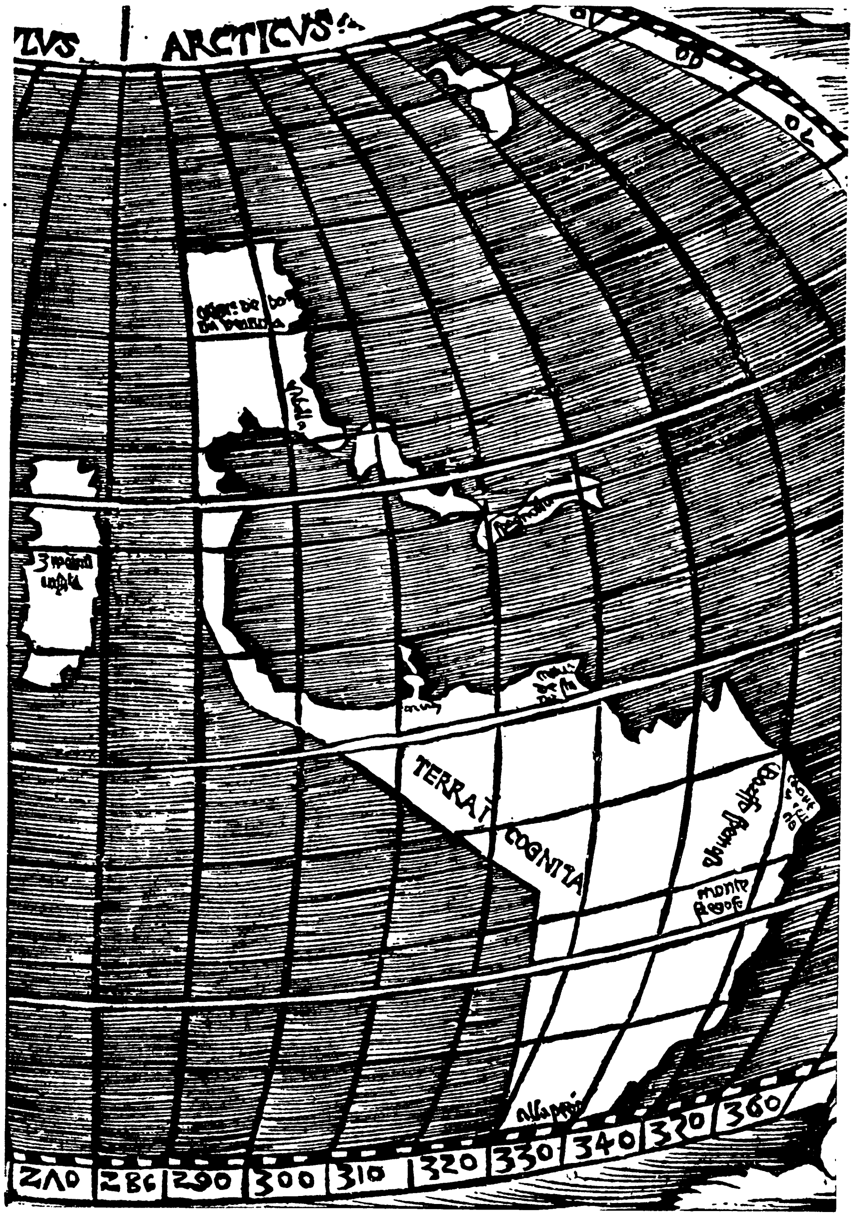


RUYSCH, 1508.[1]

western limits, which are cut off by the scale, as shown in the map; while on the other side of the same scale Cipango is set down in close proximity to it.

"Hic non terra sed mare est in quo miræ magnitudinis insulæ sed Ptolemæo fuerunt incognitæ." Some copies are dated 1505. (Murphy, no. 3,090.) A copy dated 1508, Basle, "cum additionibus novis" (Quaritch, no. 12,363; Baer's *Incunabeln*, 1884, no. 64, at 36 marks; and Murphy, no. 2,112 *) had the same map. The 1515 edition had the map above given. (Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 82; *Additions*, no. 45, noting a copy in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Kohl copies in his Washington Collection from one in the library at Munich.) The Basle edition of 1517 has a still different wood-cut map. (Beckford, *Catalogue*, vol. iii. no. 1,256; Murphy, no. 2,112 **.) Not till 1535 did an edition have any reference to America in the text. (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 208.) The latest edition is that of 1583, Basle, with a mappemonde showing America. (Leclerc, no. 2,926.) Cf. further in D'Avezac's *Waltzemüller*, p. 94; Kunstmann's *Entdeckung Amerikas*, p. 130; Stevens's *Notes*, p. 52; Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von America*, p. 33.

[1] A heliotype fac-simile is given in Vol. III. p. 9, where are various references and a record of other fac-similes; to which may be added



STOBNICZA, 1512.[1]

Varnhagen's *Novos estudos* (Vienna, 1874); Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen;* Weise's *Discoveries of America;* and on a small scale in H. H. Bancroft's *Central America,* vol. i.

[1] It is held that this map shows the earliest attempt to represent on a plane a sphere truncated at the poles. Wieser (*Magalhaês-Strasse,* p. 11) speaks of a manuscript copy of Stobnicza's western hemisphere, made by Glareanus, which

SCHÖNER.[1]

The probability is that it was a map of this type which Bartholomew Columbus, when he visited Rome in 1505, gave to a canon of St. John Lateran, together with one of the printed accounts of his brother's voyage; and this canon gave the map to Alessandro Zorgi, "suo amico e compilatore della raccolta," as is stated in a marginal note in a copy of the *Mundus novus* in the Magliabecchian Library.[2]

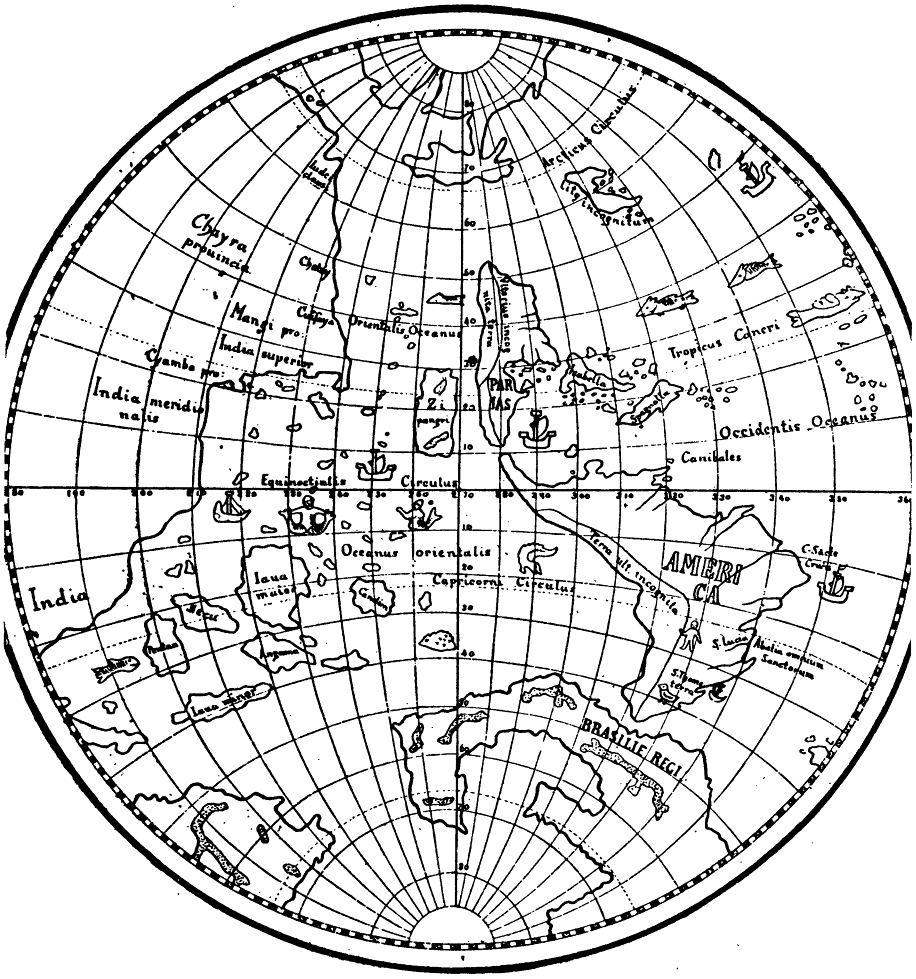
Columbus is said to have had a vision before his fourth voyage, during which he saw and depicted on a map a strait between the regions north and south of the Antillian Sea. De Lorgues, with a convenient alternative for his saintly hero, says that the mistake was only in making the strait of water, when it should have been of land!

---

is bound with a copy of Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiæ introductio*, preserved in the University Library at Munich. Cf. Vol. III. p. 14, with references there, and Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy* sub anno 1512; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 178, and *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 69 and 95, and *Additions*, no. 47. The only copies of the Stobnicza *Introductio* in this country lack the maps. One in the Carter-Brown Library has it in fac-simile, and the other was sold in the Murphy sale, no. 2,075.

[1] Fac-simile of a cut in Reusner's *Icones* (Strasburg, 1590), p. 127. Cf. on Schöner's geographical labors, Doppelmayr's *Historische Nachricht von den nürnbergischen Mathematikern und Künstlern* (1730); Will und Nopitsch's *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1757); Ghillany's *Erdglobus des Behaim und der des Schöner;* and Varnhagen's *Schöner e Apianus* (Vienna, 1872).

[2] Humboldt's *Examen critique;* Baldelli's *Il milione;* Kohl's *Lost Maps.*



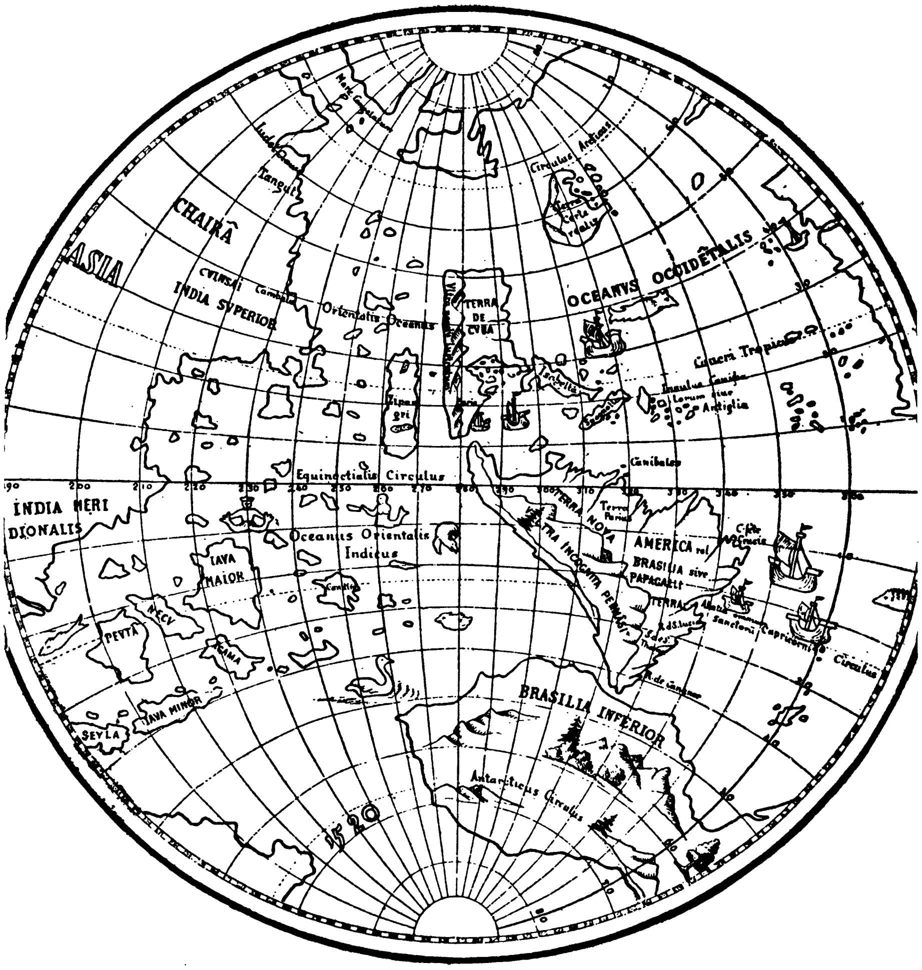
SCHÖNER, 1515.[1]

We have a suspicion of this strait in another map which has been held to have had some connection with the drafts of Columbus, and that is the Ruysch map, which appeared

---

[1] According to Wieser (*Magalhães-Strasse*, p. 19) this globe, which exists in copies at Weimar (of which Wieser gives the above sketch from Jomard's fac-simile of the one at Frankfort, but with some particulars added from that at Weimar) and at Frankfort (which is figured in Jomard), was made to accompany Schöner's *Luculentissima quædam terræ totius descriptio*, printed in 1515. Cf. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 179, and *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 80, 81; Murphy, no. 2,233. Copies of Schöner's *Luculentissima*, etc., are in the Harvard College, Carter-Brown, and Lenox libraries.

In 1523 Schöner printed another tract, *De nuper sub Castiliæ ac Portugaliæ regibus serenissimis repertis insulis ac regionibus*, descriptive of his globe, which is extremely rare. Wieser reports copies in the great libraries of Vienna and London only. Varnhagen reprinted it from the Vienna copy, at St. Petersburg in 1872 (forty copies only), under the designation, *Réimpression fidèle d'une lettre de Jean Schöner, à propos de*



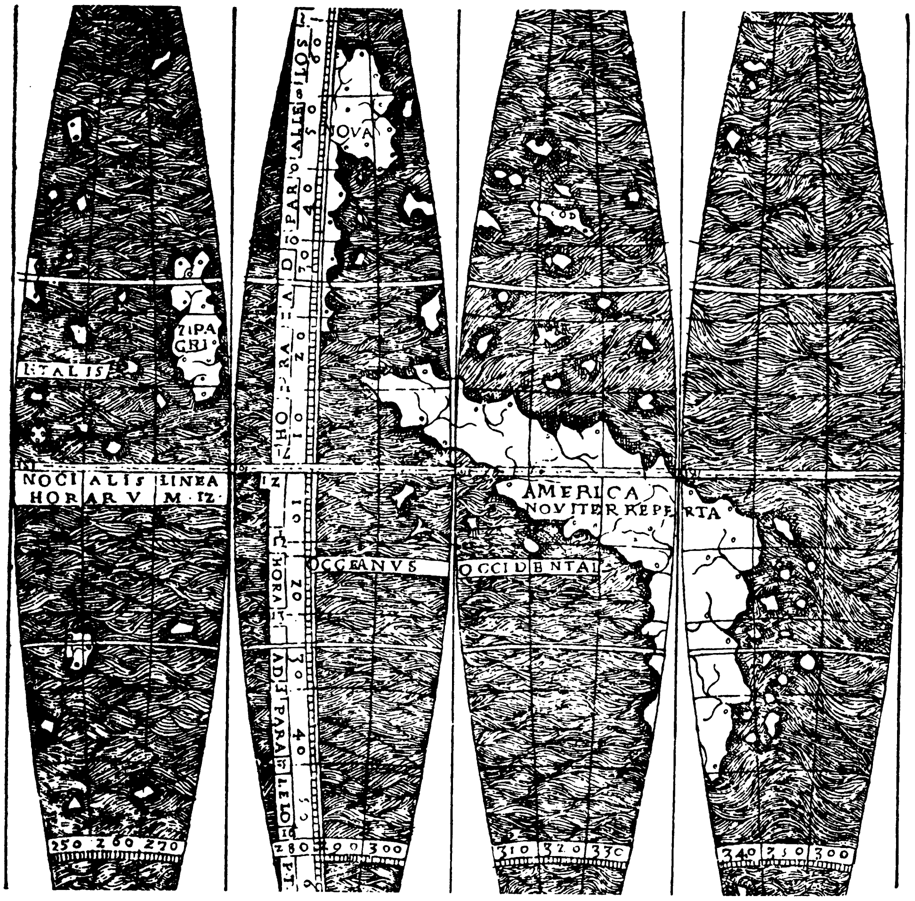
SCHÖNER, 1520.[1]

---

son globe, ècrite en 1523. The Latin is given in Wieser's *Magalhâes-Strasse*, p. 118. Johann Schoner or Schöner (for the spelling varies) was born in 1477, and died in 1547. The testimony of this globe to an early knowledge of the straits afterward made known by Magellan is examined on a later page. The notions which long prevailed respecting a large Antarctic continent are traced in Wieser's *Magalhaês-Strasse*, p. 59, and in Santarem, *Histoire de la cartographie*, ii. 277.

Cf. on the copy at Frankfort, — Vol. III. p. 215, of the present *History;* Kohl's *General-Karten von Amerika*, p. 33, and his *Discovery of Maine*, p. 159; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, x. 681; Von Richthofen's *China*, p. 641; *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, xviii. 45. On the copy at Weimar, see Humboldt, *Examen critique*, and his Introduction to Ghillany's *Ritter Behaim*.

[1] This globe, which has been distinctively known as Schöner's globe, is preserved at Nuremberg. There are representations of it in Santarem, Lelewel, Wieser, Ghillany's *Behaim*, Kohl's *Geschichte der Entdeckungsreisen zur Magellan's-Strasse* (Berlin, 1877), p. 8; H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, i. 137; and in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1871, and December, 1882, p. 731. The earliest engraving appeared in the *Jahresbericht der technischen Anstalten in Nürn*



THE TROSS GORES, 1514–1519.[1]

in the Roman Ptolemy of 1508,[2] the earliest published map, unless the St. Dié map takes precedence, to show any part of the new discoveries. It seems from its resemblance to

---

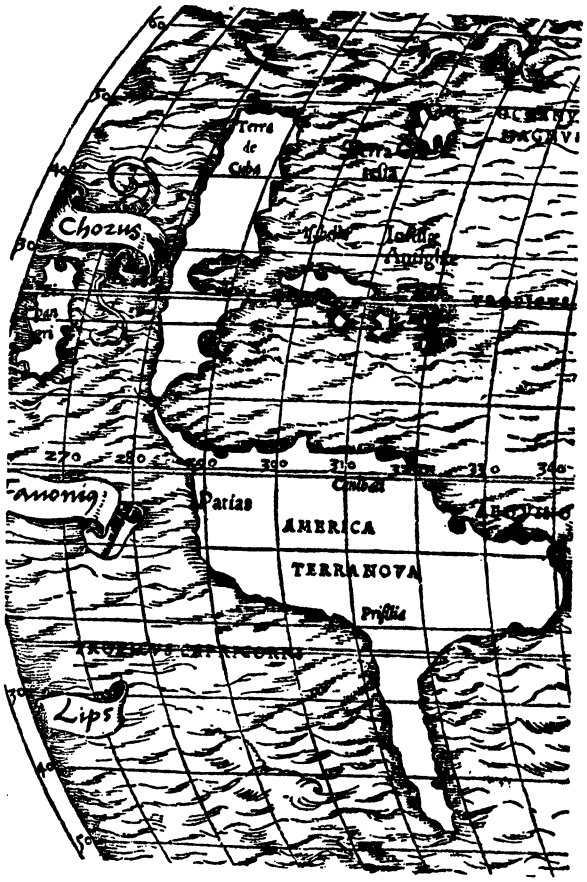
berg für 1842, accompanied by a paper by Dr. Ghillany; and the same writer reproduced it in his *Erdglobus des Behaim und der des Schöner* (1842). The globe is signed: "Perfecit eum Bambergæ 1520, Joh. Schönerus." Cf. Von Murr, *Memorabilia bibliothecarum Noribergensium* (1786), i. 5; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, ii. 28; Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy* sub anno 1522; and Vol. III. p. 214, of the present *History*.

[1] Twelve gores of a globe found in a copy of the *Cosmographiæ introductio*, published at Lugduni, 1514 (?), and engraved in a catalogue of Tross, the Paris bookseller, in 1881 (nos. xiv. 4,924). The book is now owned bv Mr. C. H. Kalbfleisch, of New York. Harrisse (*Cabots*, p. 182) says the map was engraved in 1514, and ascribes it to Louis Boulenger. (Cf. Vol. III. p. 214, of the present *History*.) There are two copies of this edition of the *Cosmographiæ introductio* in the British Museum; and D'Avezac (*Waltzemüller*, p. 123) says the date of it cannot be earlier than 1517. Harrisse says he erred in dating it 1510 in the *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 63. Cf. Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy* sub anno 1522.

[2] Pope Julius II. (July 28, 1506) gave to Tosinus, the publisher, the exclusive sale of this edition for six years. It was first issued in 1507, and had six new maps, besides those of the editions of 1478 and 1490, but none of America. There are copies in the Carter-Brown Library; and noted in the *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,049;

the La Cosa chart to have been kept much nearer the Columbian draft than the geographer of St. Dié, with his Portuguese helps, was contented to leave it in his map. In La Cosa the vignette of St. Christopher had concealed the mystery of a westerly passage;[1] Ruysch assumes it, or at least gives no intimation of his belief in the inclosure of the Antillian Sea. Harrisse[2] has pointed out how an entirely different coast-nomenclature in the two maps points to different originals of the two map-makers. The text of this 1508 edition upon "Terra Nova" and "Santa Cruz" is by Marcus Beneventanus. There are reasons to believe that the map may have been issued separately, as well as in the book; and the copies of the map in the Barlow Collection and in Harvard College Library are perhaps of this separate issue.[3]

The distinctive features both of the La Cosa and the Ruysch drafts, of the Cantino map and of the Waldseemüller or St. Dié map of 1513, were preserved, with more or less modifications in many of the early maps. The Stobnicza map — published in an *Introductio* to Ptolemy at Cracow in 1512 — is in effect the St. Dié map, with a western ocean in place of the edge of the plate as given in the 1513 Ptolemy, and is more like the draft of Reisch's map published three years later.



MÜNSTER, 1532.[4]

---

and one was recently priced by Rosenthal, of Munich, at 500 marks. It was reissued in 1508, with a description of the New World by Beneventanus, accompanied by this map of Ruysch; and of this 1508 edition there are copies in the Astor Library, the Library of Congress, of the American Geographical Society, of Yale College (Cooke sale, vol. ii. no. 1,949), and in the Carter-Brown and Kalbfleisch collections. One is noted in the Murphy sale, no. 2,050, which is now at Cornell University.

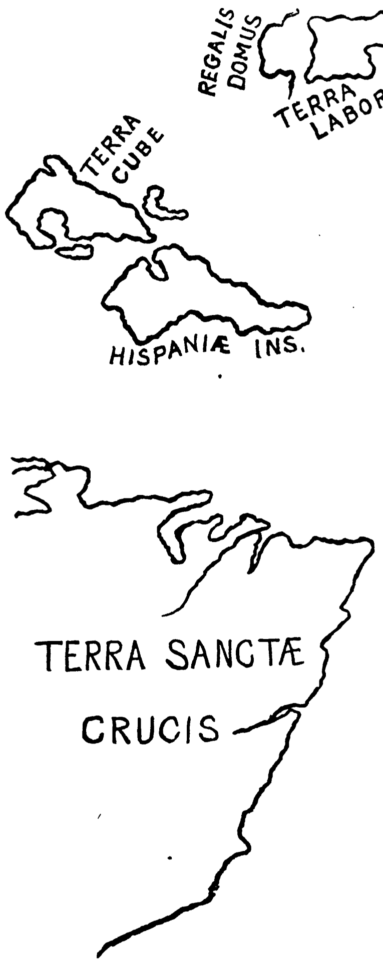
[1] H. H. Bancroft (*Central America*, p. 116) curiously intimates that the dotted line which he gives in his engraving to mark the place of this vignette, stands for some sort of a *terra incognita!*

[2] *Les Cortereal*, p. 118.

[3] Harrisse, *Cabots*, p. 164. In his *Notes on Columbus*, p. 56, he conjectures that it sold for forty florins, if it be the same with the map of the New World which Johannes Trithemus complained in 1507 of his inability to buy for that price (*Epistolæ familiares*, 1536).

[4] There are other drawings of this map in Stevens's *Notes;* in Nordenskiöld's *Bröderna Zenos* (Stockholm, 1883); etc

The Schöner globe of 1515, often cited as the Frankfort globe; the Schöner globe of 1520; the so-called Tross gores of 1514–1519; the map of Petrus Apianus [1] — or Bienewitz, as he was called in his vernacular — which appeared in the *Polyhistoria* of Solinus, edited by the Italian monk Camers, and also in 1522 in the *De orbis situ* of Pomponius Mela, published by Vadianus, — all preserve the same characteristics with the St. Dié map, excepting that they show the western passage referred to in Columbus' dream, and so far unite some of the inferences from the map of Ruysch. There was a curious survival of this Cantino type, particularly as regards North America for many years yet to come, as seen in the map which Münster added to the Basle edition of the *Novus orbis* in 1532 and 1537, and in the drawing which Jomard gives [2] as from "une cassette de la Collection Trivulci, dite Cassettina all' Agemina." This last drawing is a cordiform mappemonde, very like another which accompanied Honter's *Rudimenta cosmographica* in 1542, and which was repeated in various editions to as late a period as 1590. Thus it happened that for nearly a century geographical views which the earliest navigators evolved, continued in popular books to convey the most inadequate notion of the contour of the new continent.[3]



SYLVANUS' MAP, 1511.[4]

[1] Its date was altered to 1530 when it appeared in the first complete edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades*. There are fac-similes in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* and in Santarem's *Atlas*. It will be considered further in connection with the naming of America. See *post*, p. 183.

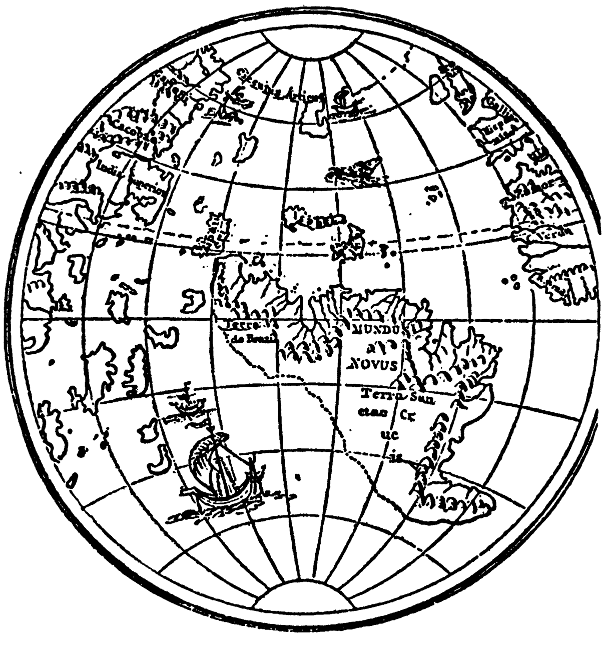
[2] Pl. xviii.

[3] The bibliography of Honter has been traced by G. D. Teutsch in the *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, neue Folge, xiii. 137; and an estimate of Honter by F. Teutsch is given in Ibid., xv. 586. The earliest form of Honter's book is the *Rudimentorum cosmographiæ libri duo*, dated 1531, and published at Cracow, in a tract of thirty-two pages. It is a description of the world in verse, and touches America in the

---

[4] The map is given in its original projection in Lelewel, pl. xlv., and on a greatly reduced scale in Daly's *Early Cartography*, p. 32. There are copies of this 1511 Ptolemy in the Lenox, Carter-Brown, Astor, Brevoort, Barlow, and Kalbfleisch collections. Cf. *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,051, for a copy now in the American Geographical Society's Library, and references in Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy* sub anno 1511.

In the same year with the publication of the Peter Martyr map of 1511, an edition of Ptolemy, published at Venice and edited by Bernardus Sylvanus, contained a mappemonde on a cordiform projection, — which is said to be the first instance of the use of this method in drafting maps. What is shown of the new discoveries is brought in a distorted shape on the extreme western verge of the map; and to make the contour more intelligible, it is reduced in the sketch annexed to an ordinary plane projection. It is the earliest engraved map to give any trace of the Cortereal discoveries[1] and to indicate the Square, or St. Lawrence, Gulf. It gives a curious Latinized form to the name of the navigator himself in "Regalis Domus" (Cortereal), and restores Greenland, or Engronelant, to a peninsular connection with northwestern Europe as it had appeared in the Ptolemy of 1482.



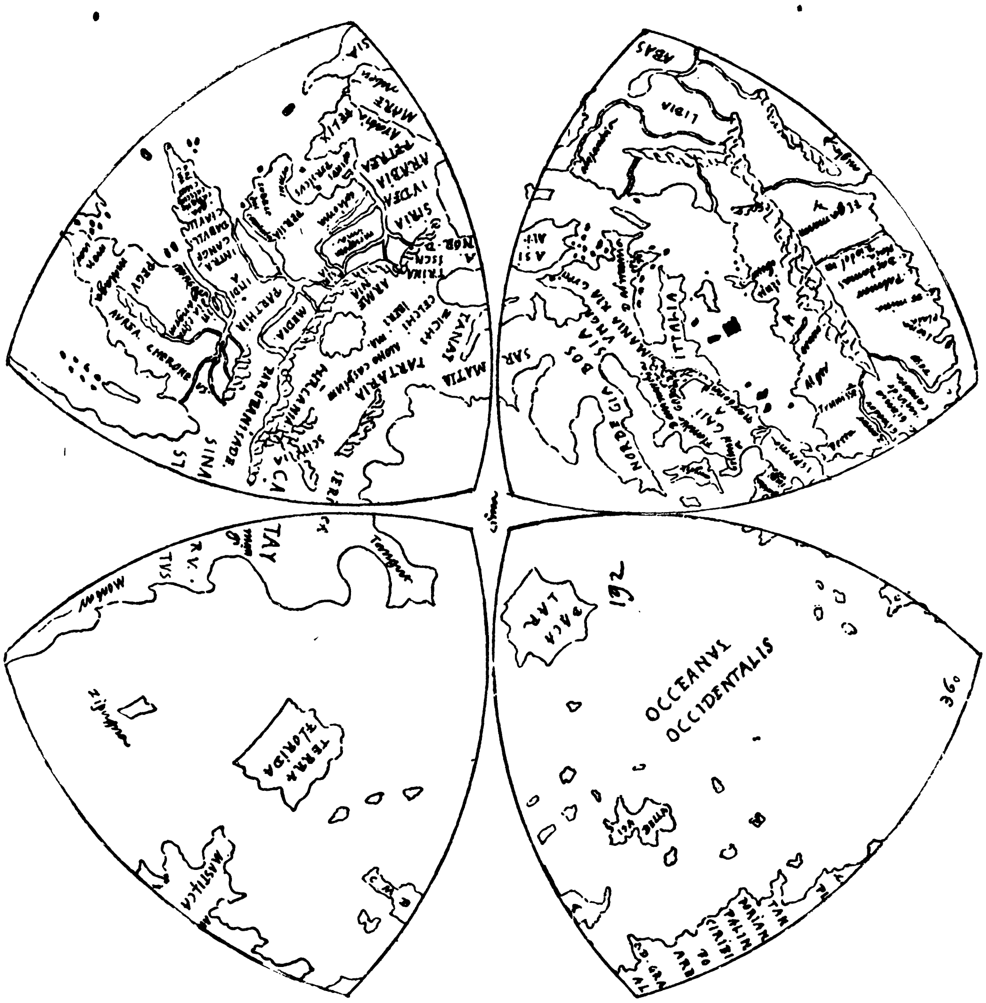
THE LENOX GLOBE.

It will be seen that, with the exception of the vague limits of the "Regalis Domus," there was no sign of the continental line of North America in this map of Sylvanus.

chapter, "Nomina insularum oceani et maris." It is extremely rare, and the only copy to be noted is one priced by Harrassowitz (*Catalogue* of 1876, no. 2), of Leipsic, for 225 marks, and subsequently sold to Tross, of Paris. Most bibliographers give Cracow, with the date 1534 as the earliest (Sabin, no. 32,792; Muller, 1877, no. 1,456, — 37.50 fl.); there was a Basle edition of the same year. (Cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 194; Wieser, *Magalhâes-Strasse*, p. 22.) Editions seem to have followed in 1540 (queried by Sabin, no. 32,793); in 1542 (if Stevens's designation of his fac-simile of the map is correct, *Notes*, pl. 3); in 1546, when the map is inscribed "Universalis cosmographia . . . Tiguri, J. H. V. E. [in monogram], 1546." (Harrisse, no. 271; Muller, 1877, no. 1,457; Carter-Brown, no. 143; Sabin, no. 32,794.) The same map, which is part of an appendix of thirteen maps, was repeated in the Tiguri edition of 1548, and there was another issue the same year at Basle. (Harrisse, no. 287; Sabin, no. 32,795; Weigel, 1877, no. 1,268.) The maps were repeated in the 1549 edition. (Sabin, no. 32.796; Carter-Brown, no. 153.) The edition at Antwerp in 1552 leaves off the date. (Harrisse, no. 287; Weigel, no. 1,269; Murphy, no. 1,252.) It is now called, *Rvdimentorvm cosmographicorum libri III. cum tabellis geographicis elegantissimis. De uariarum rerum nomenclaturis per classes, liber I.* There was a Basle edition the same year. The maps continued to be used in the Antwerp edition of 1554, the Tiguri of 1558, and the Antwerp of 1660.

In 1561 the edition published at Basle, *De cosmographiæ rudimentis libri VIII.*, was rather tardily furnished with new maps better corresponding to the developments of American geography. (Muller, 1877, no. 1,459.) The Tiguri publishers still, however, adhered to the old plates in their editions of 1565 (Carter-Brown, no. 257; Sabin, no. 32,797); and the same plates again reappeared in an edition, without place, published in 1570 (Muller, 1877, no. 1,457), in another of Tiguri in 1583, and in still another without place in 1590 (Murphy, no. 1,253; Muller, 1872, no. 763; Sabin, no. 32,799).

[1] Harrisse (*Les Cortereal*, p. 121) says there is no Spanish map showing these discoveries before 1534.



DA VINCI, NORTHERN HEMISPHERE (*original draft reduced*).

Much the same views were possessed by the maker of the undated Lenox globe, which probably is of nearly the same date, and of which a further account is given elsewhere.[1]

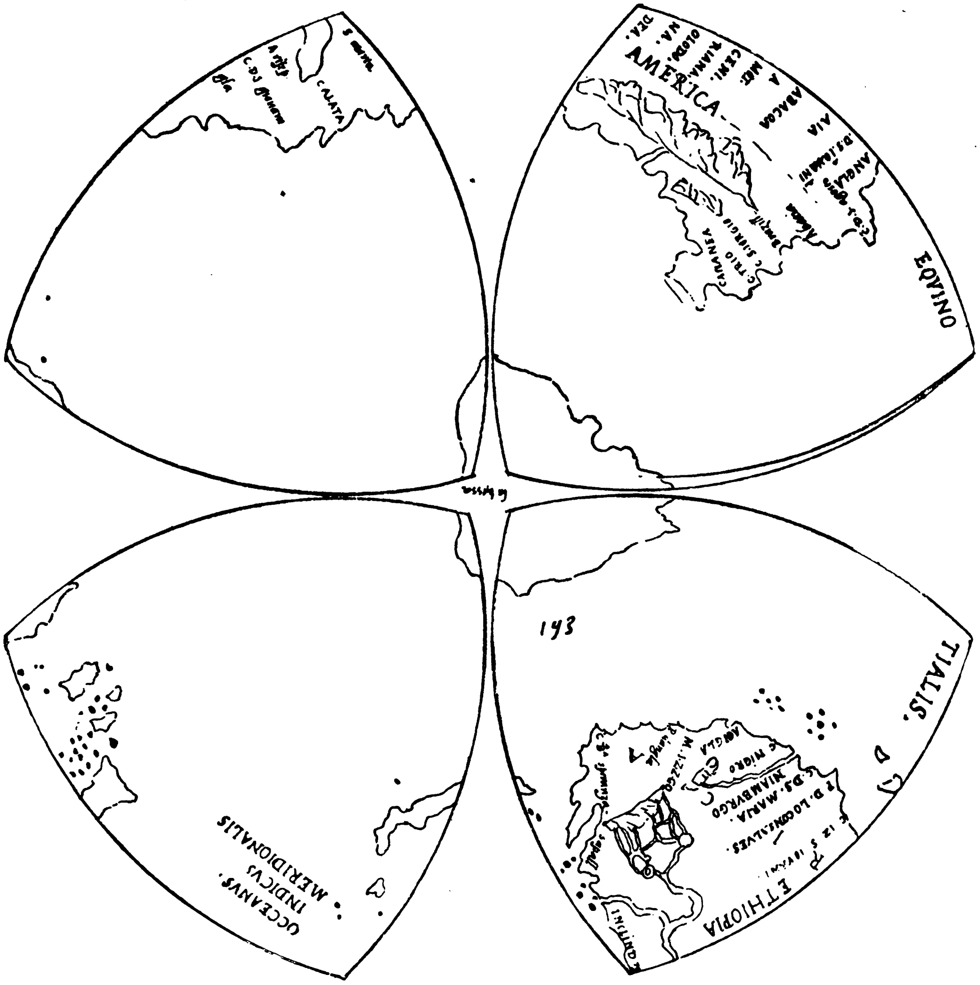
Another draft of a globe, likewise held to be of about the same date, shows a similar configuration, except that a squarish island stands in it for Florida and adjacent parts of the main. This is a manuscript drawing on two sheets preserved among the Queen's collections at Windsor; and since Mr. R. H. Major made it known by a communication, with accompanying fac-similes, in the *Archæologia*,[2] it has been held to be the work of Leonardo da Vinci, though this has been recently questioned.[3] If deprived of the associations of that august name, the map loses much of its attraction; but it still remains an inter-

---

[1] Vol. III. p. 212, and the present volume, page 170.

[2] Vol. xl.; also Major's *Prince Henry*, p. 388.

[3] J. P. Richter, *Literary Works of Da Vinci*, London, 1883, quoting the critic, who questions its assignment to the great Italian.



DA VINCI, SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE (*original draft reduced*).[1]

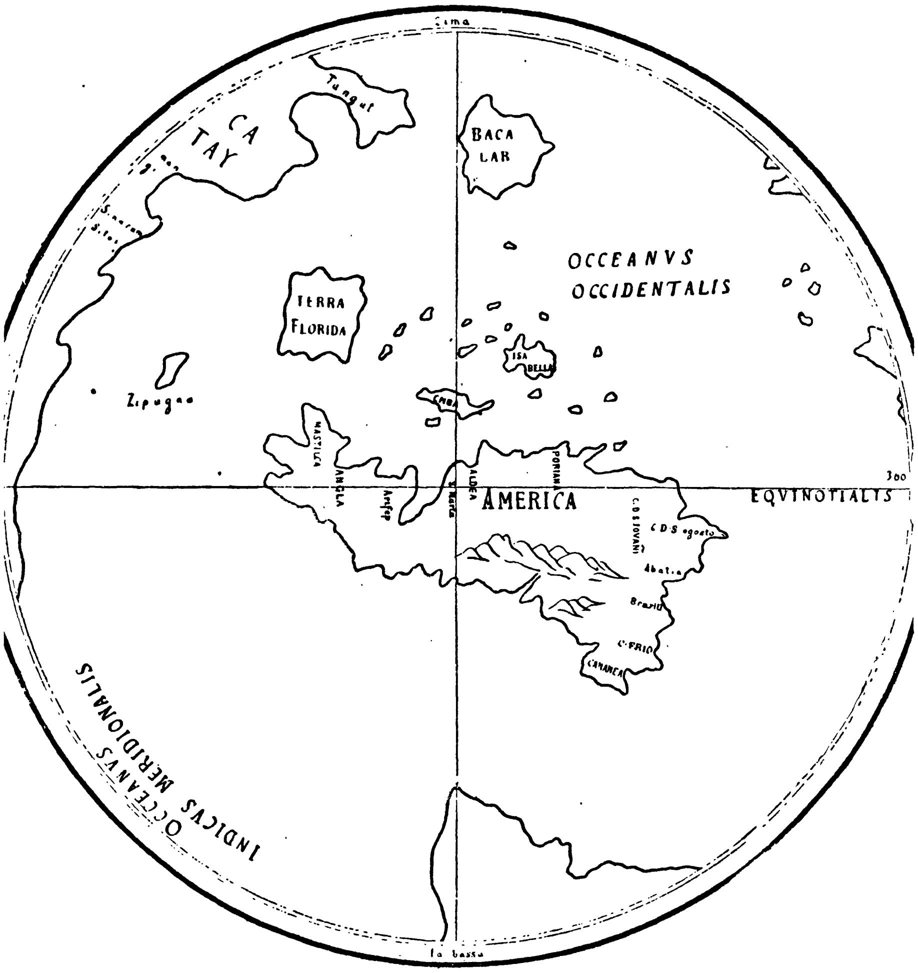
esting memorial of geographical conjecture. It is without date, and can only be fixed in the chain of cartographical ideas by its internal evidence. This has led Major to place it between 1512 and 1514, and Wieser to fix it at 1515–1516.[2] A somewhat unsatisfactory map, since it shows nothing north of "Ysabella" and "Spagnollo," is that inscribed *Orbis typus universalis juxta hydrographorum traditionem exactissime depicta*, 1522, *L. F.*, which is the work of Laurentius Frisius, and appeared in the Ptolemy of 1522.[3]

---

[1] Another sketch of this hemisphere is given in *Harper's Monthly*, December, 1882, p. 733.

[2] The Portuguese portolano of about this date given in Kunstmann, pl. 4, is examined on another page.

[3] This Strasburg edition is particularly described in D'Avezac's *Waltzemüller*, p. 159. (Cf. Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus*, 176; his *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 117; and Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography* sub anno 1522.) The maps closely resemble those of Waldseemüller in the edition of 1513; and indeed Frisius assigns them as re-engraved to Martin Ilacomylus, the Greek form of that geographer's name. There are



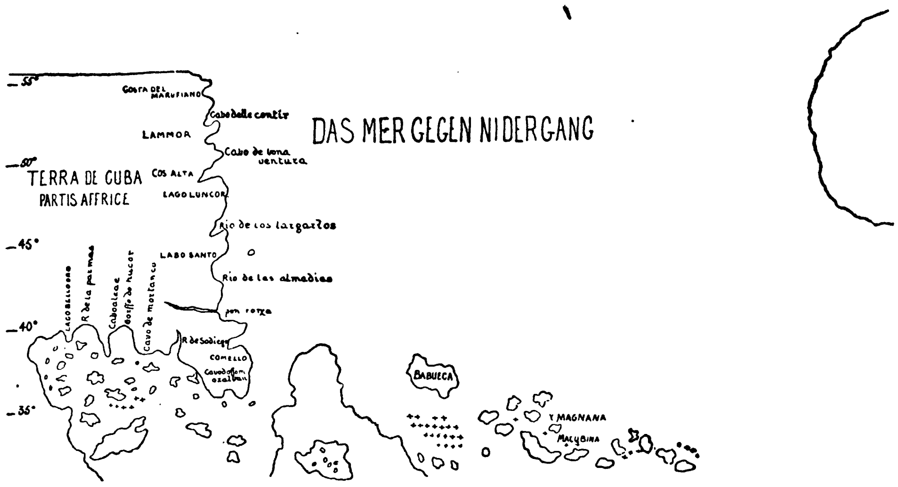
DA VINCI (*newly projected*).[1]

A new element appears in a map which is one of the charts belonging to the *Yslegung der Mer-Carthen oder Cartha Marina*, said also to be the work of Frisius, which was

copies of this 1522 Ptolemy in the Harvard College, Carter-Brown, Cornell University, and Barlow libraries, and one is noted in the *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,054, which is now in the Lenox Library. The map of Frisius (Lorenz Friess, as he was called in unlatinized form) was reproduced in the next Strasburg edition of 1525, of which there are copies in the Library of Congress, in the New York Historical Society, Boston Public, Baltimore Mercantile, Carter-Brown, Trinity College, and the American Antiquarian Society libraries, and in the collections of William C. Prime and Charles H. Kalbfleisch. There were two copies in the Murphy sale,

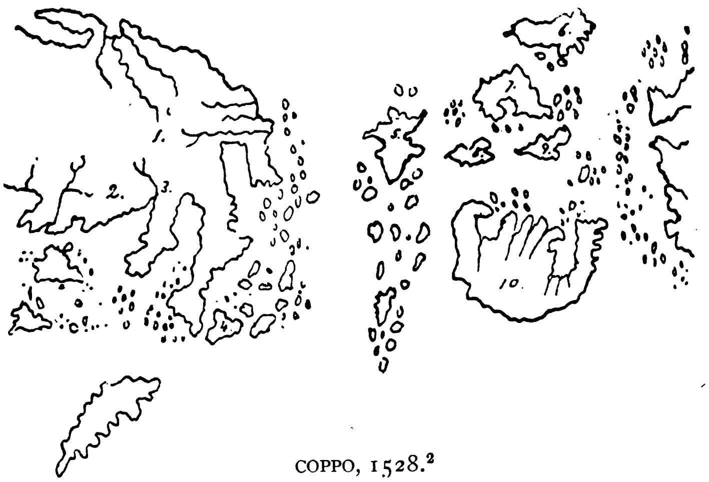
---

[1] This follows the projection as given by Wieser in his *Magalhaês-Strasse*, who dates it 1515-1516.



CARTA MARINA OF FRISIUS, 1525.

issued in 1525, in exposition of his theories of sea-charts.[1] The map is of interest as the sole instance in which North America is called a part of Africa, on the supposition that



COPPO, 1528.[2]

---

nos. 2,055 and 2,056, one of which is now at Cornell University. Cf. references in Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy*.

This "L. F. 1522" map (see p. 175), as well as the "Admiral's map," was reproduced in the edition of 1535, edited by Servetus, of which there are copies in the Astor, the Boston Public, and the College of New Jersey libraries, and in the Carter-Brown and Barlow collections. A copy is also noted in the *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,057, which is now at Cornell University.

The American maps of these editions were again reproduced in the Ptolemy, published at Vienna in 1541, of which there are copies in the Carter-Brown, Brevoort, and Kalbfleisch collections. Cf. Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy*.

[1] Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 133. The edition of 1530 has no maps (ibid., no. 158).

[2] This is drawn from a sketch given by Kohl in his manuscript, "On the Connection of the New and Old World on the Pacific Side," preserved in the American Antiquarian Society's

a continental connection by the south enclosed the "sea toward the sunset." The insular Yucatan will be observed in the annexed sketch, and what seems to be a misshapen Cuba. The land at the east seems intended for Baccalaos, judging from the latitude and the indication of fir-trees upon it. This map is one of twelve engraved sheets constituting the above-named work, which was published by Johannes Grieninger in 1530. Friess, or Frisius, who was a German mathematician, and had, as we have seen, taken part in the 1522 Ptolemy, says that he drew his information in these maps from original sources; but he does not name these sources, and Dr. Kohl thinks the maps indicate the work of Waldseemüller.

Among the last of the school of geographers who supposed North America to be an archipelago, was Pierro Coppo, who published at Venice in 1528 what has become a very rare *Portolano delli lochi maritimi ed isole der mar.*[1]

Library. There is another copy in his Washington Collection.

The map is explained by the following key: 1. Asia. 2. India. 3. Ganges. 4. Java major. 5. Cimpangi [Japan]. 6. Isola verde [Greenland?]. 7. Cuba. 8. Iamaiqua. 9. Spagnola. 10. Monde nuova [South America].

[1] There is a copy in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum. Cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 144; Zurla, *Fra Mauro*, p. 9, and his *Marco Polo*, ii. 363. Harrisse, in his *Notes on Columbus*, p. 56, cites from Morelli's *Operette*, i. 309, a passage in which Coppo refers to Columbus.

CHAPTER II.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

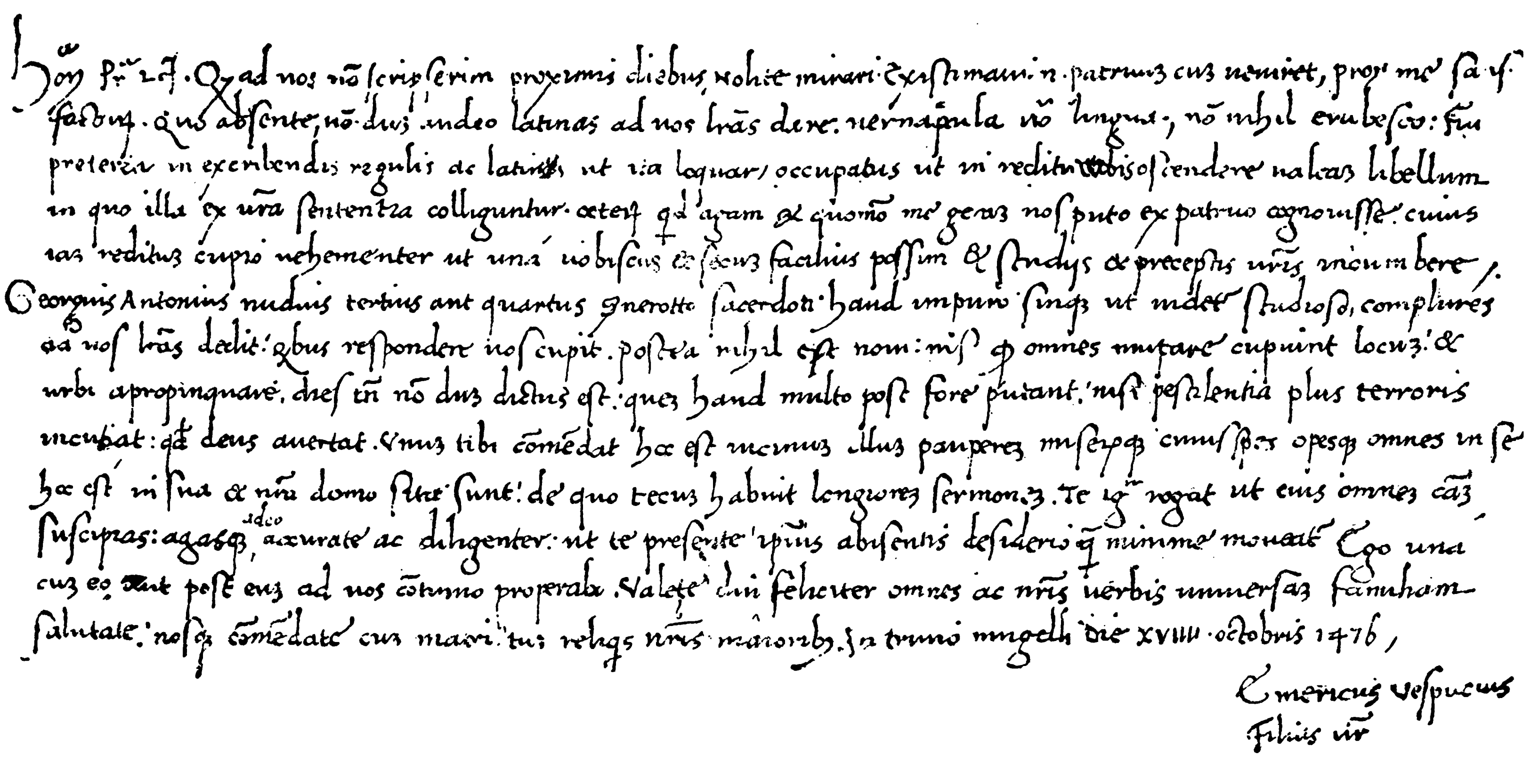
BY SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI,[1] the third son of Nastugio Vespucci, a notary of Florence, and his wife Lisabetta Mini, was born on the 9th of March, 1451. The family had the respectability of wealth, acquired in trade, for one member of it in the preceding century was rich enough to endow a public hospital. Over the portal of the house, so dedicated to charity by this pious Vespucci nearly three quarters of a century before Amerigo was born, there was, says Humboldt, engraved in 1719, more than three hundred years after the founding of the hospital, an inscription declaring that here Amerigo had lived in his youth. As the monks, however, who wrote the inscription also asserted in it that he was the discoverer of America, it is quite possible that they may have been as credulous in the one case as in the other, and have accepted for fact that which was only tradition. But whether Amerigo's father, Nastugio, lived or did not live in the hospital which his father or grandfather founded, he evidently maintained the respectability of the family. Three of his sons he sent to be educated at the University of Pisa. Thenceforth they are no more heard of, except that one of them, Jerome, afterward went to Palestine, where he remained nine years, met with many losses, and endured much suffering, — all of which he related in a letter to his younger brother Amerigo. But the memory even of this Jerome — that he should have ever gone anywhere, or had any adventures worth the telling — is only preserved from oblivion because he had this brother who became the famous navigator, and whose name by a chance was given to half the globe.

Amerigo was not sent to the university. Such early education as he received came from a learned uncle, Giorgi Antonio Vespucci, a Dominican friar, who must have been a man of some influence in Florence, as it is

---

[1] Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*) gives the various ways of spelling the name by different authors as follows: "Albericus (*Madrignano, Ruchamer, Jehan Lambert*); Emeric (*Du Redouer*); Alberico or Americo (*Gomara*); Morigo (*Hojeda*); Amerrigo (*Muñoz*); Americus (*Peter Martyr*); Almerigo Florentino (*Vianello*); De Espuche, Vespuche, Despuche, Vespuccio (*Ramusio*); Vespuchy (*Christ. Columbus*)." Varnhagen uniformly calls him Amerigo Vespucci; and that is the signature to the letter written from Spain in 1492 given in the *Vita* by Bandini.



Hon̄ Pr̄ etc. Quod ad vos nō scripserim proximis diebus, nolite mirari. Existimavi n. patruū cū ueniret, pro me sa. f.
facturū. Quo absente, nō ausus ideo latinas ad vos lr̃as dare: vernacula nō lingua, nō nihil erubesco: fui
preterea in excribendis regulis ac latinis ut ita loquar, occupatus ut in reditu vobis ostendere valeam libellum
in quo illa ex una sententia colliguntur. cetera quid agam et quomodo me geram vos puto ex patruo cognovisse: cuius
vos reditum cupio vehementer ut una vobiscum et secum facilius possim & studiis et preceptis vr̃is incumbere.
Georgius Antonius nudius tertius aut quartus Nerotto sacerdoti haud impuro, sinceri ut videtur studioso, complures
ad vos lr̃as dedit: quibus respondere vos cupit. postea nihil est novi: nisi quod omnes mutare cupiunt locum: &
urbi appropinquare. dies tamen nō dum dictus est: quem haud multo post fore putant, nisi pestilentia plus terroris
incutiat: quod deus avertat. Unum tibi cōmendat hoc est vicinum illum pauperem miserumque cuius spes opesque omnes in se
hoc est in sua et vr̃a domo site sunt: de quo tecum habuit longiores sermones. Te igitur rogat ut eius omnem causam
suscipias: agasque adeo accurate ac diligenter: ut te presente ipsius absentis desiderio quam minime moveat. Ego una
cum eo aut post eum ad vos cōtinuo properabo. Valete dn̄i feliciter omnes ac vr̃is verbis universam familiam
salutate: nosque cōmendate cum matri tue reliquisque nr̃is maioribus. In trunco mugelli die XVIIII octobris 1476,

Amerigus Vespucius
Filius vr̃

A LETTER OF VESPUCIUS TO HIS FATHER (*after a fac-simile given by Varnhagen*).[1]

---

[1] [Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, p. xxii) says that this letter was found by Bandini in the Strozzi Library, and that it is now in the collection of M. Feuillet de Conches in Paris. "This and two or three signatures added to receipts, which were brought to light by Navarrete, constitute," said Harrisse in 1872, "the

claimed for him that he was the friend and colleague of the more famous monk Savonarola. The nephew acknowledged later in life that he was not among the most diligent of his uncle's pupils; and the admission was as true as it was ingenuous, if one may judge by a letter in Latin written, when he was twenty-five years old, to his father. He excuses himself to that *spectabili et egregio viro* — as he addresses his father — for recent negligence in writing, as he hesitates to commit himself in Latin without the revision of his uncle, and he happens to be absent. Probably it was poverty of expression in that tongue, and not want of thought, which makes the letter seem the work of a boy of fifteen rather than of a young man of five and twenty. A mercantile career in preference to that of a student was, at any rate, his own choice; and in due time, though at what age precisely does not appear, a place was found for him in the great commercial house of the Princes Medici in Florence.

In Florence he remained, apparently in the service of the Medici, till 1490; for in that year he complains that his mother prevented him from going to Spain. But the delay was not long, as in January, 1492, he writes from Cadiz, where he was then engaged in trade with an associate, one Donato Nicolini, — perhaps as agents of the Medici, whose interests in Spain were large. Four years later, the name of Vespucci appears for the first time in the Spanish archives, when he was within two months of being forty-six years of age. Meanwhile he had engaged in the service of Juonato Berardi, a Florentine merchant established at Seville, who had fitted out the second expedition of Columbus in 1493.[1]

It has been conjectured that Vespucci became known at that time to Columbus, — which is not improbable if the former was so early as 1493 in the service of Berardi. But the suggestion that he went with Columbus either on his first or second expedition cannot be true, at any rate as to the second.[2] For in 1495 Berardi made a contract with the Spanish Government

---

only autographs of Vespucius known." Since then another fac-simile of a letter by Vespucius has been published in the *Cartas de Indias*, being a letter of Dec. 9, 1508, about goods which ought to be carried to the Antilles. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvi. 318, and *Magazine of American History*, iii. 193, where it is translated, and accompanied by a fac-simile of a part of it. The signature is given on another page of the present chapter. — Ed.]

[1] The facts relative to the birth, parentage, and early life of Vespucci are given by the Abbé Bandini in his *Vita e lettere di Amerigo Vespucci*, 1745, and are generally accepted by those whose own researches have been most thorough, — as Humboldt in his *Examen Critique;* Varnhagen in his *Amerigo Vespucci, son caractère, ses écrits, sa vie, et ses navigations*, and in his *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 41, where he reprints Bandini's account; and Santarem in his *Researches respecting Americus Vespucius and his Voyages*, as the English translation is called. In relation to representatives of the family in our day, see Lester's *Vespucius*, p. 405. The newspapers within a year have said that two female descendants were living in Rome, the last male representative dying seven years ago.

[2] Humboldt says that it cannot be true of either voyage, and relies for proof upon the documentary evidence of Vespucci's presence in Spain during the absence of Columbus upon those expeditions. But he makes a curious mistake in regard to the first, which, we think, has never been noticed. Columbus sailed on his first voyage in August, 1492, and returned in March, 1493. Humboldt asserts that Vespucci could not have been with him, because the letter written from Cadiz and jointly signed by him and Donato Nicolini was dated Jan. 30, 1493. But Humboldt has unaccountably mistaken the date of that letter; it was not 1493, but 1492, seven months before Columbus sailed on his

to furnish a fleet of ships for an expedition westward which he did not live to complete. Its fulfilment was intrusted to Vespucci; and it appears in the public accounts that a sum of money was paid to him from the Treasury of the State in January, 1496. Columbus was then absent on his second voyage, begun in September, 1493, from which he did not return till June, 1496.

In the interval between the spring of 1495 and the summer of 1497 any adventurer was permitted by Spain, regardless of the agreement made with Columbus, to go upon voyages of commerce or discovery to that New India to which his genius and courage had led the way. "Now," wrote Columbus, "there is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg to be allowed to become a discoverer." The greed of the King; the envy of the navigators who before 1492 had laughed at the theories of Columbus; the hatred of powerful Churchmen, more bitter now than ever, because those theories which they had denounced as heresy had proved to be true,— all these influences were against him, and had combined to rob the unhappy Admiral, even before he had returned from his second voyage, of the honor and the riches which he thought would rightfully become his own. Ships now could go and come in safety over that wide waste of waters which even children could remember had been looked upon as a "Sea of Darkness," rolling westward into never-ending space, whence there was no return to the voyager mad enough to trust to its treacherous currents. It was no longer guarded by perpetual Night, by monsters hideous and terrible, and by a constant wind that blew ever toward the west. But ships came safely back, bringing, not much, but enough of gold and pearls to seem an earnest of the promise of the marvellous wealth of India that must soon be so easily and so quickly reached; with the curious trappings of a picturesque barbarism; the soft skins and gorgeous feathers of unknown beasts and birds; the woods of a new beauty in grain and vein and colors; the aromatic herbs of subtle virtue that would stir the blood beneath the ribs of Death; and with all these precious things the captive men and women, of curious complexion and unknown speech, whose people were given as a prey to the stranger by God and the Pope. Every rough sailor of these returning ships was greeted as a hero when to the gaping, wide-eyed crowd he told of his adventures in that land of perpetual summer, where the untilled virgin soil brought forth its fruits, and the harvest never failed; where life was without care or toil, sickness or poverty; where he who would might gather wealth as he would idly pick up pebbles on a beach. These were the sober realities of the times; and there were few so poor in spirit or so lacking in imagination as not to desire to share in the possession of these new Indies. It was not long, indeed, before a reaction came; when disappointed adventurers

---

first voyage. The *alibi*, therefore, is not proved. There is indeed no positive proof that Vespucci was not on that voyage; but, on the other hand, there is nothing known of that period of his life to suggest that he was; and, moreover, the strong negative evidence is — unusually strong in his case — that he never claimed to have sailed with Columbus.

returned in poverty, and sat in rags at the gates of the palace to beg relief of the King. And when the sons of Columbus, who were pages in the Court of the Queen, passed by, "they shouted to the very heavens, saying: 'Look at the sons of the Admiral of Mosquitoland! — of that man who has discovered the lands of deceit and disappointment, — a place of sepulchre and wretchedness to Spanish hidalgos!'"[1]

From his second voyage Columbus returned in the summer of 1496; and meeting his enemies with the courage and energy which never failed him, he induced the King and Queen to revoke, in June of the next year, the decree of two years before. Meanwhile he made preparations for his third voyage, on which he sailed from San Lucar on the 30th of May, 1498. Two months later he came in sight of the island he named Trinidad; and entering the Gulf of Paria, into which empties the Orinoco by several mouths, he sailed along the coast of the mainland. He had reached the continent, not of Asia, as he supposed, but of the western hemisphere. None of the four voyages of the great discoverer is so illustrative of his peculiar faith, his religious fervor, and the strength of his imagination as this third voyage; and none, in that respect, is so interesting. The report of it which he sent home in a letter, with a map, to the King and Queen has a direct relation to the supposed first voyage of Amerigo Vespucci.

As he approached the coast, Columbus wrote,[2] he heard "in the dead of night an awful roaring;" and he saw "the sea rolling from west to east like a mountain as high as the ship, and approaching little by little; on the top of this rolling sea came a mighty wave roaring with a frightful noise." When he entered the Gulf, and saw how it was filled by the flow of the great river, he believed that he had witnessed far out at sea the mighty struggle at the meeting of the fresh with the salt water. The river, he was persuaded, must be rushing down from the summit of the earth, where the Lord had planted the earthly Paradise, in the midst whereof was a fountain whence flowed the four great rivers of the world, — the Ganges, the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile. He did not quite agree with those earlier philosophers who believed that the earth was a perfect sphere; but rather that it was like "the form of a pear, which is very round except where the stalk grows, at which part it is most prominent; or like a round ball, upon one part of which is a prominence like a woman's nipple, this protrusion being the highest and nearest the sky, situated under the equinoctial line, and at the eastern extremity of this sea." "I call that the eastern extremity," he adds, "where the land and the islands end."

Now had come to him at last in the observations and experience of this voyage the confirmation of his faith. That "eastern extremity of the sea where the lands and the islands end" he had reached, he thought, at the islands of Trinidad, of Margarita, and of Cubagua, and at the coast of the Gulf of Paria, into which poured this great river rushing down from the pinnacle of the globe. For he had observed, as he sailed westward from a certain line in the ocean, that "the ships went on rising smoothly towards the sky." Some of the older astronomers, he said, believed that the Arctic pole was "the highest point of the world, and nearest to the heavens;" and others that this was true of the Antarctic. Though all were wrong as to the exact locality of that elevation, it was plain that they held a common faith that somewhere there was a point of exaltation, if only it could be found, where the earth approached the sky more nearly than anywhere else. But it had not occurred to any of them that possibly the blessed spot which the first rays of the sun lit up in crimson and in gold on the morning of creation, because it was the topmost height of the globe, and because it was in the east, might be under the equinoctial line; and it had not occurred to them, because this eastern extremity of the world, which it had pleased God he should now discover, had hitherto been unknown to civilized man.

---

[1] *The History of the Life and Actions of Admiral Christopher Colon.* By his son, Don Ferdinand Colon. [For the story of this book, see the previous chapter. — Ed.]

[2] *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus, with other Original Documents relating to his Four Voyages to the New World.* Translated and edited by R. H. Major, Esq., of the British Museum, London. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1847.

Every observation and incident of this voyage gave to Columbus proof of the correctness of his theory. The farther south he had gone along the African coast, the blacker and more barbarous he had found the people, the more intense the heat, and the more arid the soil. For many days they had sailed under an atmosphere so heated and oppressive that he doubted if his ships would not fall to pieces and their crews perish, if they did not speedily escape into some more temperate region. He had remarked in former voyages that at a hundred leagues west of the Azores there was a north-and-south line, to cross which was to find an immediate and grateful change in the skies above, in the waters beneath, and in the reviving temperature of the air. The course of the ships was altered directly westward, that this line might be reached, and the perils escaped which surrounded him and his people. It was when the line was crossed that he observed how his ships were gently ascending toward the skies. Not only were the expected changes experienced, but the North Star was seen at a new altitude; the needle of the compass varied a point, and the farther they sailed the more it turned to the northwest. However the wind blew, the sea was always smooth; and when the Island of Trinidad and the shores of the continent were reached, they entered a climate of exceeding mildness, where the fields and the foliage were "remarkably fresh and green, and as beautiful as the gardens of Valencia in April." The people who crowded to the shore "in countless numbers" to gaze at these strange visitors were "very graceful in form, tall, and elegant in their movements, wearing their hair very long and smooth." They were, moreover, of a whiter skin than any the Admiral had heretofore seen "in any of the Indies," and were "shrewd, intelligent, and courageous."

The more he saw and the more he reflected, the more convinced he was that this country was "the most elevated in the world, and the nearest to the sky." Where else could this majestic river, that rushed eagerly to this mighty struggle with the sea, come from, but from that loftiest peak of the globe, in the midst whereof was the inexhaustible fountain of the four great rivers of the earth? The faith or the fanaticism — whichever one may please to call it — of the devout cosmographer was never for an instant shadowed by a doubt. The human learning of all time had taught him that the shorter way to India must be across that western ocean which, he was persuaded, covered only one third of the globe and separated the western coast of Europe from the eastern coast of Asia. When it was taken for granted that his first voyage had proved this geographical theory to be the true one, then he could only understand that as in each successive voyage he had gone farther, so he was only getting nearer and nearer to the heart of the empire of the Great Khan.

But to the aid of human knowledge came a higher faith; he was divinely led. In writing of this third voyage to Dona Juana de la Torres, a lady of the Court and a companion to the Queen, he said: "God made me the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth of which he spoke in the Apocalypse by Saint John, after having spoken of it by the mouth of Isaiah; and he showed me the spot where to find it."[1] The end of the world he believed was at hand; by which he meant, perhaps, only the world of heathenism and unbelief. In his letter to the sovereigns he said that "it was clearly predicted concerning these lands by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah in many places in Scripture, that from Spain the holy name of God was to be spread abroad." Amazing and even fantastic as his conclusions were when they came from the religious side of his nature, they were to him irrefragable, because they were so severely logical. He was the chosen instrument of the divine purpose, because it was to him that the way had been made straight and plain to the glorious East, where God had planted in the beginning the earthly Paradise, in which he had placed man, where man had first sinned, and where ere long was to break the promised dawn of the new heaven and the new earth.

The northern continent of the New World was discovered by the Cabots a year before the southern mainland was reached by Columbus. Possibly this northern voyage may have suggested to the geographers of England a new theory, as yet, so far as we know, not thought of in Spain and Portugal, — that a hemisphere was to be circumnavigated, and a passage found among thousands of leagues of islands, or else through some great continent hitherto unknown, — except to a few forgotten Northmen of five hundred years earlier, — before India could be reached by sailing westward. In speaking of this voyage long afterward, Sebastian Cabot said: "I began to saile toward the northwest, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence turne toward India; but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure."[1] This may have been the afterthought of his old age, when the belief that the new Indies were the outlying boundaries of the old was generally discarded. He had forgotten, as the same narrative shows, — unless the year be a misprint, — the exact date of that voyage, saying that it "was, as farre as I remember, in the yeare 1496, in the beginning of Summer." This was a year too soon. But if the statement be accepted as literally true that he was disappointed in finding, not Cathay and India, as he had hoped, but another land, then not only the honor of the discovery of the western continent belongs to his father and to him, — or rather to the father alone, for the son was still a boy, — but the further distinction of knowing what they had discovered; while Columbus never awoke from the delusion that he had touched the confines of India.

---

[1] The very name he bore had a divine significance, according to the fanciful interpretation of his son, Don Ferdinand Colon. For as the name Christopher, or Christophorus, — the Christ-bearer, — was bestowed upon the Saint who carried the Christ over deep waters at his own great peril, so had it fallen upon him, who was destined to discover a new world, "that those Indian nations might become citizens and inhabitants of the Church triumphant in heaven." Nor less appropriate was the family name of Columbus, or Colomba, — a dove, — for him who showed "those people, who knew him not, which was God's beloved Son, as the Holy Ghost did in the figure of a dove at Saint John's baptism; and because he also carried the olive-branch and oil of baptism over the waters of the ocean like Noah's dove, to denote the peace and union of these people with the Church, after they had been shut up in the ark of darkness and confusion." Saint Christopher carrying Christ, appears as a vignette on Cosa's chart.

A discussion of the several interesting questions relating to the voyages of the Cabots belongs to another chapter;[2] but assuming here that the voyage of the "Mathew" from Bristol, England, in the summer of 1497, is beyond controversy, the precedence of the Cabots over Columbus in the discovery of the continent may be taken for granted. There is other ample evidence besides his curious letters to show that the latter was on the coast of South America in the summer of 1498, just thirteen months and one week after the Cabots made the *terra primum visa*, whether on the coast of Nova Scotia, Labrador, or possibly Newfoundland.[3] Not that this detracts in any degree, however slight, from the great name of Columbus as the discoverer of the New World. Of him Sebastian Cabot was mindful to say, in conversation with the Pope's envoy in Spain, — just quoted from in the preceding paragraph, — that "when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus, Genoese, had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of King Henry the 7, who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than humane to saile by the West into the Easte, where spices growe, by a map that was never knowen before, — by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing." However notable the thing might be, it could be only secondary to that achievement of Columbus which Cabot looked upon as "more divine than human;" but whether in the first sight of the mainland which all hoped to find beyond the islands already visited, Vespucci did not take precedence both of the Cabots and of Columbus, has been a disputed question for nearly four hundred years; and it will probably never be considered as satisfactorily settled, should it continue in dispute for four hundred years longer.

---

[1] *A Discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his Discovery, etc.* Translated from Ramusio (1550) by Hakluyt for his *Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 1589, and in later editions.

[2] [See Vol. III. chap. i. — Ed.]

[3] For the distinction which possibly Cabot meant to convey between *terra* and *insula*, see Biddle's *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot* (London 1831), p. 54.

The question is, whether Vespucci made four voyages to that half of the world which was ever after to bear his name,[1] and whether those voyages were really made at the time it is said they were. The most essential point, however, is that of the date of the first voyage: for if that which is asserted to be the true date be correct, the first discoverer of the western continent was neither the Cabots nor Columbus, but Vespucci; and his name was properly enough bestowed upon it. "In the year 1497," says an ancient and authentic Bristol manuscript,[2] "the 24th June, on St. John's day, was Newfoundland found by Bristol men [the Cabots] in a ship called the 'Mathew.'" On his third voyage, in 1498, Columbus says: "We saw land [Trinidad] at noon of Tuesday the 31st of July." In a letter, written no doubt by Vespucci, he says: "We sailed from the port of Cadiz on the 10th of May, 1497;"[3] and after leaving the Canaries, where the four ships of the expedition remained a few days to take in their final supplies of wood, water, and provisions, they came, he continues, "at the end of twenty-seven days, upon a coast which we thought to be that of a continent." Of these dates the first two mentioned are unquestionably authentic. If that last given were equally so, there would be an end of all controversy upon the subject; for it would prove that Vespucci's discovery of the continent preceded that of the Cabots, though only by a week or two, while it must have been earlier than that of Columbus by about fourteen months.

It should first of all be noted that the sole authority for a voyage made by Vespucci in 1497 is Vespucci himself. All contemporary history, other than his own letter, is absolutely silent in regard to such a voyage, whether it be history in printed books, or in the archives of those kingdoms of Europe where the precious documents touching the earlier expeditions to the New World were deposited. Santarem, in his *Researches*, goes even farther than this; for he declares that even the name of Vespucci is not to be found in the Royal Archives of Portugal, covering the period from 1495 to 1503, and including more than a hundred thousand documents relating to voyages of discovery; that he is not mentioned in the Diplomatic Records of Portugal, which treat of the relations of that kingdom with Spain and Italy, when one of the duties of ambassadors was to keep their Governments advised of all new discoveries; and that among the many valuable manuscripts belonging to the Royal Library at Paris, he, M. Santarem, sought in vain for any allusion to Vespucci. But these assertions have little influence over those who do not agree with Santarem that Vespucci was an impostor. The evidence is overwhelming that he belonged to some of the expeditions sent out at that period to the southwest; and if he was so obscure as not to be recognized in any contemporary notices of those voyages, then it could be maintained with some plausibility that he might have made an earlier voyage about which nothing was known. And this would seem the more probable when it was remembered that the time (1497) of this alleged expedition was within that interval when "the very tailors," as Columbus said, might go, without let or hindrance, in search of riches and renown in the new-found world. Many, no doubt, took advantage of this freedom of navigation whose names and exploits are quite unknown to history.

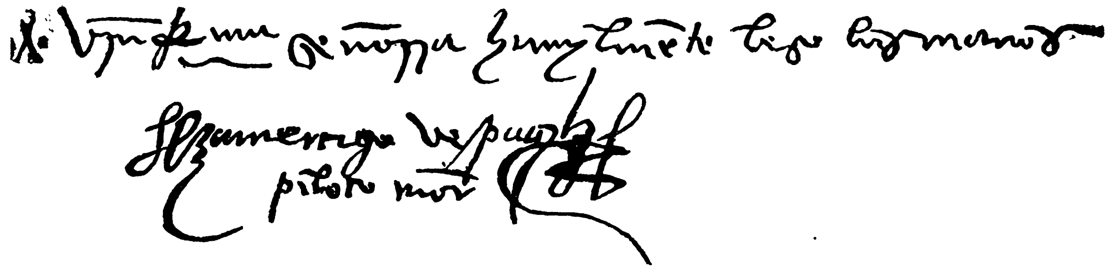
---

[1] Humboldt (*Examen critique*, vol. iv.), supported by the authority of Professor Von der Hugen, of the University of Berlin, shows that the Italian name Amerigo is derived from the German Amalrich or Amelrich, which, under the various forms of Amalric, Amalrih, Amilrich, Amulrich, was spread through Europe by the Goths and other Northern invaders.

[2] [See Vol. III. p. 53.—ED.]

[3] On the 20th of May, according to one edition of the letter,—that published by Hylacomylus at St-Dié.

Nevertheless, the fact of the obscurity of Vespucci at that period is not without great weight, though Santarem fails in his attempt to prove too much by it. Columbus believed when, on his second voyage, he coasted the southern shore of Cuba, that he had touched the continent of Asia. The extension of that continent he supposed, from indications given by the natives, and accepted by him as confirming a foregone conclusion, would be found farther south; and for that reason he took that course on his third voyage. "The land where the spices grow" was now the aim of all Spanish energy and enterprise; and it is not likely that this theory of the Admiral was not



Amerrigo Vespucci
piloto mayor

AUTOGRAPH OF VESPUCIUS, 1508.[1]

well understood among the merchants and navigators who took an intelligent as well as an intense interest in all that he had done and in all that he said. Is it probable, then, that nobody should know of the sailing of four ships from Cadiz for farther and more important discoveries in the direc-

---

[1] [This is the conclusion of a letter of Vespucius, printed and given in fac-simile in the *Cartas de Indias*. — ED.]

VESPUCIUS.[1]

tion pointed out by Columbus? Or, if their departure was secret, can there be a rational doubt that the return, with intelligence so important and generally interesting, would have been talked about in all the ports of Spain, and the man who brought it have become instantly famous?

---

[1] [After a picture in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Gallery (no. 253), which is a copy of the best-known portrait of Vespucius. It is claimed for it that it was painted from life by Bronzino, and that it had been preserved in the family of Vespucius till it was committed, in 1845, to Charles Edwards Lester, United States consul at Genoa. It is engraved in Lester and Foster's *Life and Voyages of Americus Vespucius* (New York, 1846), and described on p. 414 of that book. Cf. also Sparks's statement in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 117. It has been also engraved in Canovai among the Italian authorities, and was first, I think, in this country, produced in Philadelphia, in 1815, in Delaplaine's *Repository of the Lives and Portraits of distinguished American characters*, and later in various other places. The likeness of Vespucius in the Royal

But as no account of the voyage appeared till years afterward, and then in a letter from Vespucci himself; and as, meanwhile, for most of those years the absence of his name from contemporary records shows that no celebrity whatever was attached to it, — the logical conclusion is, not only that the voyage was unknown, but that it was unknown because it was never made. Moreover, if it was ever made it could not have been unknown, if we may trust Vespucci's own statement. For in his letter — not written till 1504, and not published in full till 1507 — he said that this expedition was sent out by order of King Ferdinand; that he, Vespucci, went upon it by royal command; and that after his return he made a report of it to the King. The expedition, therefore, was clearly not one of those which, in the interval between the summers of 1495 and 1497, so often referred to, escaped all public record; and as there cannot be found any recognition of such an enterprise at that date either in contemporaneous history or State documents, what other conclusion can be accepted as rational and without prejudice, than that no such voyage so commanded was made at that time?

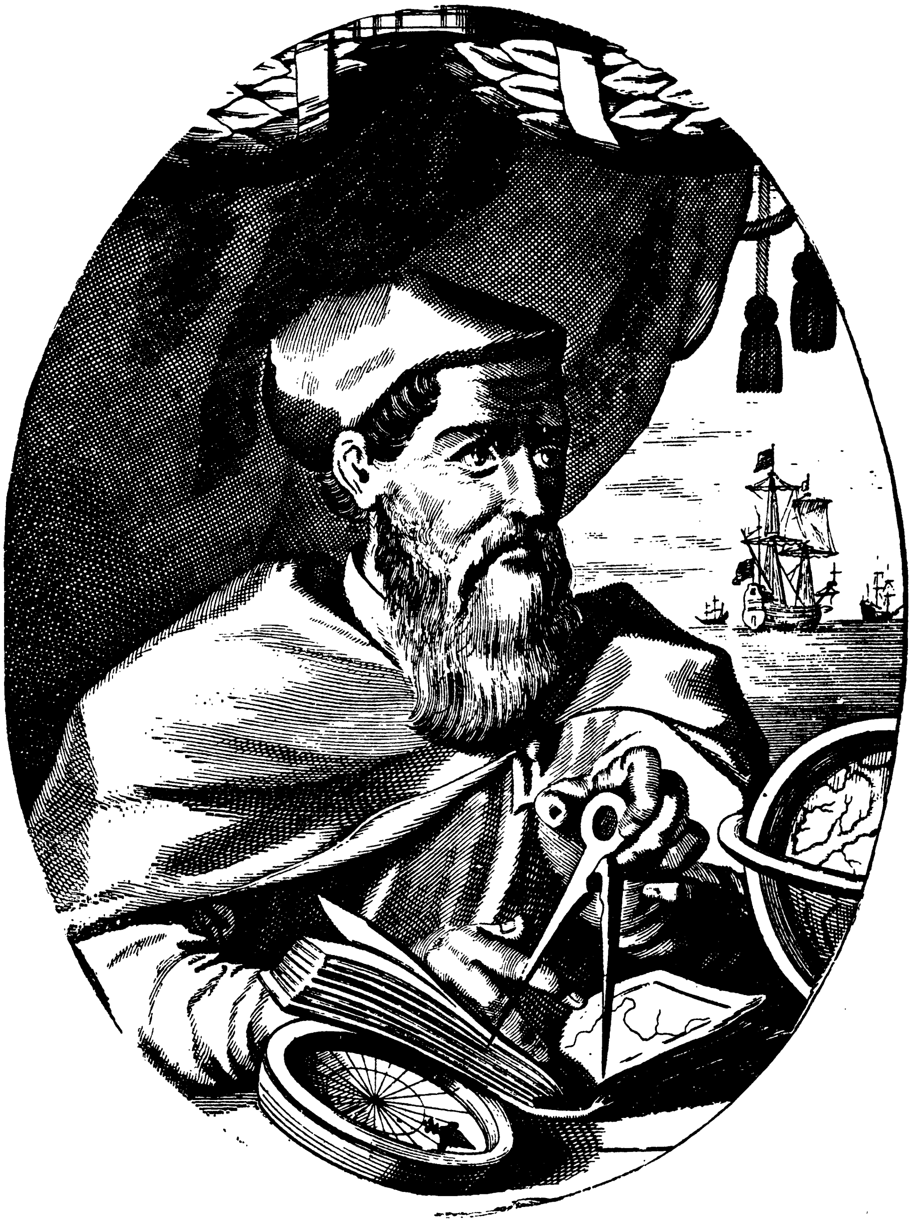
VESPUCIUS.[1]

There seems to be no escape from this evidence, though it is so purely negative and circumstantial. But Humboldt, relying upon the researches

---

Gallery at Naples, painted by Parmigianino, is supposed to be the one originally in the possession of the Cardinal Alexander Farnese (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, iii. 370, by Jomard). That artist was but eleven years old at the death of Vespucius, and could not have painted Vespucius from life. A copy in 1853 was placed in the gallery of the American Antiquarian Society (*Proceedings*, April, 1853, p. 15; Paine's *Portraits and Busts*, etc., no. 28). C. W. Peale's copy of the likeness in the gallery of the Grand Duke of Tuscany is in the collection belonging to the Pennsylvania Historical Society (*Catalogue*, 1872, no. 148). There is also a portrait in the gallery of the New York Historical Society (*Catalogue*, no. 131), but the origin of it is not named. De Bry gives vignette portraits in parts iv., vi., and xii. of his *Grands Voyages*. See Bandini's *Vita e lettere di Vespucci*, chap. vii. for an account of the various likenesses. — ED.]

[1] [A sketch of an old engraving as given in the *Allgem. geog. Ephemeriden* (Weimar, 1807), vol. xxiii. There are other engravings of it in Jules Verne's *Découverte de la terre*, and elsewhere. — ED.]



VESPUCIUS.[1]

of the Spanish historian Muñoz, and upon those gathered by Navarrete in his *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos*, presents the proof of an *alibi* for Vespucci. As has been already said on a previous page, the fact is unquestioned that Vespucci, who had been a resident of Spain for some time, became in 1495 a member of the commercial house of Juanoto Berardi, at Seville, and that in January of the next year, as the public accounts show, he was paid a sum of money relative to a contract with Government which Berardi did not live to complete. The presumption is that he would not soon absent himself from his post of duty, where new and onerous responsibilities had been imposed upon him by the recent death of the senior partner of the house with which he was connected. But at any rate he is found there in the spring of 1497, Muñoz having ascertained that fact from the official records of expenses incurred in fitting out the ships for western expeditions, still preserved at Seville. Those records show that from the middle of April, 1497, to the end of May, 1498, Vespucci was busily engaged at Seville and San Lucar in the equipment of the fleet with which Columbus sailed on his third voyage. The *alibi*, therefore, is complete. Vespucci could not have been absent from Spain from May, 1497, to October, 1498, — the period of his alleged first voyage.

---

[1] [A fac-simile of the engraving in *Montanus*, copied in *Ogilby*, p. 60. — Ed.]

All this seems incontrovertible, and should be accepted as conclusive till fresh researches among the archives of that age shall show, if that be possible, that those hitherto made have been either misunderstood or are incomplete. Assuming the negative to be proved, then, as to the alleged date of Vespucci's first voyage, the positive evidence, on the other hand, is ample and unquestioned, that Columbus sailed from San Lucar on his third voyage on the 30th of May, 1498, and two months later reached the western continent about the Gulf of Paria.

Was Vespucci then a charlatan? Was he guilty of acts so base as a falsification of dates, and narratives of pretended voyages, that he might secure for himself the fame that belonged to another, — that other, moreover, being his friend? There are reasons for believing this to be quite true of him; and other reasons for not believing it at all. There is not, to begin with, a scrap of original manuscript of his bearing on this point known to exist; it is not even positively known in what tongue his letters were written; and anything, therefore, like absolute proof as to what he said he did or did not do, is clearly impossible. The case has to be tried upon circumstantial evidence and as one of moral probabilities; and the verdict must needs differ according to the varying intelligence and disposition of different juries.

He made, or he claimed to have made, — assuming the letters attributed to him to be his, — four voyages, of each of which he wrote a narrative. According to the dates given in these letters, he twice sailed from Spain by order of Ferdinand, — in May, 1497, and in May, 1499; and twice from Portugal, in the service of King Emanuel, — in May, 1501, and in May, 1503. He was absent, as we learn from the same letters, about seventeen months on the first voyage, about sixteen each on the second and third, and on the fourth eleven months. If he went to sea, then, for the first time in May, 1497, and the last voyage ended, as the narrative says, in June, 1504, the whole period of his seafaring life was eighty-four months, of which sixty were passed at sea, and twenty-four, at reasonable intervals, on shore. As the dates of departure and of return are carefully given, obviously the period from May, 1497, to June, 1504, must be allowed for the four expeditions. But here we come upon an insurmountable obstacle. If to the first voyage of 1497 the wrong date was given, — if, that is, the actual first voyage was that of 1499, which Vespucci calls his second, — then he could not have gone upon four expeditions. From May, 1499, to June, 1504, is a period of sixty months; and as the aggregate length he gives to the assumed four voyages is sixty months, they could not have been made in that time, as that would have compelled him to be at sea the whole five years, with no interval of return to Spain or Portugal to refit, — which is manifestly absurd.

The solution of the difficulty relied upon by Humboldt and others seems, therefore, insufficient; it is not explained by assuming that the date 1497 in the narrative of the first voyage was the careless blunder of the translator, copyist, or printer of Vespucci's original letter. It is not an error if there were four voyages; for as the date of the last one is undisputed, the date of 1497 for the first one must remain to give time enough for the whole. But that there were four voyages does not depend solely upon the date given to the first one. That there were four — "quatuor navigationes" — is asserted repeatedly by Vespucci in the different letters. In the relation of the first one, wherein is given this troublesome date which has so vexed the souls of scholars, he says at some length that as he had seen on these "twice two" voyages so many strange things, differing so much from the manners and customs of his own country, he had written a little book, not yet published, to be called "Four Expeditions, or Four Voyages," in which he had related, to the best of his ability, about all he had seen.[1] If, then, the date 1497 is to be explained away as the result of carelessness or accident, — even admitting that such an explanation would explain, — what is to be done with this passage? It cannot, like a single numeral — a 7 for a 9 — be attributed to chance; and it becomes necessary, therefore, to regard it as an interpolation contrived to sustain a clumsy falsification of date.

It has also been conjectured that two of the letters have been misapprehended; that Vespucci meant one as only a continuation of the other in a description of a single voyage, or if intended as two letters, they were meant to describe the same voyage. The early editors, it has been suggested, supposing that each letter described a separate voyage, forged or changed the dates in accordance with that supposition. If there were no other objection to this theory, it is untenable if what has just been said be true. The duration of each voyage, the aggregate length of the whole, and the distinct and careful assertion that there were four of them, require that there should be one prior to that which Vespucci calls his second.

---

[1] "Et quoniam in meis hisce bis geminis navigationibus, tam varia diversaque, ac tam a nostris rebus, et modis differentia perspexi, idcirco libellum quempiam, quem Quatuor diætas sive quatuor navigationes appello, conscribere paravi, conscripsique; in quo maiorem rerum a me visarum partem distincte satis juxta ingenioi mei tenuitatem collegi: verumtamen non adhuc publicavi." From the *Cosmographiæ introductio* of Hylacomylus (Martin Waldseemüller). St.-Dié, 1507. Repeated in essentially the same words in other editions of the letter.

All this leads, according to our present knowledge of the facts, inevitably to this conclusion, — whether Vespucci himself wrote, or others wrote for him, these letters, their very consistency of dates and of circumstantial assertion show them to have been deliberately composed to establish a falsehood. For the researches of Muñoz and of Navarrete, as is said above, prove that Vespucci could not have sailed from Spain on his first voyage on the 10th or 20th of May, 1497; for from the middle of April of that year to the end of May, 1498, he was busily employed at Seville and San Lucar in fitting out the fleet for the third expedition of Columbus.

There is other evidence, negative indeed, but hardly less conclusive, that this assumed voyage of 1497 was never made. In 1512 Don Diego Columbus brought an action against the Crown of Spain to recover, as the heir of his father, Christopher Columbus, the government and a portion of the revenues of certain provinces on the continent of America. The defence was that those countries were not discovered by Columbus, and the claim, therefore, was not valid. It is not to be supposed that the Crown was negligent in the search for testimony to sustain its own cause, for nearly a hundred witnesses were examined. But no evidence was offered to prove that Vespucci — whose nephew was present at the trial — visited in 1497 the Terra Firma which the plaintiff maintained his father discovered in 1498. On the other hand, Alonzo de Ojeda, an eminent navigator, declared that he was sent on an expedition in 1499 to the coast of Paria next after it was discovered by the Admiral (Columbus); and that "in this voyage which this said witness made, he took with him Juan de la Cosa and Morigo Vespuche [Amerigo Vespucci] and other pilots."[1] When asked how he knew that Columbus had made the discovery at the time named, his reply was that he knew it because the Bishop Fonseca had supplied him with that map which the Admiral had sent home in his letter to the King and Queen. The act of the Bishop was a dishonorable one, and intended as an injury to Columbus; and to this purpose Ojeda further lent himself by stopping at Hispaniola on the return from his voyage, and by exciting there a revolt against the authority of the Admiral in that island. Perhaps the bitter animosity of those years had been buried in the grave of the great navigator, together with the chains which had hung always in his chamber as a memento of the royal ingratitude; but even in that case it is not likely that Ojeda would have lost such an opportunity to justify, in some degree, his own conduct by declaring, if he knew it to be so, that Columbus was not the first discoverer of the continent. It is of course possible, but it is certainly not probable, that he should not have heard from Vespucci that this was his second visit to the Gulf of Paria, if that were the fact, and that his first visit was a year before that of Columbus, whose chart Ojeda was using to direct his course through seas with which Vespucci was familiar. This reasonable reflection is dwelt upon by Humboldt, Irving, and others; and it comes with peculiar force to the careful reader of the letters of Vespucci, for he was never in the least inclined to hide his light under a bushel.

---

[1] In the original: *En este viage que este dicho testigo hizo trujo consigo a Juan de la Cosa, piloto, e Morigo Vespuche, e otros pilotos.* The testimony of other pilots confirmed that of Ojeda. The records of this trial are preserved among the archives at Seville, and were examined by Muñoz, and also by Washington Irving in his studies for the *Life of Columbus.* See also *ante,* p. 88.

The originals of the letters, as has already been said, are not, so far as is known, in existence; it is even uncertain whether they were written in Latin, Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese. Nor has the book which Vespucci said he had prepared — "The Four Voyages" — ever been found; but Humboldt believed that the collected narrative first published at St.-Dié in 1507, in the *Cosmographiæ introductio* of Hylacomylus, was made up of extracts from that book. This St.-Dié edition was in Latin, translated, the editor says, from the French.[1] There is in the British Museum a rare work of four pages, published also in 1507, the author of which was Walter Lud. This Lud was the secretary of the Duke of Lorraine, a canon of the St.-Dié Cathedral, and the founder of the school or college, where he had set up a printing-press on which was printed the *Cosmographiæ introductio*. From this little book it is learned that the Vespucci letters were sent from Portugal to the Duke of Lorraine in French, and that they were translated into Latin by another canon of the St.-Dié Cathedral, one Jean Basin de Sandacourt, at the request of Lud.[2]

Vespucci's last two voyages were made, so his letters assert, in the service of the King of Portugal. The narrative of the first of these — the third of the four voyages — appeared at different times, at several places, and were addressed to more than one person, prior to the publication of the St.-Dié edition of all the letters addressed to René II., the Duke of Lorraine. This fact has added to the confusion and doubt; for each of these copies sent to different persons was a translation, presumably from some common original. One copy of them was addressed to Pietro Soderini, Gonfaloniere of Florence, whom Vespucci claimed as an old friend and school-fellow under the instruction of his uncle, Giorgi Antonio Vespucci; another was sent to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, — Vespucci's early employer, — both appearing prior to that addressed in the collected edition of St.-Dié addressed to the Duke of Lorraine. Of the earlier editions there was one published, according to Humboldt, in Latin, in 1504, at Augsburg and also at Paris; another in German, in 1505, at Strasburg, and in 1506 at Leipsic; and still another in Italian at Vicenza, in the collection called *Paesi novamente*, simultaneously with the St.-Dié edition of 1507. These in later years were followed by a number of other editions. While they agree as to general statement, they differ in many particulars, and especially in regard to dates. These, however, are often mere typographical blunders or errors of copyists, not unusual at that era, and always fruitful of controversy. But upon one point, it is to be observed, there is no difference among them; the voyage of 1501 — the first from Portugal — is always the third of the four voyages of Vespucci. This disposes, as Humboldt points out, of the charge that Vespucci waited till after the death of Columbus, in 1506, before he ventured to assert publicly that he had made two voyages by order of the King of Spain prior to entering the service of the King of Portugal.

---

[1] The title of this work is *Cosmographiæ introductio cum quibusdam geometriæ ac astronomiæ principiis ad eam rem necessariis. Insuper quatuor Americi Vespucii navigationes.* The name of the editor, Martinus Hylacomylus, is not given in the first edition, but appears in a later, published at Strasburg in 1509. [See *post*, p. 167. — Ed.]

[2] See Major's *Henry the Navigator*, p. 383. The title of Lud's four-leaved book is *Speculi orbis succinctiss. sed neque pœnitenda neque inelegans declaratio et canon.*

To induce him to leave Spain and come to Portugal, Vespucci says, in the letter addressed to Pietro Soderini, that the King sent to him one Giuliano Bartholomeo del Giocondo, then a resident of Lisbon. Jocundus (the latinized pseudonym of Giocondo) is named as the translator of the Augsburg edition of 1504, addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici. This Jocundus, Humboldt thinks, was Giuliano Giocondo. But Major, in his *Henry the Navigator*, says that the translation was made, not by Giuliano Giocondo, but by his kinsman Giovanni Giocondo, of Verona. His authority for this statement is apparently Walter Lud's *Speculum*. Varnhagen thinks it possible that the work may have been done by one Mathias Ringman, — of whom more presently. Varnhagen says also, in another place, that the translator of the Italian version — published in the *Paesi novamente* at Vicenza in 1507 — unwittingly betrayed that he lied (*son mensonge*) when he said that he followed a Spanish copy; for while he failed to comprehend the use of the word Jocundus, he showed that it was before him in the Latin copy, as he rendered *Jocundus interpres* — Jocundus the translator — as *el iocondo interprete*, the agreeable translator. This is only one example of the confusion in which the subject is involved.

It was due, however, to the *Cosmographiæ introductio* of St.-Dié, in which the letters appeared as a sort of appendix, that the name of America, from Amerigo, was given to the western hemisphere. But how it happened that the *Quatuor navigationes* should have been first published in that little town in the Vosges mountains; and what the relation was between Vespucci and René II., the Duke of Lorraine, — are among the perplexing questions in regard to the letters that have been discussed at great length. Major finds in the fact, or assumed fact, that Fra Giovanno Giocondo was the translator of the narrative of the third voyage, the first published, in 1504, an important link in the chain of evidence by which he explains the St.-Dié puzzle. This Giocondo was about that time at Paris as the architect of the bridge of Notre Dame. A young student, Mathias Ringman, from Alsace, was also there at that period; and Major supposes he may have become acquainted with Giocondo, who inspired him with great admiration for Vespucci. It is certain, at any rate, that Ringman, whose literary pseudonym was Philesius Vogesina, — that is, Philesius of the Vosges, — on his return to his native province edited the Strasburg edition (1505) of Giocondo's translation, appending to it some verses written by himself in praise of Vespucci and his achievements.

In the rare book already referred to, the *Speculum* of Walter Lud, it is said of this Strasburg edition that "the booksellers carry about a certain epigram of our Philesius in a little book of Vespucci's translated from Italian into Latin by Giocondo, of Verona, the architect of Venice." Doubtless Ringman is here spoken of as "our Philesius," because he had become identified with Lud's college, where he was the professor of Latin. It seems almost certain, therefore, that the interest at St.-Dié in Vespucci's voyages was inspired by Ringman, whether his enthusiasm was first aroused by his friendship with Giocondo at Paris, or whether, as Varnhagen supposes, it was the result of a visit or two to Italy. The latter question is not of much moment, except as a speculation; and certainly it is not a straining of probabilities to doubt if Ringman would have taken for his Strasburg edition of 1505 the Giocondo translation, as Lud says he did, if he had himself translated, as Varnhagen supposes, the Augsburg edition of 1504.

Lud also asserts in the *Speculum* that the French copy of the *Quatuor navigationes* which was used at St.-Dié came from Portugal. Major supposes that Ringman's enthusiasm may have led to correspondence with Vespucci, who was in Portugal till 1505, and that he caused his letters to be put into French and sent to Ringman at his request. The narrative of the third voyage in its several editions must have already given some renown to Vespucci. Here were other narratives of other voyages by the same navigator. The clever and enterprising young professors, eager for the dissemination of knowledge, and not unmindful, possibly, of the credit of their college, brought out the letters as a part of the *Cosmographiæ introductio* by Hylacomylus — Martin Waldzeemüller — the teacher of geography, and the proof-reader to their new press. Their prince, René II., was known as a patron of learning; and it is more likely that they should have prefixed his name to the letters than that Vespucci should have done so. Their zeal undoubtedly was greater than their knowledge; for had they known more of the discoveries of the previous fifteen years they would have hesitated to give to the new continent the name of one who would be thereby raised thenceforth from comparative, though honorable, obscurity to dishonorable distinction. That Vespucci himself, however, was responsible for this there is no positive evidence; and were it not for the difficulty of explaining his constant insistence of the completion of four voyages, it might be possible to find some plausible explanation of the confusion of the St.-Dié book.

In that book are these words: "And the fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus, it may be called Amerige; that is, the land of

Americus or America."[1] And again: "Now truly, as these regions are more widely explored, and another fourth part is discovered, by Americus Vesputius, as may be learned from the following letters, I see no reason why it should not be justly called Amerigen, — that is, the land of Americus, or America, from Americus, its discoverer, a man of acute intellect; inasmuch as both Europe and Asia have chosen their names from the feminine form."[2]

It was discovered, less than half a century ago, through the diligent researches of Humboldt, that this professor of geography at St.-Dié, Hylacomylus, was thus the inventor, so to speak, of this word America. That it came at last to be received as the designation of the western continent was due, perhaps, very much to the absence of any suggestion of any other distinctive name that seemed appropriate and was generally acceptable. Rare as the little work, the *Cosmographiæ introductio*, now is, it was probably well known at the time of the publication of its several editions; as the central position of St.-Dié — between France, Germany, and Italy — gave to the book, as Humboldt thought, a wide circulation, impressing the word America upon the learned world. The name, however, came very slowly into use, appearing only occasionally in some book, till in 1522 it gained a more permanent place on a mappemonde in the *Geographia* of Ptolemy. From that time it appeared frequently upon other maps, and by the middle of the century became generally recognized outside of Spain, at least, as the established continental name. But the effect of its suggestion was more immediate upon the fame of Vespucci. While the learned understood that the great captain of that time was Christopher Columbus, the name of Amerigo was often united with his as deserving of at least the second place, and sometimes even of the first. The celebrity which Hylacomylus bestowed upon him was accepted for performance by those who were ignorant of the exact truth; and those who knew better did not give themselves the trouble to correct the error.

In each of Vespucci's voyages he probably held a subordinate position. His place may sometimes have been that of a pilot,[3] or as the commander of a single ship, or attached to the fleet, as Herrera[4] says he was in Ojeda's expedition (1499), "as merchant, being skilful in cosmography and navigation." Vespucci himself does not in so many words assert that he was in command of the expeditions upon which he sailed, while he occasionally alludes, though usually in terms of contempt, to those whose authority was above his own. Once he speaks of Columbus, and then almost parenthetically, as the discoverer merely of the Island of Hispaniola; but of other of his achievements, or of those of other eminent navigators, he has nothing to say. In reply to such criticisms of his letters it has been urged on his behalf that they were written for intimate friends, as familiar narratives of personal experiences, and not meant to be, in any broad sense, historical. But the deception was as absolute as if it had been deliberately contrived; and, whether intentional or not, was never by act or word corrected, though Vespucci lived for five years after the appearance of the letters from the St.-Dié press.

---

[1] "*Et quarta orbis pars quam quis Americus invenit, Amerigen quasi Americi terram, sive Americam nuncupare licet.*"

[2] "*Nunc vero et hæc partes sunt latius lustratæ, et alia quarta Pars per Americum Vesputium, ut in sequentibus audietur, inventa est, quam non video cur quis iure vetet ab America inventore, sagacis ingenii viro, Amerigen quasi Americi terram sive Americam dicendum, cum et Europa et Asia a mulieribus sua sortitæ sint nomina.*" *Hylacomylus.*

[3] [Vespucci himself says that his mission was "per ajutare a discoprire." An astronomer was an important officer of all these early expeditions. Isabella urged Columbus not to go without one on his second voyage; and in his narrative of his fourth voyage, Columbus contends that there is but one infallible method of making a ship's reckoning, that employed by astronomers. Cf. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 671. — ED.]

[4] Herrera, — of whom Robertson says that "of all Spanish writers he furnishes the fullest and most authentic information upon American discoveries" — accuses Vespucci of "falsehoods" in pretending to have visited the Gulf of Paria before Columbus.

But whatever can be or may be said in extenuation of Vespucci, or however strong the reasons for supposing that for whatever was reprehensible in the matter he was innocent and the St.-Dié professors alone responsible, there nevertheless remains the one thing unexplained and inexplicable, — his own repeated assertion that he made four voyages. Humboldt supposes that the narrative of the first, so called, of these four voyages, beginning in May, 1497, was made up of that on which Vespucci certainly sailed with Ojeda, starting in May, 1499. The points of resemblance are so many and so striking as to seem not only conclusive, but to preclude any other theory. If this be true, then it follows that the narrative of the voyage of 1497 was simply a forgery, whosoever was responsible for it; and if a forgery, then Vespucci was not the discoverer of the western continent, and an historical renown was given to his name to which he was not entitled.

The second of the assumed four voyages Humboldt supposes to be the first voyage of Vincente Yañez Pinzon, — hesitating, however, between that and the voyage of Diego de Lepe: the former sailing with four ships in December, 1499, and returning in September, 1500; the latter with two ships, in January, 1500, and returning in June. Vespucci says that he had two ships; that he sailed in May, 1499, and returned in June or September of the next year. It is of the first voyage of 1497 that he says he had four ships. As on that assumed voyage there are many incidents identical with those related of Ojeda's voyage of 1499, so here there are strong points of resemblance between Vespucci's supposed second voyage and that of Pinzon. In both cases, however, there are irreconcilable differences, which Humboldt does not attempt to disguise; while at the same time they indicate either dishonesty on the part of Vespucci in his letters, or that those letters were tampered with by others, either ignorantly or with dishonest intent, to which Vespucci afterward tacitly assented.

It would be hypercritical to insist upon a strict adherence to the dates of the several voyages, and then to decide that the voyages were impossible because the dates are irreconcilable. The figures are sometimes obviously mere blunders; as, for example, the assertion in the St.-Dié edition that the second voyage was begun in May, 1489, when it had been already said that the first voyage was made in 1497. But there are statements of facts, nevertheless, which it is necessary to reconcile with dates; and when this is impossible, a doubt of truthfulness is so far justifiable. Thus in the relation of the second voyage Vespucci asserts, or is made to assert, that on the 23d of August, 1499, he saw while at sea a conjunction of Mars and the Moon. That phenomenon did occur at that time, as Humboldt learned from the Ephemeris; and if it was observed by Vespucci at sea, that could not have been upon a voyage with Pinzon, who did not sail till (December, 1499) four months after the conjunction of the planets. But here, moreover, arises another difficulty: Vespucci's second voyage, in which he observed this conjunction, could not have been made with Ojeda, and must have been made with Pinzon, if on other points the narrative be accepted; for it was upon that voyage that Vespucci says he sailed several degrees south of the equinoctial line to the mouth of the Amazon, — which Pinzon did do, and Ojeda did not.. These and other similar discrepancies have led naturally to the suspicion that the incidents of more than one expedition were used, with more or less discrimination, but with little regard to chronology, for the composition of a plausible narrative of two voyages made in the service of Spain. One blunder, detected by Navarrete in this so-called second voyage, it is quite incredible that Vespucci could have committed; for according to the course pursued and the distance sailed, his ships would have been navigated over nearly three hundred leagues of dry land into the interior of the continent. No critical temerity is required to see in such a blunder the carelessness of a copyist or a compositor.

It was of the first voyage from Lisbon — the third of the *Quatuor navigationes* — that, as has been already said, a narrative was first published in a letter addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici. This was illustrated with diagrams of some of the constellations of the southern hemisphere; and the repute it gave to the writer led the way to his subsequent fame. What Vespucci's position was in the expedition is not known; but that it was still a subordinate one is evident from his own words, as he speaks of a commander, though only to find fault with him, and without giving his name. The object of the expedition was to discover the western passage to the Spice Islands of the East (Melcha, Melacca, Malaccha, according to the varying texts of different editions of the letter); and though the passage was not found, the voyage was, like Cabot's, one of the boldest and most important of the age. But it is also, of all Vespucci's voyages, real or assumed, that which has been most disputed. Navarrete, however, after a careful examination of all the evidence that touches the question, comes to the conclusion that such an expedition, on which Vespucci may have gone in some subordinate position, was really sent out in 1501 by the King of Portugal; and Humboldt concurs in this opinion.

The Terra de Vera Cruz, or Brazil, as it was afterward named, was visited successively for the first time, from January to April, 1500, by Pinzon, De Lepe, De Mendoza, and Cabral. But the expedition to which Vespucci was attached explored the coast from the fifth parallel of southern latitude, three degrees north of Cape St. Augustin, — first discovered and so named by Pinzon, — as far south, perhaps, as about the thirty-eighth parallel of latitude. They had sailed along the coast for about seven hundred leagues; and so beautiful was the country, so luxuriant its vegetation, so salubrious its climate, where men did not die till they were a hundred and fifty years old, that Vespucci was persuaded — as Columbus, only three years before, had said of the region drained by the Orinoco — that the earthly Paradise was not far off. Gold, the natives said, was abundant in the interior; but as the visitors found none, it was determined at last to continue the voyage in another direction, leaving behind them this coast, of what seemed to Vespucci a continent, along which they had sailed from the middle of August to the middle of February. Starting now on the 15th of February from the mainland, they steered southeast, till they reached, on the 3d of April, the fifty-second degree of latitude. They had sailed through stormy seas, driven by violent gales, running away from daylight into nights of fifteen hours in length, and encountering a severity of cold unknown in Southern Europe, and quite beyond their power of endurance. A new land at length was seen; but it only needed a few hours of observation of its dangerous, rocky, and ice-bound coast to satisfy them that it was a barren, uninhabited, and uninhabitable region. This, Varnhagen suggests most reasonably, was the Island of Georgia, rediscovered by Captain Cook nearly three centuries afterward.

The return to Lisbon was in September, 1502. By order of the King, Vespucci sailed again in May, 1503, from Lisbon on a second voyage, — the fourth of his *Quatuor navigationes*. The object, as before, was to find a western passage to the Moluccas; for it was the trade of India, not new discoveries in the western continent, upon which the mind of the King was bent. There were six ships in this new expedition; and it is generally agreed that as Gonzalo Coelho sailed from Lisbon in May, 1503, by order of Emanuel, in command of six ships, Vespucci probably held a subordinate position in that fleet. He does not name Coelho, but he refers to a superior officer as an obstinate and presumptuous man, who by his bad management wrecked the flag-ship. Vespucci may have been put in command of two of the ships by the King; with two, at any rate, he became separated, in the course of the voyage, from his commodore, and with them returned to Lisbon in June of the next year. The rest of the fleet Vespucci reported as lost through the pride and folly of the commander; and it was thus, he said, that God punished arrogance. But Vespucci either misunderstood the divine will or misjudged his commander, for the other ships soon after returned in safety.

The southernmost point reached by him on this voyage was the eighteenth degree of southern latitude. At this point, somewhere about Cape Frio, he built a fort, and left in it the crew of one of the two vessels which had been shipwrecked. The precise spot of this settlement is uncertain; but as it was planted by Vespucci, and as it was the first colony of Europeans in that part of the New World, there was an evident and just propriety in bestowing the derivative — America — of his name upon the country, which at first was known as "The Land of the True Cross," and afterward as "Brazil." The name of Brazil was retained when the wider application — America — was given to the whole continent.

Soon after his return from this, the last of the *Navigationes* of which he himself, so far as is known, gave any account, he went back, in 1505, to Spain. It is conjectured that he made other voyages; but whether he did or did not, no absolute evidence has ever been found.[1] We know almost nothing of him up to that time except what is told by himself. When he ceased writing of his own exploits, then also the exploits ceased so far as can be learned from contemporary authors, who hitherto also had been silent about him. In 1508 (March 22) Ferdinand of Spain appointed him pilot-major of the kingdom,[2] — an office of dignity and importance, which probably he retained till he died (Feb. 22, 1512). His fame was largely posthumous; but a hemisphere is his monument. If not among the greatest of the world's great men, he is among the happiest of those on whom good fortune has bestowed renown.

S. H. Gay

---

[1] [Varnhagen thinks there is reason to believe, from the letter of Vianello, that Vespucius made a voyage in 1505 to the northern coast of South America, when he tracked the shore from the point of departure on his second voyage as far as Darien; and he is further of the opinion, from passages in the letters of Francesco Corner, that Vespucius made still a final voyage with La Cosa to the coast of Darien (*Postface* in *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 56). Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, p. xxvii) gives reasons, from letters discovered by Rawdon Brown at Venice, for believing that Vespucius made a voyage in 1508. — Ed.]

[2] Cf. Navarrete, iii. 297, for the instructions of the King.

During recent years (1892–3) John Fiske, in his *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., has reinforced the argument of Varnhagen in favor of the disputed (1497) voyage of Vespucius; Henry Harrisse, in his *Discovery of North America*, rejects his own earlier arguments in its favor; Clements R. Markham, in *Christopher Columbus*, totally discredits the theory, and Justin Winsor, in his *Christopher Columbus*, has considered the proposition not proven.

CRITICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

NOTES ON VESPUCIUS

AND THE

NAMING OF AMERICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHILE Vespucius never once clearly affirms that he discovered the main, such an inference may be drawn from what he says. Peter Martyr gives no date at all for the voyage of Pinzon and Solis to the Honduras coast, which was later claimed by Oviedo and Gomara to have preceded that of Columbus to the main. Navarrete has pointed out the varied inconsistencies of the Vespucius narrative,[1] as well as the changes of the dates of the setting out and the return, as given in the various editions.[2] All of them give a period of twenty-nine months for a voyage which Vespucius says only took eighteen, — a difficulty Canovai and others have tried to get over by changing the date of return to 1498; and some such change was necessary to enable Vespucius to be in Spain to start again with Ojeda in May, 1499. Humboldt further instances a great variety of obvious typographical errors in the publications of that day, — as, for instance, where Oviedo says Columbus made his first voyage in 1491.[3] But, as shown in the preceding narrative, an allowance for errors of the press is not sufficient. In regard to the proof of an *alibi* which Humboldt brought forward from documents said to have been collected by Muñoz from the archives of the Casa de la Contratacion, it is unfortunate that Muñoz himself did not complete that part of his work which was to pertain to Vespucius, and that the documents as he collated them have not been published. In the absence of such textual demonstration, the inference which Humboldt drew from Navarrete's representations of those documents has been denied by Varnhagen; and H. H. Bancroft in his *Central America* (i. 99, 102, 106) does not deem the proof complete.[4]

Vespucius' own story for what he calls his second voyage (1499) is that he sailed from Cadiz shortly after the middle of May, 1499. The subsequent dates of his being on the coast are conflicting; but it would appear that he reached Spain on his return in June or September, 1500. We have, of course, his narrative of this voyage in the collective letter to Soderini;[5] but there is also an independent narrative, published by Bandini (p. 64) in 1745, said to have been written July 18, 1500, and printed from a manuscript preserved in the Riccardiana at Florence.[6] The testimony of Ojeda that Vespucius was his companion in the voyage of 1499–1500 seems to need the qualification that he was with him for a part, and not for the whole, of the voyage; and it has been advanced that Vespucius left Ojeda at Hispaniola, and, returning to Spain, sailed again with Pinzon in December, 1499, — thus attempting to account for the combination of events which seem to connect Vespucius with the voyages of both these navigators.

---

[1] "Noticias exactas de Americo Vespucio," in his *Coleccion*, iii. 315. The narrative in English will be found in Lester's *Life of Vespucius*, pp. 112–139.

[2] May 10, 20, 1497, and Oct. 1, 15, 18, 1499.

[3] Cf. *Examen critique*, iv. 150, 151, 273–282; v. 111, 112, 197–202; *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 678.

[4] Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iv. 50, 267, 268, 272; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 57; Navarrete, iii. 317.

[5] This part is given in English in Lester, p. 175.

[6] It is translated in Lester, pp. 151–173; cf. Canovai, p. 50.

It is noteworthy that Oviedo, who sought to interpret Peter Martyr as showing that Solis and Pinzon had preceded Columbus to the main, makes no mention of Vespucius. There is no mention of him in what Beneventano furnished to the Ptolemy of 1508. Castanheda does not allude to him, nor does Barreiros in his *De Ophira regione* (Coimbra, 1560), nor Galvano in his *Descobrimientos*, nor Pedro Magalhaes de Gandavo in his account of Santa Cruz (1576).[1]

But it was not all forgetfulness as time went on. The currency to his fame which had been given by the *De orbe antarctica*, by the *Paesi novamente*, by the *Cosmographiæ introductio*, as well as by the *Mundus novus* and the publications which reflected these, was helped on in 1510 by the Roman archæologist Francesco Albertini in his *Opusculum de mirabilibus Urbis Romæ*, who finds Florence, and not Genoa, to have sent forth the discoverer of the New World.[2]

Two years later (1512) an edition of Pomponius Mela which Cocleus edited, probably at Nuremberg, contained, in a marginal note to a passage on the "Zona incognita," the following words: "Verus Americus Vesputius iam nostro seculo | novū illū mundū invenissefert Portugalie Castilieq. regū navibus," etc. Pighius in 1520 had spoken of the magnitude of the region discovered by Vespucius, which had gained it the appellation of a new world.[3] The references in Glareanus, Apian, Phrysius, and Münster show familiarity with his fame by the leading cosmographical writers of the time. Natale Conti, in his *Universæ historiæ sui temporis libri XXX* (1545–1581), brought him within the range of his memory.[4] In 1590 Myritius, in his *Opusculum geographicum*, the last dying flicker, as it was, of a belief in the Asian connection of the New World,[5] repeats the oft-told story, — "De Brasilia, terrâ ignis, de meridionali parte Africæ ab Alberico Vesputio inventa."

In the next century the story is still kept up by the Florentine, Francesco Bocchi, in his *Libri duo elogiorum* (1607),[6] and by another Florentine, Raffael Gualterotti, in a poem, *L' America* (1611),[7] — not to name many others.[8]

But all this fame was not unclouded, and it failed of reflection in some quarters at least. The contemporary Portuguese pilots and cosmographers give no record of Vespucius' eminence as a nautical geometrician. The Portuguese annalist Damião de Goes makes no mention of him. Neither Peter Martyr nor Benzoni allows him to have preceded Columbus. Sebastian Cabot, as early as 1515, questioned if any faith could be placed in the voyage of 1497 "which Americus says he made." It is well known that Las Casas more than intimated the chance of his being an impostor; nor do we deduce from the way that his countrymen, Guicciardini[9] and Segni, speak of him, that their faith in the prior claim in his behalf was stable.

An important contestant appeared in Herrera in 1601,[10] who openly charged Vespucius with falsifying his dates and changing the date of 1499 to 1497; Herrera probably followed Las Casas' manuscripts which he had.[11] The allegation fell in with the prevalent indignation that somebody, rather than a blind fortune, had deprived Columbus of the naming of the New World; and Herrera helped this belief by stating positively that the voyage of Pinzon and Solis, which had been depended upon to antedate Columbus, had taken place as late as 1506.

In the last century Angelo Maria Bandini attempted to stay this tide of reproach in the *Vita e lettere di Amerigo Vespucci, gentiluomo fiorentino*, which was printed at Florence in 1745.[12] It was too manifestly an unbounded panegyric to enlist the sympathy of scholars. More attention was aroused[1] by an address, with equal adulation, which Stanislao Canovai delivered to the Academy at Cortona in 1788, and which was printed at once as *Elogio di Amerigo Vespucci*, and various times afterward, with more or less change, till it appeared to revive anew the antagonism of scholars, in 1817.[2] Muñoz had promised to disclose the impostures of Vespucius, but his uncompleted task fell to Santarem, who found a sympathizer in Navarrete; and Santarem's labored depreciation of Vespucius first appeared in Navarrete's *Coleccion*,[8] where Canovai's arguments are examined at length, with studied refutations of some points hardly worth the labor. This paper was later expanded, as explained in another place.

---

[1] These instances are cited by Santarem. Cf. Ternaux's *Collection*, vol. ii.

[2] Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 64; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, v. 209. There were other editions of Albertini in 1519 and 1520, as well as his *De Roma prisca* of 1523, repeating the credit of the first discovery in language which Muller says that Harrisse does not give correctly. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 96, 103, 106; *Additions*, 56, 74; Muller, *Books on America* (1872), no. 17.

[3] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 107.

[4] Editions at Venice in 1572 and 1589 (Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,161).

[5] Cf. Vol. IV. p. 96.

[6] Sabin, vol. ii. no. 6,102.

[7] Carter-Brown, ii. 114. It was reprinted at Florence in 1859, and at Milan in 1865.

[8] Santarem enumerates various others; cf. Childe's translation, p. 34 etc. Bandini (*Vita e lettere di Vespucci*, cap. vii.) also enumerates the early references.

[9] Though Guicciardini died in 1540, his *Historia d' Italia* (1494–1532) did not appear at Florence till 1564, and again at Venice in 1580. Segni, who told the history of Florence from 1527 to 1555, and died in 1559, was also late in appearing.

[10] Dec. i. lib. iv. cap. 2; lib. vii. c. 5.

[11] Robertson based his disbelief largely upon Herrera (*History of America*, note xxii.).

[12] Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 793; Murphy, no. 142; Leclerc, no. 2,473. There was a German translation in 1748 (Carter-Brown, iii. 866; Sabin, vol. i. no. 3,150), with annotations, which gave occasion to a paper by Caleb Cushing in the *North American Review*, xii. 318.

He claims that one hundred thousand documents in the Royal Archives of Portugal, and the register of maps which belonged to King Emmanuel, make no mention of Vespucius,[4] and that there is no register of the letters-patent which Vespucius claimed to have received. Nor is there any mention in several hundred other contemporary manuscripts preserved in the great library at Paris, and in other collections, which Santarem says he has examined.[5]

An admirer of Vespucius, and the most prominent advocate of a belief in the disputed voyage of 1497, is Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, the Baron de Porto Seguro. As early as 1839, in notes to his *Diario* of Lopez de Souza, he began a long series of publications in order to counteract the depreciation of Vespucius by Ayres de Cazal, Navarrete, and Santarem. In 1854, in his *Historia geral do Brazil*, he had combated Humboldt's opinion that it was Pinzon with whom Vespucius had sailed on his second voyage, and had contended for Ojeda. Varnhagen not only accepts the statements of the St.-Dié publications regarding that voyage, but undertakes to track the explorer's course. In his *Amerigo Vespucci, son caractère*, etc., he gives a map marking the various voyages of the Florentine.[6] For the voyage of 1497 he makes him strike a little south of west from the Canaries; but leaving his course a blank from the mid-Atlantic, he resumes it at Cape Gracias a Dios on the point of Honduras,[7] and follows it by the coast thence to the Chesapeake, when he passes by Bermuda,[8] and reaches Seville. In this he departs from all previous theories of the landfall, which had placed the contact on the coast of Paria. He takes a view of the Ruysch map[9] of 1508 different from that of any other commentator, in holding the smaller land terminated with a scroll to be not Cuba, but a part of the main westerly, visited by Vespucius in this 1497 voyage; and recently Harrisse, in his *Cortereal*,[10] argues that the descriptions of Vespucius in this disputed voyage correspond more nearly with the Cantino map[1] than with any other. Harrisse also asks if Waldseemüller did not have such a map as Cantino's before him; and if the map of Vespucius, which Peter Martyr says Fonseca had, may not have been the same?

---

[1] Santarem reviews this literary warfare of 1788–1789 (Childe's translation, p. 140).

[2] Sabin (*Dictionary*, iii. 312) gives the following contributions of Canovai: (1) *Difensa d' Amerigo Vespuccio*, Florence, 1796 (15 pp). (2) *Dissertazione sopra il primo viaggio d' Amerigo Vespucci alle Indie occidentali*, Florence, 1809. (3) *Elogio d' Amerigo Vespucci . . . con una dissertazione giustificativa*, Florence, 1788; con illustrazioni ed aggiunte [Cortona], 1789; no place, 1790, Florence, 1798. (4) *Esame critico del primo viaggio d' Amerigo Vespucci al nuovo mondo*, Florence, 1811. Cf. Il Marquis Gino Capponi, *Osservazioni sull' esame critico del primo viaggio d' Amerigo Vespucci al nuovo mondo*, Florence, 1811. Leclerc, no. 400; copy in Harvard College Library. (5) *Lettera allo Stampat. Sig. P. Allegrini a nome dell' autore dell' elogio prem. di Am. Vespucci*, Florence, 1789. (6) *Monumenti relativi al giudizio pronunziato dall' Accademia Etrusca di Cortona di un Elogio d' Amerigo Vespucci*, Florence, 1787. (7) *Viaggi d' Amerigo Vespucci con la vita, l' elogio e la dissertazione giustificativa*, Florence, 1817; again, 1832. There was an English version of the *Elogio* printed at New Haven in 1852. Canovai rejects some documents which Bandini accepted; as, for instance, the letter in Da Gama, of which there is a version in Lester, p. 313. Cf. also Varnhagen, *Amerigo Vespucci*, pp. 67, 69, where it is reprinted.

[8] Irving got his cue from this, and calls the voyage of 1497 pure invention. The documents which Navarrete gives are epitomized in Lester, p. 395, and reprinted in Varnhagen's *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 26.

[4] Childe's translation, p. 24.

[5] Childe's translation, pp. 65, 66.

[6] There is another laying down of his course in a map published with a volume not seldom quoted in the present work, and which may be well described here: *Studi biografici e bibliografici sulla storia della geografia in Italia publicati in occasione del III^{o} Congresso Geografico Internazionale, Edizione seconda*, Rome, 1882. Vol. i. contains *Biografia dei viaggiatori Italiani, colla bibliografia delle loro opere per Pietro Amat di San Filippo*. The special title of vol. ii. is *Mappamondi, carte nautiche, portolani ed altri monumenti cartografici specialmente Italiani dei secoli XIII–XVII, per Gustavo Uzielli e Pietro Amat di San Filippo*.

[7] He gives his reasons for this landfall in his *Le premier voyage*, p. 5.

[8] We have no positive notice of Bermuda being seen earlier than the record of the Peter Martyr map of 1511.

[9] See Vol. III. p. 8, and the present volume, p. 115.

[10] Where (p. 106) he announced his intention to discuss at some future time the voyages of Vespucius, and to bring forward, "selon notre habitude," some new documentary evidence. He has since given the proposed title: *Americ Vespuce, sa Correspondance*, 1483–1491; *soixante-huit lettres inédites tirées du portefeuille des Médicis*, with annotations.

Varnhagen, as might be expected in such an advocate, turns every undated incident in Vespucius' favor if he can. He believes that the white-bearded men who the natives said preceded the Spaniards were Vespucius and his companions. A letter of Vianello, dated Dec. 28, 1506, which Humboldt quotes as mentioning an early voyage in which La Cosa took part, but hesitates to assign to any particular year, Varnhagen eagerly makes applicable to the voyage of 1497.[2] The records of the Casa de la Contratacion which seem to be an impediment to a belief in the voyage, he makes to have reference, not to the ships of Columbus, but to those of Vespucius' own command. Varnhagen's efforts to elucidate the career of Vespucius have been eager, if not in all respects conclusive.[3]

We get upon much firmer ground when we come to the consideration of the voyage of 1501, — the first for Portugal, and the third of Vespucius' so-called four voyages. It seems clear that this voyage was ordered by the Portuguese Government to follow up the chance discovery of the Brazil coast by Cabral in 1500, of which that navigator had sent word back by a messenger vessel. When the new exploring fleet sailed is a matter of uncertainty, for the accounts differ, — the Dutch edition of the account putting it as early as May 1, 1501, while one account places it as late as June 10.[4] When the fleet reached the Cape de Verde Islands, it found there Cabral's vessels on the return voyage; and what Vespucius here learned from Cabral he embodied in a letter, dated June 4, 1501, which is printed by Baldelli in his *Il Milione di Marco Polo*, from a manuscript preserved in the Riccardiana Collection.[5] Some time in August — for the exact day is in dispute — he struck the coast of South America, and coursed southward, — returning to Lisbon Sept. 7, 1502.[6]

Vespucius now wrote an account of it, addressed to Lorenzo Piero Francesco de Medici,[7] in which he proposed a designation of the new regions, "novum mundum appellare licet." Such is the Latin phraseology, for the original Italian text is lost.[8] Within the next two years numerous issues of Giocondo's Latin text were printed, only two of which are dated, — one at Augsburg in 1504, the other at Strasburg in 1505; and, with a few exceptions, they all, by their published title, gave currency to the designation of *Mundus novus.* The earliest of these editions is usually thought to be one *Alberic' vespuccĩ' laurẽtio petri francisci de medicis Salutem plurimā dicit*, of which a fac-simile of the title is annexed, and which bears the imprint of Jehan Lambert.[1] It is a small plaquette of six leaves; and there are copies in the Lenox and Carter-Brown collections. D'Avezac, and Harrisse, in his later opinion (*Additions*, p. 19), agree in supposing this the first edition. The dated (1504) Augsburg edition, *Mundus novus*, is called "extraordinarily rare" by Grenville, who had a copy, now in the British Museum. On the reverse of the fourth and last leaf we read: "Magister Johānes otmar: vindelice impressit Auguste Anno millesimo quingentesimo quarto." There are copies in the Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries.[2] An edition, *Mundus novus*, whose four unnumbered leaves, forty lines to the full page, correspond wholly with this last issue, except that for the dated colophon the words Laus Deo are substituted, was put at first by Harrisse[3] at the head of the list, with this title. There is a copy in the Lenox Library, which has another issue, *Mundus novus*, also in black-letter, forty-two lines to the page;[4] still another, *Mundus novus*, forty lines to the page;[5] and another, with the words *Mundus novus* in Roman, of eight leaves, thirty lines to the page.[6] At this point in his enumeration Harrisse placed originally the Jehan Lambert issue (mentioned

---

[1] See p. 108.

[2] This Vianello document was printed by Ferraro in his *Relazione* in 1875.

[3] His publications on the subject of Vespucius are as follows: (1) *Vespuce et son premier voyage, ou notice d'une découverte et exploration du Golfe du Mêxique et des côtes des États-Unis en* 1497 *et* 1498, *avec le texte de trois notes de la main de Colomb*, Paris, 1858. This had originally appeared from the same type in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, January and February, 1858; and a summary of it in English will be found in the *Historical Magazine*, iv. 98, together with a letter from Varnhagen to Buckingham Smith. (2) *Examen de quelques points de l'Histoire géographique du Brésil, — second voyage de Vespuce*, Paris, 1858. (3) *Amerigo Vespucci, son caractère, ses écrits, sa vie, et ses navigations*, Lima, 1865. (4) *Le premier voyage de Amerigo Vespucci définitivement expliqué dans ses détails*, Vienna, 1869. (5) *Nouvelles recherches sur les derniers voyages du navigateur florentin, et le reste des documents et éclaircissements sur lui*, Vienna, 1869. (6) *Postface auxtrois livraisons sur Amerigo Vespucci* Vienna, 1870. This is also given as pages 55–57 of the *Nouvelles recherches*, though it is not included in its contents table. (7) *Ainda Amerigo Vespucci, novos estudos e achegas, especialmente em favor da interpretação dada à sua* 1ª *viagem, em* 1497–1498, *ás Costas do Yucatan*, Vienna, 1874, eight pages, with fac-similes of part of Ruysch's map. Cf. *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. nac. do R. de Janeiro*, no. 839. (8) *Cartas de Amerigo Vespucci*, in the *Rev. do Inst. Hist.*, i. 5.

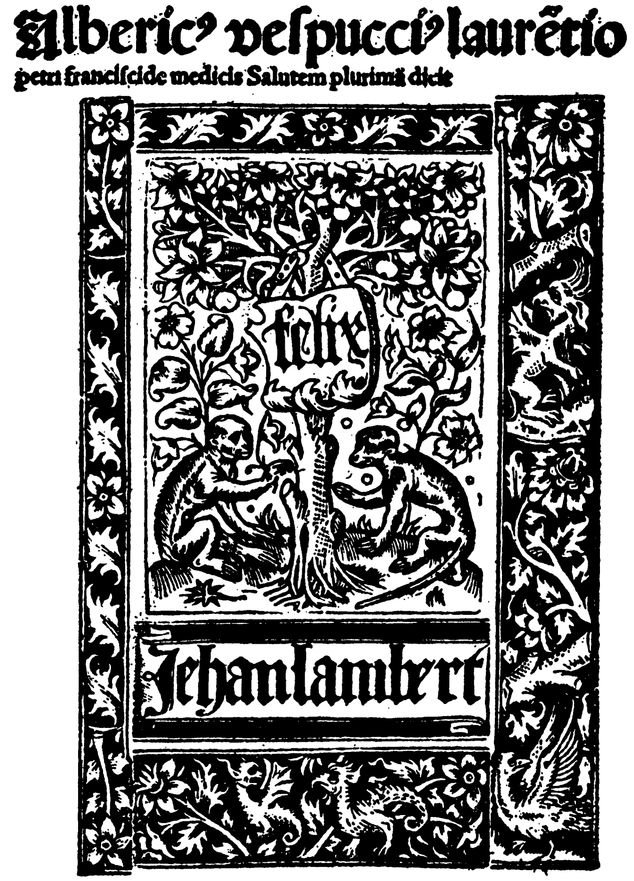
[4] Cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 61.

[5] It is reprinted in Varnhagen, *Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 78. The manuscript is not in Vespucius' hand (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, April, 1858). Varnhagen is not satisfied of its genuineness.

[6] Cf. Humboldt, *Examen critique*, v. 1, 34; Major, *Prince Henry*, p. 375; Navarrete, iii. 46, 262; Ramusio, i. 139; Grynæus, p. 122; Galvano, p. 98. Santarem, in his iconoclastic spirit, will not allow that Vespucius went on this voyage, or on that with Coelho in 1503, — holding that the one with Ojeda and La Cosa is the only indisputable voyage which Vespucius made (Childe's translation, p. 145), though, as Navarrete also admits, he may have been on these or other voyages in a subordinate capacity. Santarem cites Lafitau, Barros, and Osorius as ignoring any such voyage by Vespucius. Vespucius says he could still see the Great Bear constellation when at 32° south; but Humboldt points out that it is not visible beyond 26° south latitude.

[7] This was a cousin of Lorenzo the Magnificent; he was born in 1463, and died in 1503. Cf. Ranke's letter in Humboldt's *Examen critique*, and translated in Lester's *Life and Voyages of Vespucius*, p. 401. Varnhagen has an "Étude bibliographique" on this 1503 letter in his *Amerigo Vespucci, son caractère*, etc., p. 9.

[8] Varnhagen is confident (*Postface* in *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 56) that Vespucius was aware that he had found a new continent, and thought it no longer Asia, and that the letter of Vespucius, on which Humboldt based the statement of Vespucius' dying in the belief that only Asia had been found, is a forgery.



Alberic⁹ vespucci⁹ laurẽtio
petri francisci de medicis Salutem plurimã dicit

felix
Jehan lambert

---

[1] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 26; D'Avezac, *Waltzemüller*, p. 74; Carter-Brown, i. 26; Sunderland, vol. v. no. 12,919; Brunet, vol. v. col. 1,155; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 766.

[2] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 31; Carter-Brown, i. 21; Ternaux, no. 6; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 766; Brunet, vol. v. col. 1,154; Huth, p. 1525. A copy was sold in the Hamilton sale (1884) for £47, and subsequently held by Quaritch at £55. The *Court Catalogue* (no. 369) shows a duplicate from the Munich Library. Harrassowitz, *Rarissima Americana* (91 in 1882), no. 1, priced a copy at 1,250 marks.

[3] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 22.

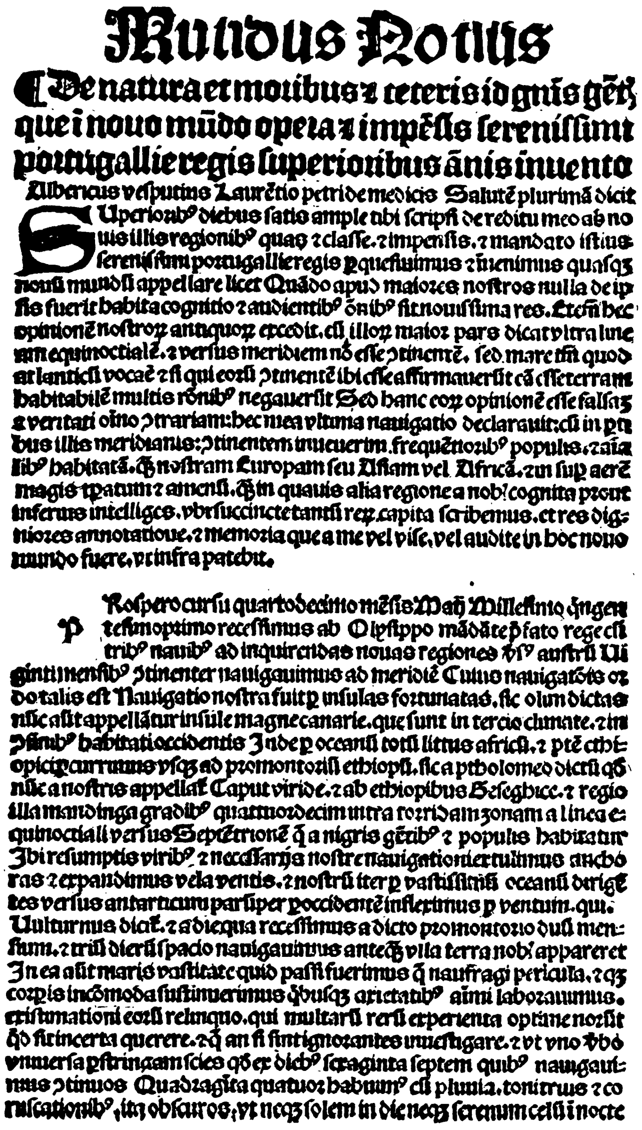
[4] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 23; Carter-Brown, i. 22; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 766; Court, no. 368; Quaritch (no. 321, title 12,489) held a copy at £100.

[5] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 24.

[6] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 25; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, ii. 766; Huth, v. 1525.

above), and after it a *Mundus novus* printed in Paris by Denys Roce, of which only a fragment (five leaves) exists, sold in the Libri sale in London, 1865, and now in the British Museum.[1] Another Paris edition, *Mundus novus*, printed by Gilles de Gourmont, eight leaves, thirty-one lines to the page, is, according to Harrisse,[2] known only in a copy in the Lenox Library; but D'Avezac refers to a copy in the National Library in Paris.[3]

Another *Mundus novus* is supposed by Harrisse to have been printed somewhere in the lower Rhineland, and to bear the mark of Wm. Vorsterman, of Antwerp, on the last leaf, merely to give it currency in the Netherlands. It has four leaves, and forty-four lines to the full page. There are copies in the Lenox and Harvard College libraries.[4] The *Serapeum* for January, 1861, describes a *Mundus novus* as preserved in the Mercantile Library at Hamburg, — a plaquette of four leaves, with



Mundus Novus
¶ De natura et moribus ⁊ ceteris id gnis gētiū
que i nouo mūdo opera ⁊ impēsis serenissimi
portugallie regis superioribus ānis inuento
Albericus vesputius Laurētio petri de medicis Salutē plurimā dicit
S Uperioribꝰ diebus satis ample tibi scripsi de reditu meo ab no
uis illis regionibꝰ quas ⁊ classe. ⁊ impensis. ⁊ mandato istius
serenissimi portugallie regis ꝑquesiuimus ⁊ īuenimus quasqꝫ
nouū mundū appellare licet Quādo apud maiores nostros nulla de ip
sis fuerit habita cognitio ⁊ audientibꝰ ōnibꝰ sit nouissima res. Etenī hec
opinionē nostroꝝ antiquoꝝ excedit. cū illoꝝ maior pars dicat vltra line
am equinoctialē. ⁊ versus meridiem nō esse ꝯtinentē. sed mare tm̄ quod
atlanticū vocāt ⁊ si qui eorū ꝯtinentē ibi esse affirmauerūt eā esse terram
habitabilē multis rōnibꝰ negauerūt Sed hanc eoꝝ opinionē esse falsaꝫ
⁊ veritati oīno ꝯtrariam: hec mea vltima nauigatio declarauit: cū in ꝑti
bus illis meridianis: ꝯtinentem inuenerim. frequētioribꝰ populis. ⁊ aīa
libꝰ habitatā. ꝙ nostram Europam seu Asiam vel Africā. ⁊ in sup aerē
magis tēpatum ⁊ amenū. ꝙ in quauis alia regione a nobꝭ cognita prout
inferius intelliges. vbi succincte tantū reꝝ capita scribemus. et res dig-
niores annotatione. ⁊ memoria que a me vel vise. vel audite in hoc nouo
mundo fuere. vt infra patebit.

P Rospero cursu quartodecimo mēsis Maij Millesimo qngen
tesimo primo recessimus ab Olysippo mādātē pfato rege cū
tribꝰ nauibꝰ ad inquirendas nouas regiones versꝰ austrū Ui
ginti mensibꝰ ꝯtinenter nauigauimus ad meridiē Cuius nauigatōis or
do talis est Nauigatio nostra fuit ꝑ insulas fortunatas. sic olim dictas
nūc aūt appellātur insule magne canarie. que sunt in tercio climate. ⁊ in
ꝯfinibꝰ habitati occidentis Inde ꝑ oceanū totū littus africū. ⁊ ptē ethi-
opice cucurrimus vsqꝫ ad promontoriū ethiopū. sic a ptholomeo dictū qđ
nūc a nostris appellāt Caput viride. ⁊ ab ethiopibus Beseghice. ⁊ regio
illa mandinga gradibꝰ quattuordecim intra torridam zonam a linea e-
quinoctiali versus Septētrionē q̄ a nigris gētibꝰ ⁊ populis habitatur
Ibi resumptis viribꝰ. ⁊ necessarijs nostre nauigationi extulimus ancho
ras ⁊ expandimus vela ventis. ⁊ nostrū iter ꝑ vastissimū oceanū dirigē
tes versus antarticum parūper ꝑ occidentē inflexsimus ꝑ ventum. qui
Uulturnus dicit. ⁊ a die qua recessimus a dicto promontorio duū men-
sium. ⁊ triū dierū spacio nauigauimus anteqꝫ vlla terra nobꝭ appareret
In ea aūt maris vastitate quid passi fuerimus q̄ naufragi pericula. ⁊ qꝫ
corꝑis incōmoda sustinuerimus quibusqꝫ anxietatibꝰ aīmi laborauimus.
existimationi eorū relinquo. qui multarū rerū experientia optime norūt
qđ sit incerta querere. ⁊ q̄ an si sint ignorantes inuestigare. ⁊ vt vno verbo
vniuersa ꝯstringam scies qđ ex diebꝰ sexaginta septem quibꝰ nauigaui-
mus ꝯtinuos Quadragita quatuor habuimꝰ cū pluuia. tonitruis ⁊ co
ruscationibꝰ, ita obscuros, vt neqꝫ solem in die neqꝫ serenum celū i nocte

FIRST PAGE OF MUNDUS NOVUS.[5]

---

[1] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 27.

[2] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 28.

[3] Cf. also Libri (*Catalogue* of 1859); Brunet, vol. v. col. 1,155; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 30. "La petite édition de la lettre de Vespuce à Médicis sur son troisième voyage, imprimée à Paris chez Gilles de Gourmont, vendue à Londres en 1859 au prix de £32 10*s*., et placée dans la riche collection de M. James Lenox de New York, n'existe plus dans le volume à la fin duquel elle était reliée à la Bibliothèque Mazarine." D'Avezac: *Waltzemüller*, p. 5.

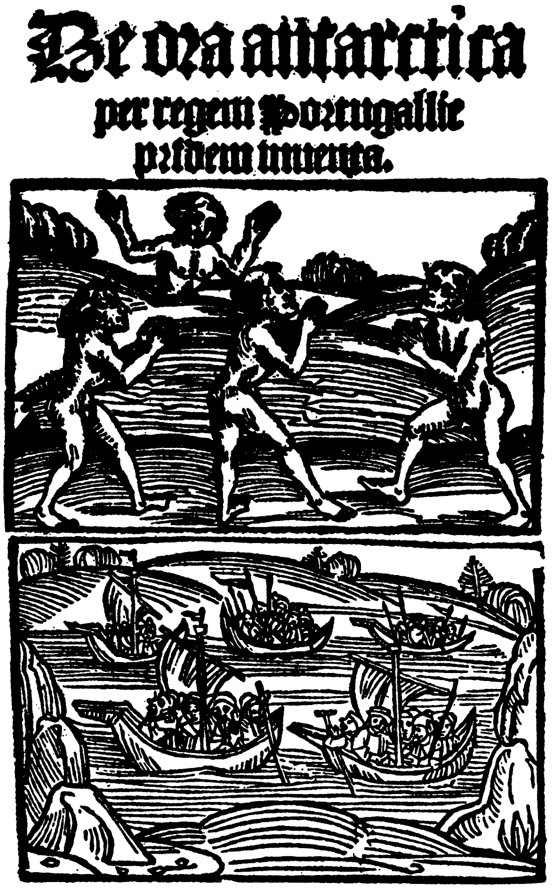
[4] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 29; Huth, v. 1525; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, v. 7, describing a copy in the Göttingen Library; *Bibliophile Belge*, v. 302.

[5] Harrisse, no. 29. Cf. Navarrete, *Opúsculos* i. 99.

forty-five lines to the page, — which seems to differ from all others.[1] Later, in his *Additions* (1872), Harrisse described other issues of the *Novus mundus* which do not seem to be identical with those mentioned in his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. One of these — *Mūdus novus*, printed in a very small gothic letter, four leaves — he found in the Biblioteca Cosatenense at Rome.[2] The other has for the leading title, *Epistola Albericii: de novo mundo*, — a plaquette of four leaves, forty-eight lines to the page, with map and woodcut.[3]

This letter of Vespucius was again issued at Strasburg in 1505, with the title *Be* [*De*] *ora antarctica*, as shown in the annexed fac-simile; and joined with this text, in the little six-leaved tract, was a letter of Philesius to Bruno, and some Latin verses by Philesius; and in this form we have it probably for the last time in that language.[4] This Philesius we shall encounter again later.

It was this Latin rendering by Giocondo, the architect, as Harrisse thinks,[5] upon which the Italian text of the *Paesi novamente* was founded. Varnhagen in his *Amerigo Vespucci, son caractère* (p. 13), prints side by side this Italian and the Latin text, marking different readings in the latter. In this same year (1505) the first German edition was issued at Nuremberg, though it is undated: *Von der new gefundē Region die wol ein welt genennt mag werden durch den cristenlichen Künig von Portugall wunnderbarlich erfunden.*[6] The colophon shows that this German version was made from a copy of the Latin text



Be ora antarctica
per regem Portugallie
pridem inuenta.

---

[1] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 30; Carter-Brown, i. 23. A copy was (no. 233) in a sale at Sotheby's, London, Feb. 22, 1883. It seems probable that no. 14 of Harrisse's *Additions*, corresponding to copies in the Lenox, Trivulziana, and Marciana libraries, is identical with this.

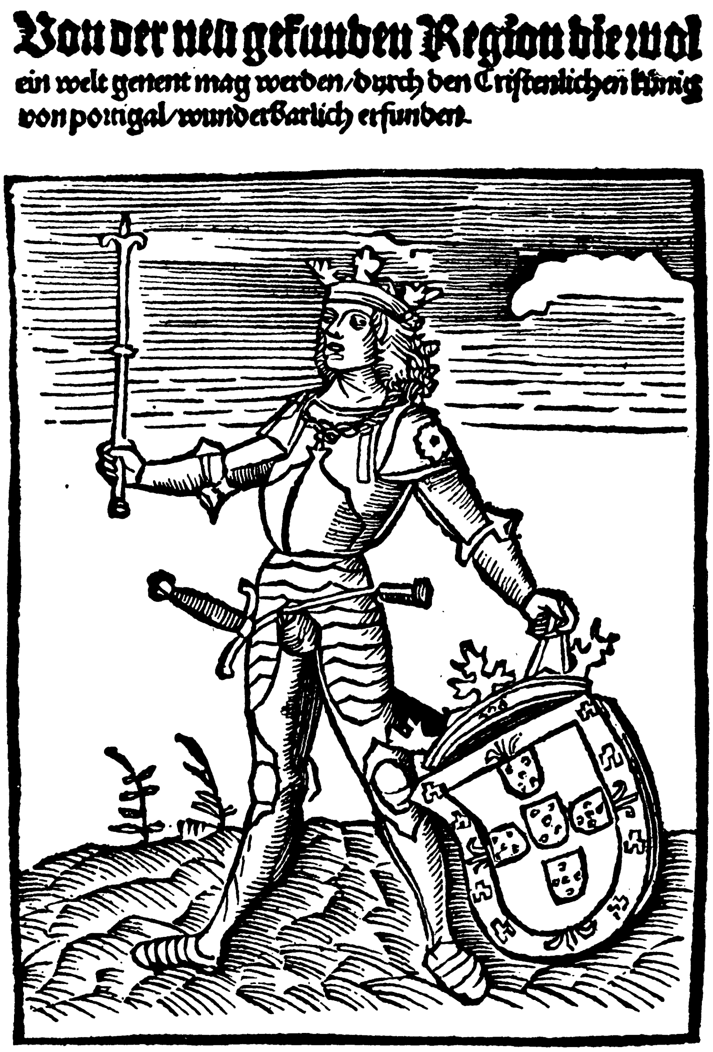
[2] Harrisse, *Additions*, p. 12, where its first page is said to have thirty-three lines; but the *Court Catalogue* (no. 367), describing what seems to be the same, says it has forty-two lines, and suggests that it was printed at Cologne about 1503.

[3] *Additions*, p. 13, describing a copy in the British Museum. Varnhagen (*Amerigo Vespucci*, Lima, 1865, p. 9) describes another copy which he had seen.

[4] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 39; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 24; Brunet, vol. v. col. 1,155; Court, no. 370; Huth, v. 1526; D'Avezac, *Waltzemüller*, p. 91. Tross, of Paris, in 1872, issued a vellum fac-simile reprint in ten copies. Murphy, no. 2,615; Court, no. 371.

[5] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, p. 36.

[6] This title is followed on the same page by a large cut of the King of Portugal with sceptre and shield. The little plaquette has six folios, small quarto (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 33). A fac-simile edition was made by Pilinski at Paris (twenty-five copies), in 1861. Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 25, with fac-simile of title; Murphy, no. 2,616; Huth, v. 1525; O'Callaghan, no. 2,328; Cooke, no. 2,519. There is a copy of this fac-simile, which brings about $5 or $6, in the Boston Public Library. Cf. also Panzer, *Annalen, Suppl.*, no. 561 *bis*, and Weller, *Repertorium*, no. 335.



Von der neu gefunden Region die wol
ein welt genent mag werden/ durch den Cristenlichē künig
von portigal/ wunderbarlich erfunden.

TITLE OF THE DRESDEN COPY.[1]

brought from Paris in May, 1505: *Ausz latein ist dist missiue in Teütsch gezogē ausz dem exemplar das von Parisz kam ym maien monet nach Christi geburt, Funfftzenhundert vnnd Fünffjar. Gedruckt vn Nüremburg durch Wolffgang Hueber.* The full page of this edition has thirty-seven lines.

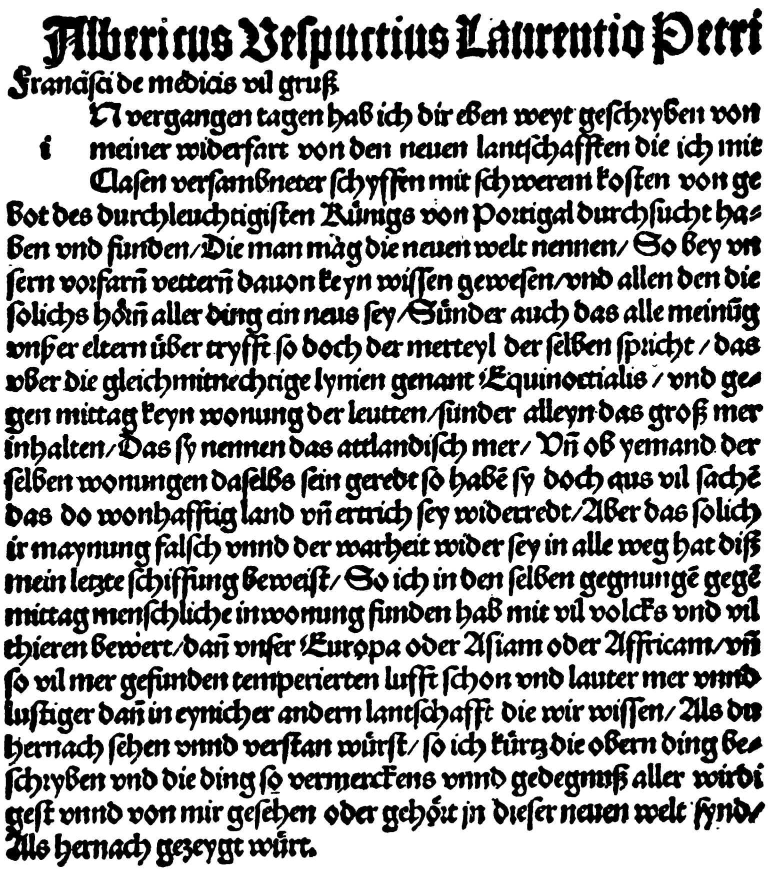
Another edition, issued the same year (1505), shows a slight change in the title, *Von der neü gefunden Region so wol ein welt genempt mag werden, durch den Christēlichen künig, von Portigal wunderbarlich erfunden.* This is followed by the same cut of the King, and has a similar colophon. Its full page contains thirty-three lines.[2]

Still another edition of the same year and publisher shows thirty-five lines to the page, and above the same cut the title reads: *Von der neu*

---

[1] This follows the fac-simile given in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 333, of an edition in the Royal Library at Dresden.

[2] There is a copy in the Carter-Brown Collection (*Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 586). It seems to be Harrisse's no. 37, where a copy in the British Museum is described.



Albericus Veſpuccius Laurentio Petri Franciſci de medicis vil gruß

iN vergangen tagen hab ich dir eben weyt geſchryben von meiner widerfart von den neuen lantſchafften die ich mit Claſen verſambneter ſchyffen mit ſchwerem koſten von gebot des durchleuchtigiſten Künigs von Portigal durchſucht haben vnd funden/ Die man mag die neuen welt nennen/ So bey vnſern vorfarñ vetterñ dauon keyn wiſſen geweſen/ vnd allen den die ſolichs hörñ aller ding ein neus ſey/ Sunder auch das alle meinūg vnſer eltern über tryfft ſo doch der merteyl der ſelben ſpricht/ das vber die gleichmitnechtige lynien genant Equinoctialis/ vnd gegen mittag keyn wonung der leutten/ ſunder alleyn das groß mer inhalten/ Das ſy nennen das attlandiſch mer/ Vñ ob yemand der ſelben wonungen daſelbs ſein geredt ſo habē ſy doch aus vil ſachē das do wonhafftig land vñ ertrich ſey widerredt/ Aber das ſolich ir maynung falſch vnnd der warheit wider ſey in alle weg hat diß mein letzte ſchiffung beweiſt/ So ich in den ſelben gegnungē gegē mittag menſchliche inwonung funden hab mit vil volcks vnd vil thieren bewert/ dañ vnſer Europa oder Aſiam oder Affricam/ vñ ſo vil mer geſunden temperierten lufft ſchon vnd lauter mer vnnd luſtiger dañ in eynicher andern lantſchafft die wir wiſſen/ Als du hernach ſehen vnnd verſtan würſt/ ſo ich kürtz die obern ding beſchryben vnd die ding ſo vermerckens vnnd gedegnuß aller wirdigeſt vnnd von mir geſehen oder gehört in dieſer neuen welt ſynd/ Als hernach gezeygt würt.

FROM THE DRESDEN COPY.[1]

gefunden Region die wol ein welt genent mag werden durch den Cristenlichen künig von portigal wunderbarlich erfunden. This is the copy described in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (vol. i. no. 26), and seems to correspond to the copy in the Dresden Library, of which fac-similes of the title and its reverse are given herewith.[2]

Harrisse[3] cites a copy in the British Museum (Grenville), which has thirty-five lines to the page, with the title: *Vonderneüw gefunden Region*, etc. It is without date and place; but Harrisse sets it under 1505, as he does another issue, *Von der Neüwen gefundē Region*, of which he found a copy in the Royal Library at Munich,[4] and still another, *Von den Nawen Insulen unnd Landen*, printed at Leipsic.[5]

In 1506 there were two editions, — one published at Strasburg,[6] *Von den Nüwe Insulē und landen* (eight leaves); and the other at Leipsic, *Von den newen Insulen und Landen* (six leaves).[7]

---

[1] This follows the fac-simile given in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 334, of the reverse of title of a copy preserved in the Royal Library at Dresden.

[2] Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*) says he describes his no. 38 from the Carter-Brown and Lenox copies; but the colophon as he gives it does not correspond with the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, nor with the Dresden copy as described by Ruge. Cf. also Panzer, *Annalen*, vol. i. p. 271, no. 561; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, v. 6.

[3] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 34.

[4] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 21.

[5] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 20, following Weller's *Repertorium*, no. 320.

[6] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 40; there is a copy in the Lenox Library.

[7] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 41; Heber, vol. vi. no. 3,846; Rich, no. 1; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iv. 160.

In 1508 there was, according to Brunet,[1] a Strasburg edition, *Von den Neüwen Insulen und Landen*. There was also a Dutch edition, *Van der nieuwer werelt*, etc., printed at Antwerp by Jan van Doesborgh, which was first made known by Muller, of Amsterdam, through his *Books on America* (1872, no. 24). It is a little quarto tract of eight leaves, without date, printed in gothic type, thirty and thirty-one lines to the page, with various woodcuts. It came from an "insignificant library," — that of the architect Bosschaert,[2] — sold in 1871 in Antwerp, and was bound up with three other tracts of the first ten years of the sixteenth century. It cost Muller 830 florins, and subsequently passed into the Carter-Brown Library, and still remains unique. Muller had placed it between 1506 and 1509; but Mr. Bartlett, in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (vol. i. no. 38), assigns it to 1508. Muller had also given a fac-simile of the first page; but only the cut on that page is reproduced in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (i. 46), as well as a cut showing a group of four Indians, which is on the reverse of the last leaf. Mr. Carter-Brown printed a fac-simile edition (twenty-five copies) in 1874 for private distribution.[3]

That portion of the Latin letter which Vespucius addressed to Soderini on his four voyages differs from the text connected with Giocondo's name, and will be found in the various versions of the *Paesi novamente* and in Grynæus, as well as in Ramusio (i. 128), Bandini (p. 100), and Canovai in Italian, and in English in Kerr's *Voyages* (vol. iii., 1812, p. 342) and in Lester (p. 223). There are also German versions in Voss, *Allerälteste Nachricht von den neuen Welt* (Berlin, 1722), and in Spanish in Navarrete's *Coleccion* (iii. 190).

There is another text, the "Relazione," published by Francesco Bartolozzi in 1789,[4] after it had long remained in manuscript; it also is addressed to the same Lorenzo.[5] If the original account as written by Vespucius himself was in Portuguese and addressed to King Manoel, it is lost.[6]

Of the Vespucius-Coelho voyage we have only the account which is given in connection with the other three, in which Vespucius gives May 10 as the date of sailing; but Coelho is known to have started June 10, with six ships. Varnhagen has identified the harbor, where he left the shipwrecked crew, with Port Frio.[7] Returning, they reached Lisbon June 18 (or 28), and on the 4th of the following September Vespucius dated his account.[8]

If we draw a line from Nancy to Strasburg as the longer side of a triangle, its apex to the south will fall among the Vosges, where in a secluded valley lies the town of St.-Dié. What we see there to-day of man's work is scarcely a century and a half old; for the place was burned in 1756, and shortly after rebuilt. In the early part of the sixteenth century St.-Dié was in the dominion of Duke René of Lorraine. It had its cathedral and a seminary of learning (under the patronage of the Duke), and a printing-press had been set up there. The reigning prince, as an enlightened friend of erudition, had drawn to his college a number of learned men; and Pico de Mirandola, in addressing a letter to the editor of the Ptolemy of 1513, expressed surprise that so scholarly a body of men existed in so obscure a place. Who were these scholars?

The chief agent of the Duke in the matter seems to have been his secretary, Walter Lud or Ludd, or Gualterus Ludovicus, as his name was latinized. The preceding narrative has indicated his position in this learned community,[9] and has cited the little tractate of four leaves by him, the importance of which was first discovered, about twenty years ago, by Henry Stevens,[10] and of which the only copies at present known are in the British Museum and the Imperial Library at Vienna.[1] From this tiny *Speculum*, as we shall see, we learn some important particulars. Just over the line of Lorraine, and within the limits of Alsace, there was born and had lived a certain Mathias Ringmann or Ringman. In these early years of the century (1504) he was a student in Paris among the pupils of a certain Dr. John Faber, — to be in other ways, as we shall see, connected with the development of the little story now in progress. In Paris at the same time, and engaged in building the Notre Dame bridge, was the Veronese architect Fra Giovanni Giocondo. Major thinks there is great reason for believing that the young Alsatian student formed the acquaintance of the Italian architect, and was thus brought to entertain that enthusiasm for Vespucius which Giocondo, as a countryman of the navigator, seems to have imparted to his young friend. At least the little that is known positively seems to indicate this transmission of admiration.

---

[1] Vol. v. col. 1156; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 50.

[2] *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Anvers*, 1877, p. 349.

[3] There is a copy of this fac-simile in the Boston Public Library [G. 302, 22]. Cf. *Historical Magazine*, xxi. 111.

[4] *Ricerche istorico-critiche circa alle scoperte d'Amerigo Vespucci con l' aggiunta di una relazione del medesimo fin ora inedita* (Florence, 1789), p. 168. He followed, not an original, but a copy found in the Biblioteca Strozziana. This text is reprinted in Varnhagen's *Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 83.

[5] Cf. the *Relazione delle scoperte fatte da C. Colombo, da A. Vespucci*, etc., following a manuscript in the Ferrara Library, edited by Professor Ferraro, and published at Bologna in 1875 as no. 144 of the series *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite e rare dal secolo XIII al XVII.*

[6] Lucas Rem's *Tagebuch aus den Jahren* 1494–1542. *Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg. Mitgetheilt mit Bemerkungen und einem Anhange von noch ungedruckten Briefen und Berichten über die Entdeckung des newen Seeweges nach Amerika und Ost-Indien, von B. Greiff.* Augsburg, 1861. This privately printed book in a "kurtzer Bericht aus der neuen Welt, 1501," is said to contain an account of a voyage of Vespucius, probably this one (Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, no. 2,727).

[7] *Hist. geral do Brazil* (1854), p. 427. Cf. Navarrete, iii. 281, 294; Bandini, p. 57; Peschel, *Erdkunde* (1877), p. 275; Callender's *Voyages to Terra Australis* (1866), vol. i.; Ramusio, i. 130, 141.

[8] That portion of it relating to this voyage is given in English in Lester, p. 238.

[9] N. F. Gravier in his *Histoire de Saint-Dié*, published at Épinal in 1836, p. 202, depicts the character of Lud and the influence of his press. Lud died at St.-Dié in 1527, at the age of seventy-nine.

[10] Cf. his *Notes*, etc., p. 35.

We must next revert to what Vespucius himself was doing to afford material for this increase of his fame. On his return from his last voyage he had prepared an account at full length of his experiences in the New World, 'that coming generations might remember him." No such ample document, however, is now known. There was at this time (1504) living in Florence a man of fifty-four, Piero Soderini, who two years before, had been made perpetual Gonfaloniere of the city. He had been a schoolmate of Vespucius; and to him, dating from Lisbon, Sept. 4, 1504, the navigator addressed an account of what he called his four voyages, abstracted as is supposed from the larger narrative. The original text of this abstract is also missing, unless we believe, with Varnhagen, that the text which he gives in his *Amerigo Vespucci, son caractère*, etc. (p. 34), printed at Lima in 1865, is such, which he supposes to have been published at Florence in 1505-1506, since a printed copy of an Italian text, undated, had been bought by him in Havana (1863) in the same covers with another tract of 1506.[2] Other commentators have not placed this Italian tract so early. It has not usually been placed before 1510.[3] Dr. Court put it before 1512. Harrisse gave it the date of 1516 because he had found it bound with another tract of that date; but in his *Additions*, p. xxv, he acknowledges the reasons inconclusive. Major contends that there is no reason to believe that any known Italian text antedates the Latin, yet to be mentioned. This Italian text is called *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuovamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi . . . Data in Lisbona a di* 4 *di Septembre*, 1504. It is a small quarto of sixteen leaves.[4]

Varnhagen does not question that the early Italian print is the better text, differing as it does from Bassin's Latin; and he follows it by preference in all his arguments. He complains that Bandini and Canovai reprinted it with many errors.

Ramusio in his first volume had reprinted that part of it which covers the third and fourth voyage; and it had also been given in French in the collection of Jean Temporal at Lyons in 1556, known otherwise as Jean Leon's (Leo Africanus) *Historiale description de l'Afrique*, with a preface by Ramusio.[5]

It is Major's belief that the original text of the abstract intended for Soderini was written in a sort of composite Spanish-Italian dialect, such as an Italian long in the service of the Iberian nations might acquire,[1] and that a copy of it coming into the possession of Vespucius' countryman, Giocondo, in Paris, it was by that architect translated into French, and at Ringmann's suggestion addressed to René and intrusted to Ringmann to convey to the Duke, of whom the Alsatian felt proud, as an enlightened sovereign whose dominions were within easy reach of his own home. Major also suggests that the preliminary parts of the narrative, referring to the school-day acquaintance of Vespucius with the person whom he addressed, while it was true of Soderini,[2] was not so of René; but, being retained, has given rise to confusion.[3] Lud tells us only that the letters were sent from Portugal to René in French, and Waldseemüller says that they were translated from the Italian to the French, but without telling us whence they came.

---

[1] Varnhagen's *Le premier voyage*, p. 1.

[2] Varnhagen, *Amerigo Vespucci, son caractère*, etc., p. 28; D'Avezac's *Waltzemüller*, p. 46; Harrisse. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, p. xxiv.

[3] Napione puts it in this year in his *Del primo scopritore*, Florence, 1809.

[4] Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 87) describes it from a copy in the British Museum which is noted in the *Grenville Catalogue*, p. 764, no. 6,535. D'Avezac, in 1867, noted, besides the Grenville copy, one belonging to the Marquis Gino Capponi at Florence, and Varnhagen's (*Waltzemüller*, p. 45; Peignot, *Répertoire*, p. 139; Heber, vol. vi. no. 3,848; Napione, *Del primo scopritore del nuovo mondo*, 1809, p. 107; Ebert, *Dictionary*, no. 27,542; Ternaux, no. 5). Harrisse in 1872 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, p. xxiv), added a fourth copy, belonging to the Palatina in Florence (Biblioteca Nazionale), and thinks there may have been formerly a duplicate in that collection, which Napione describes. The copy described by Peignot may have been the same with the Heber and Grenville copies; and the Florence copy mentioned by Harrisse in his *Ferdinand Colomb*, p. 11, may also be one of those already mentioned. The copy which Brunet later described in his *Supplément* passed into the Court Collection (no. 366); and when that splendid library was sold, in 1884, this copy was considered its gem, and was bought by Quaritch for £524, but is now owned by Mr. Chas. H. Kalbfleisch, of New York. The copies known to Varnhagen in 1865 were — one which had belonged to Baccio Valori, used by Bandini; one which belonged to Gaetano Poggiale, described by Napione; the Grenville copy; and his own, which had formerly belonged to the Libreria de Nuestra Señora de las Cuevas de la Cartuja in Seville. The same text was printed in 1745 in Bandini's *Vita e lettere di Amerigo Vespucci*, and in 1817 in Canovai's *Viaggi d' Americo Vespucci*, where it is interjected among other matter, voyage by voyage.

[5] There was also a French edition at Antwerp the same year, and it was reprinted in Paris in 1830. There were editions in Latin at Antwerp in 1556, at Tiguri in 1559, and an Elzevir edition in 1632 (Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 211).

We know, at all events, that Ringmann returned to the Vosges country, and was invited to become professor of Latin in the new college, where he taught thereafter, and that he had become known, as was the fashion, under the Latin name of Philesius, whose verses have already been referred to. The narrative of Vespucius, whether Ringmann brought it from Paris, or however it came, was not turned from the French into Latin by him,[4] but, as Lud informs us, by another canon of the Cathedral, Jean Bassin de Sandacourt, or Johannes Basinus Sandacurius, as he appears in Lud's Latin.

Just before this, in 1504, there had joined the college, as teacher of geography, another young man who had classicized his name, and was known as Hylacomylus. It was left, as has been mentioned, for Humboldt (*Examen critique*, iv. 99) to identify him as Martin Waltzemüller, — who however preferred to write it Waldseemüller.

It was a project among this St.-Dié coterie to edit Ptolemy,[5] and illustrate his cosmographical views, just as another coterie at Vienna were engaged then and later in studying the complemental theories of Pomponius Mela. Waldseemüller, as the teacher of geography, naturally assumed control of this undertaking; and the Duke himself so far encouraged the scheme as to order the engraving of a map to accompany the exposition of the new discoveries, — the same which is now known as the Admiral's map.[6]

In pursuance of these studies Waldseemüller had prepared a little cosmographical treatise, and this it was now determined to print at the College Press at St.-Dié. Nothing could better accompany it than the Latin translation of the Four Voyages of Vespucius and some verses by Philesius; for Ringmann, as we have seen, was a verse-maker, and had a local fame as a Latin poet. Accordingly, unless Varnhagen's theory is true, which most critics are not inclined to accept, these letters of Vespucius first got into print, not in their original Italian, but in a little Latin quarto of Waldseemüller, printed in this obscure nook of the Vosges. Under the title of *Cosmographiæ introductio*, this appeared twice, if not oftener, in 1507.[7]

To establish the sequence of the editions of the *Cosmographiæ introductio* in 1507[8] is a bibliographical task of some difficulty, and experts are at variance. D'Avezac (*Waltzemüller*, p. 112) makes four editions in 1507, and establishes a test for distinguishing them by taking the first line of the title, together with the date of the colophon; those of May corresponding to the 25th of April, and those of September to the 29th of August: —

1. *Cosmographiæ introdu — vij kl' Maij.*
2. *Cosmographiæ introductio — vij kl' Maij.*

---

[1] Cf. Varnhagen, *Le premier voyage*, p. 1.

[2] Bandini, p. xxv; Bartolozzi, *Recherche*, p. 67.

[3] Santarem dismisses the claim that Vespucius was the intimate of either the first or second Duke René. Cf. Childe's translation, p. 57, and H. Lepage's *Le Duc René II. et Améric Vespuce*, Nancy, 1875. Irving (*Columbus*, app. ix.) doubts the view which Major has contended for.

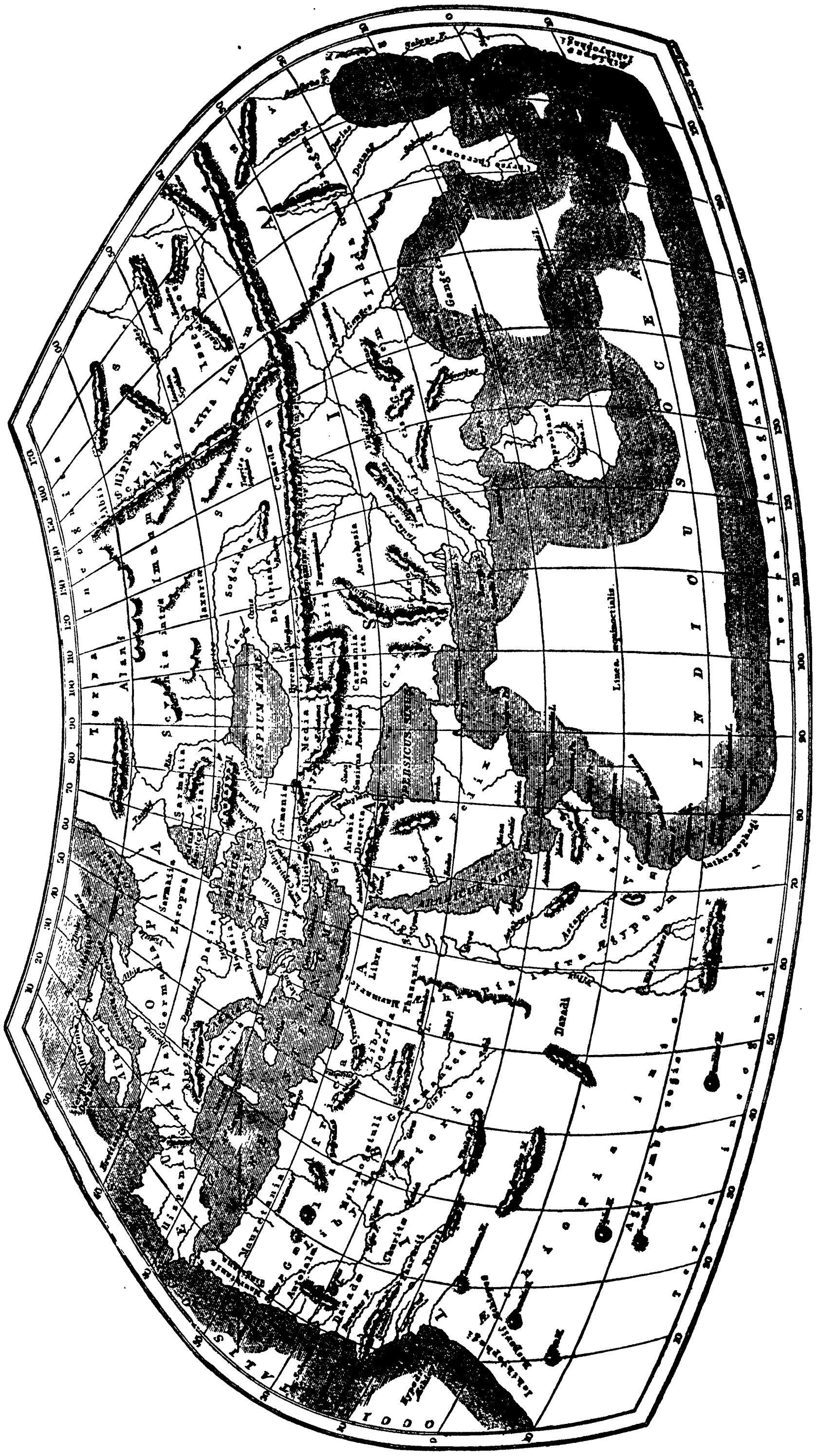
[4] Varnhagen, ignorant of Lud, labors to make it clear that Ringmann must have been the translator (*Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 30); he learned his error later.

[5] See the chapters of Bunbury in his *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii., and the articles by De Morgan in Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Biography*, and by Malte-Brun in the *Biographie universelle.*

[6] See Vol. IV. p. 35, and this volume, p. 112.

[7] Cf. D'Avezac, *Waltzemüller*, p. 8; Lelewel, *Moyen-âge*, p. 142; N. F. Gravier, *Histoire de la ville de Saint-Dié*, Épinal, 1836. The full title of D'Avezac's work is *Martin Hylacomylus Waltzemüller, ses ouvrages et ses collaborateurs. Voyage d'exploration et de découvertes à travers quelques épîtres dédicatoires, préfaces, et opuscules du commencement du XVIe siècle: notes, causeries, et digressions bibliographiques et autres par un Géographe Bibliophile* (*Extrait des Annales des Voyages*, 1866). Paris, 1867, pp. x. 176, 8vo. D'Avezac, as a learned writer in historical geography, has put his successors under obligations. See an enumeration of his writings in Sabin, vol. i. nos. 2,492, etc., and in Leclerc, no. 164, etc., and the notice in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1876. He published in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, 1858, and also separately, a valuable paper, *Les voyages de Améric Vespuce au compte de l'Espagne et les mesures itinéraires employées par les marins Espagnols et Portugais des XVe et XVIe siècles* (188 pp.).

[8] They bear the press-mark of the St.-Dié Association, which is given in fac-simile in Brunet, vol. ii. no. 316. It is also in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 33, and in the *Murphy Catalogue*, p. 94.



PTOLEMY'S WORLD.

(*Reduced after map in Bunbury's Ancient Geography, London, 1879, vol. ii.*)

3. *Cosmographiæ — iiij kl' Septembris.*
4. *Cosmographiæ introdu — iiij kl' Septembris.*

The late Henry C. Murphy[1] maintained that nos. 1 and 4 in this enumeration are simply made up from nos. 2 and 3 (the original May and September editions), to which a new title, — the same in each case, — with the substitution of other leaves for the originals of leaves 1, 2, 5, and 6, — also the same in each case, — was given. Harrisse, however, dissents, and thinks D'Avezac's no. 1 a genuine first edition. The only copy of it known[2] was picked up on a Paris quay for a franc by the geographer Eyriès, which was sold at his death, in 1846, for 160 francs, and again at the Nicholas Yéméniz sale (Lyons, no. 2,676), in 1867, for 2,000 francs. It is now in the Lenox Library.[3]

Of the second of D'Avezac's types there are several copies known. Harrisse[4] names the copies in the Lenox, Murphy,[5] and Carter-Brown[6] collections. There is a record of other copies in the National Library at Rio Janeiro,[7] in the Royal Library at Berlin,[8] in the Huth Collection[9] in London, and in the Mazarine Library in Paris, — a copy which D'Avezac[10] calls "irréprochable." Tross held a copy in 1872 for 1,500 francs. Waldseemüller's name does not appear in these early May issues, which are little quartos of fifty-two leaves, twenty-seven lines to the full page, with an inscription of twelve lines, in Roman type, on the back of the folding sheet of a skeleton globe.[11]

On the 29th of August (iiij kl' Septembris) it was reissued, still without Waldseemüller's name, of the same size, and fifty-two leaves; but the folding sheet bears on the reverse an inscription in fifteen lines. The ordinary title is D'Avezac's no. 3. Harrisse[12] mentions the Lenox and Carter-Brown[13] copies; but there are others in Harvard College Library (formerly the Cooke copy, no. 625, besides an imperfect copy which belonged to Charles Sumner), in Charles Deane's Collection, and in the Barlow Library. The Murphy Library had a copy (no. 680) in its catalogue, and the house of John Wiley's Sons advertised a copy in New York in 1883 for $350.

There are records of copies in Europe, — in the Imperial Library at Vienna, in the National Library at Paris, and in the Huth Collection (*Catalogue*, i. 356) in London. D'Avezac (*Waltzemüller*, pp. 54, 55) describes a copy which belonged to Yéméniz, of Lyons. Brockhaus advertised one in 1861 (Trömel, no. 1). Another was sold in Paris for 2,000 francs in 1867. There was another in the Sobolewski sale (no. 3,769), and one in the Court Catalogue (no. 92). Leclerc, 1878 (no. 599), has advertised one for 500 francs, Harrassowitz, 1881, (no. 309) one for 1,000 marks, and Rosenthal, of Munich, in 1884 (no. 30) held one at 3,000 marks. One is also shown in the *Catalogue of the Reserved and Most Valuable Portion of the Libri Collection* (no. 15).

The latter portion of the book, embracing the *Quattuor Americi Vesputii navigationes*, seems to have been issued also separately, and is still occasionally found.[14]

What seems to have been a composite edition, corresponding to D'Avezac's fourth, made up, as Harrisse thinks (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 47), of the introductory part of D'Avezac's first and the voyages of his third edition, is also found, though very rarely. There is a copy in the Lenox Library of this description, and another, described by Harrisse, in the Mazarine Library in Paris.[15]

It was in this precious little quarto of 1507, whose complicated issues we have endeavored to trace, that, in the introductory portion, Waldseemüller, anonymously to the world, but doubtless with the privity of his fellow-collegians, proposed in two passages, already quoted, but here presented in fac-simile, to stand sponsor for the new-named western world; and with what result we shall see.

It was a strange sensation to name a new continent, or even a hitherto unknown part of

---

[1] *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 35; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 24.

[2] D'Avezac, *Waltzemüller*, p. 28.

[3] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 44; *Additions*, no. 24; D'Avezac, *Waltzemüller*, p. 31. It is said that an imperfect copy in the Mazarine Library corresponds as far as it goes. D'Avezac says the Vatican copy, mentioned by Napione and Foscarini, cannot be found.

[4] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 45.

[5] *Catalogue*, no. 679, bought (1884) by President White of Cornell University.

[6] *Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 28.

[7] *Cat. Hist. Brazil*, *Bibl. Nac. do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 825.

[8] Described by Humboldt.

[9] *Catalogue*, i. 356.

[10] *Waltzemüller*, p. 52, etc.

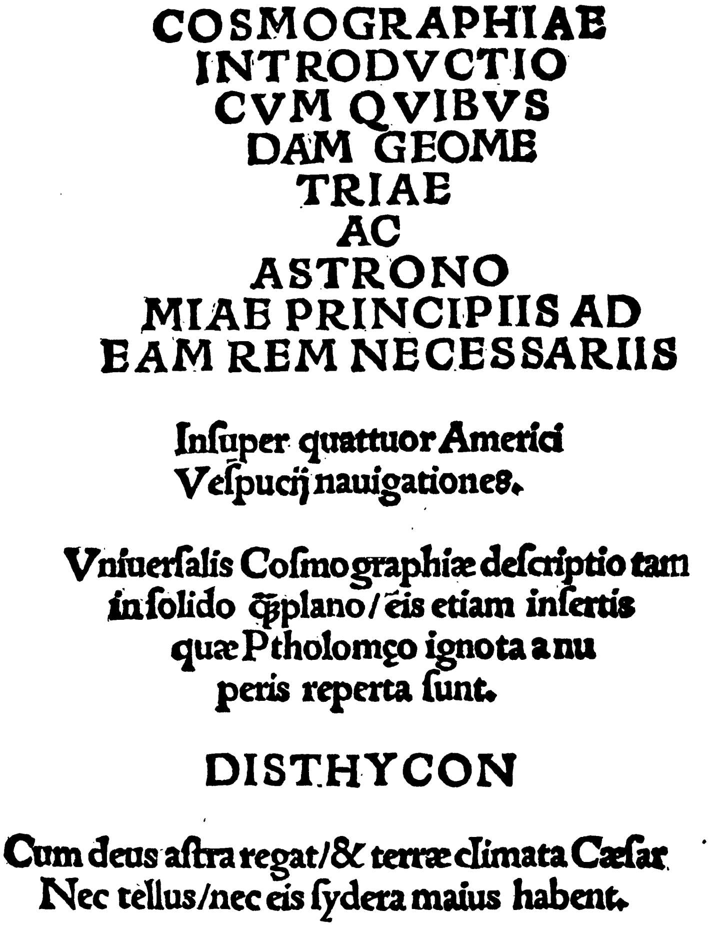
[11] Cf. Brunet, ii. 317; Ternaux, no. 10.

[12] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 46; *Additions*, no. 24.

[13] *Catalogue*, i. 29. It was Ternaux's copy, no. 10.

[14] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 25; Leclerc, no. 600 (100 francs); D'Avezac, *Waltzemüller*, p. 58.

[15] Cf. D'Avezac, *Waltzemüller*, p. 111, and Orozco y Berra's *Cartografia Mexicana* (Mexico, 1871), p. 19



COSMOGRAPHIAE
INTRODVCTIO
CVM QVIBVS
DAM GEOME
TRIAE
AC
ASTRONO
MIAE PRINCIPIIS AD
EAM REM NECESSARIIS

Inſuper quattuor Americi
Veſpucij nauigationes.

Vniuerſalis Coſmographiæ deſcriptio tam
in ſolido ꝙplano/eis etiam inſertis
quæ Ptholomęo ignota a nu
peris reperta ſunt.

DISTHYCON

Cum deus aſtra regat/& terræ climata Cæſar
Nec tellus/nec eis ſydera maius habent.

TITLE OF THE SEPTEMBER EDITION, 1507.[1]

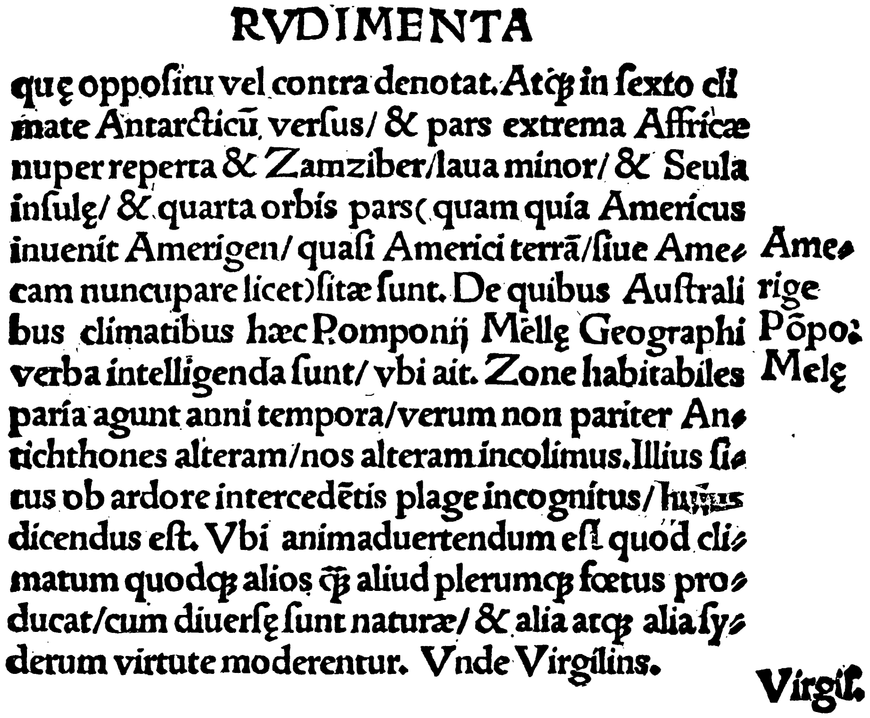
an old one. There was again the same uncertainty of continental lines as when Europe had been named[2] by the ancients, for there was now only the vaguest notion of what there was to be named. Columbus had already died in the belief that he had only touched the eastern limits of Asia. There is no good reason to believe that Vespucius himself was of a different mind.[3] So insignificant a gain to Europe had men come to believe these new islands, compared with the regions of wealth and spices with which Vasco da Gama and Cabral had opened trade by the African route, that the advocate and deluded finder of the western route had died obscurely, with scarcely a record being made of his departure. A few islands and their savage inhabi-

---

[1] This is the third edition of D'Avezac's enumeration.

[2] How Europe, which on a modern map would seem to be but one continent with Asia, became one of three great continents known to the ancients, is manifest from the world as it was conceived by Eratosthenes in the third century. In his map the Caspian Sea was a gulf indented from the Northern Ocean, so that only a small land-connection existed between Asia and Europe, spanned by the Caucasus Mountains, with the Euxine on the west and the Caspian on the east; just as the isthmus at the head of the Arabian Gulf also joined Libya, or Africa, to Asia. Cf. Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, i. 660.

[3] Humboldt, *Examen critique*, v. 182; but Varnhagen thinks Humboldt was mistaken so far as Vespucius was concerned.



RVDIMENTA

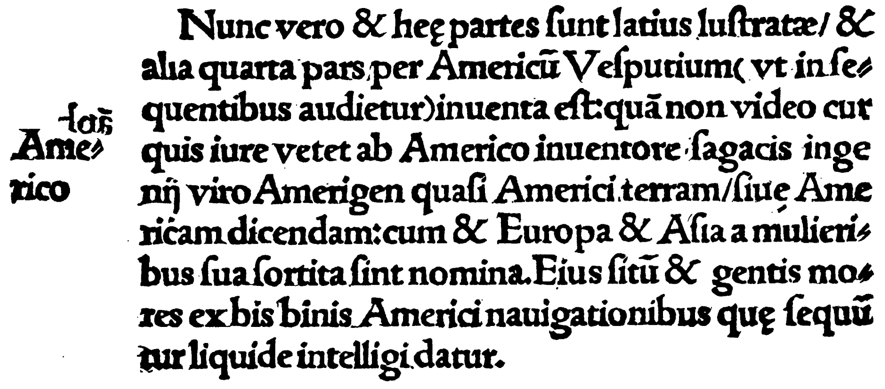
quę oppoſitu vel contra denotat. Atq; in ſexto climate Antarcticũ verſus/ & pars extrema Affricæ nuper reperta & Zamziber/Iaua minor/ & Seula inſulę/ & quarta orbis pars (quam quia Americus inuenit Amerigen/ quaſi Americi terrã/ſiue Americam nuncupare licet) ſitæ ſunt. De quibus Auſtralibus climatibus hæc Pomponij Mellę Geographi verba intelligenda ſunt/ vbi ait. Zone habitabiles paria agunt anni tempora/verum non pariter Antichthones alteram/nos alteram incolimus. Illius ſitus ob ardore intercedẽtis plage incognitus/ huius dicendus eſt. Vbi animaduertendum eſt quod climatum quodq; alios q̃; aliud plerumq; fœtus producat/cum diuerſę ſunt naturæ/ & alia atq; alia ſyderum virtute moderentur. Vnde Virgilins.

Amerige

Põpo: Melę

Virgil.

FROM THE COSMOGRAPHIÆ INTRODUCTIO.[1]



Nunc vero & hę partes ſunt latius luſtratæ/ & alia quarta pars per Americũ Veſputium (vt in ſequentibus audietur) inuenta eſt: quã non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore ſagacis ingenij viro Amerigen quaſi Americi terram/ſiue Americam dicendam: cum & Europa & Aſia a mulieribus ſua ſortita ſint nomina. Eius ſitũ & gentis mores ex bis binis Americi nauigationibus quę ſequũtur liquide intelligi datur.

Americo

FROM THE COSMOGRAPHIÆ INTRODUCTIO.[2]

tants had scarcely answered the expectation of those who had pictured from Marco Polo the golden glories of Cathay.

To Columbus himself the new-found regions were only "insulæ Indiæ super Gangem," — India east of the Ganges; and the "Indies" which he supposed he had found, and for whose native races the Asiatic name was borrowed and continues to abide, remained the Spanish designation of their possessions therein, though distinguished in time by the expletive *West* Indies.[1] It never occurred to the discoverers themselves to give a new name to regions which they sometimes designated generically as *Mundus Novus* or *Alter Orbis;* but it is doubtful as Humboldt says, if they intended by such designation any further description than that the parts discovered were newly found, just as Strabo, Mela, Cadamosto and others had used similar designations.[2] It was at a much later day, and when the continental character of the New World was long established, that some Spaniard suggested *Colonia*, or *Columbiana;* and another, anxious to commemorate the sovereigns of Castile and Leon, futilely coined the cumbrous designation of *Fer-Isabelica.*[3] When Columbus and others had followed a long stretch of the northern coast of South America without finding a break, and when the volume of water pouring through the mouths of the Orinoco betokened to his mind a vast interior, it began to be suspected that the main coast of Asia had been found; and the designation of *Tierra firme* was naturally attached to the whole region, of which Paria and the Pearl coast were distinguishable parts. This designation of Firm Land was gradually localized as explorations extended, and covered what later was known as Castilla del Oro; and began to comprehend in the time of Purchas,[4] for instance, all that extent of coast from Paria to Costa Rica.[5]

---

[1] That part of the page (sig. C) of the September edition (1507) which has the reference to America and Vespucius.

[2] That part of the page of the 1507 (September) edition in which the name of America is proposed for the New World.

When Cabral in 1500 sighted the shores of Brazil, he gave the name of *Terra Sanctæ Crucis* to the new-found region, — the land of the Holy Cross; and this name continued for some time to mark as much as was then known of what we now call South America, and we find it in such early delineations as the Lenox globe and the map of Sylvanus in 1511.[6] It will be remembered that in 1502, after what is called his third voyage, Vespucius had simply named the same region *Mundus Novus.*

Thus in 1507 there was no general concurrence in the designations which had been bestowed on these new islands and coasts; and the only unbroken line which had then been discovered was that stretching from Honduras well down the eastern coast of South America, if Vespucius' statement of having gone to the thirty-second degree of southern latitude was to be believed. After the exploration of this coast, — thanks to the skill of Vespucius in sounding his own exploits and giving them an attractive setting out,[7] aided, probably, by that fortuitous dispensation of fortune which sometimes awards fame where it is hardly deserved, — it had come to pass that the name of Vespucius had, in common report, become better associated than that of Columbus with the magnitude of the new discoveries. It was not so strange then as it appears now that the Florentine, rather than the Genoese, was selected for such continental commemoration. All this happened to some degree irrespective of the question of priority in touching Tierra Firme, as turning upon the truth or falsity of the date 1497 assigned to the first of the voyages of Vespucius.

The proposing of a name was easy; the acceptance of it was not so certain. The little tract had appeared without any responsible voucher. The press-mark of St. Dié was not a powerful stamp. The community was obscure, and it had been invested with what influence it possessed by the association of Duke René with it.

This did not last long. The Duke died in 1508, and his death put a stop to the projected edition of Ptolemy and broke up the little press; so that next year (1509), when Waldseemüller planned a new edition of the *Cosmographiæ introductio*, it was necessary to commit it to Grüninger in Strasburg to print. In this edition Waldseemüller first signed his own name to the preface. Copies of this issue are somewhat less rare than those of 1507. It is a little tract of thirty-two leaves, some copies having fourteen, others fifteen, lines on the back of the folding sheet.[8] The Lenox Library has examples of each. There are other copies in the Carter-

---

[1] As early as 1519, for instance, by Enciso in his *Suma de geographia.*

[2] *Examen critique*, i. 181; v. 182.

[3] Suggested by Pizarro y Orellano in 1639; cf. Navarrete, French tr., ii. 282.

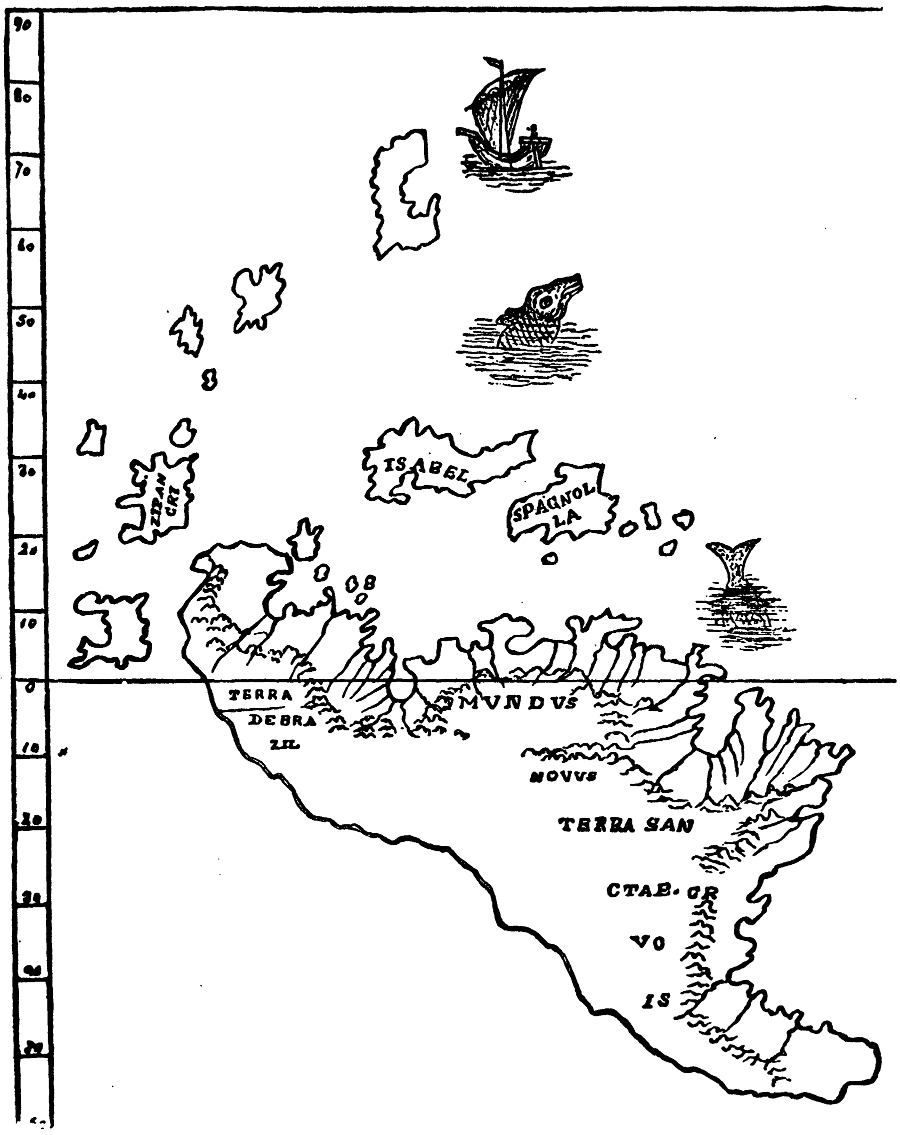
[4] *Pilgrimes*, iv. 1433.

[5] Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 291.

[6] See p. 122.

[7] Humboldt (*Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 420) particularly instances his descriptions of the coast of Brazil. For fifteen hundred years, as Humboldt points out (p. 660), naturalists had known no mention, except that of Adulis, of snow in the tropical regions, when Vespucius in 1500 saw the snowy mountains of Santa Marta. Humboldt (again in his *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 664, 667), according Vespucius higher literary acquirements than the other early navigators had possessed, speaks of his extolling not ungracefully the glowing richness of the light and picturesque grouping and strange aspect of the constellations that circle the Southern Pole, which is surrounded by so few stars, — and tells how effectively he quoted Dante at the sight of the four stars, which were not yet for several years to be called the Southern Cross. Irving speaks of Vespucius' narrative as "spirited."

[8] Harrisse, no. 60; Brunet, ii. 319.



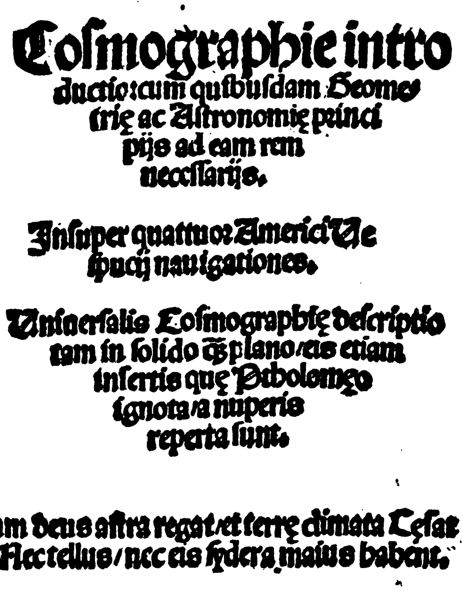
THE LENOX GLOBE.[1]

Brown (*Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 40), Barlow, and Harvard College libraries. Another is in the Force Collection, Library of Congress, and one was sold in the Murphy sale (no. 681). The copy which belonged to Ferdinand Columbus is still preserved in Seville; but its annotations do not signify that the statements in it respecting Vespucius' discoveries attracted his attention.[2] It was this edition which Navarrete used when he made a Spanish version for his *Coleccion* (iii. 183) D'Avezac used a copy in the Mazarine Library; and other copies are noted in the Huth (i. 356) and Sunderland (*Catalogue*, vol. v. no. 12,920) collections. The account of the voyages in this edition was also printed separately in German as *Diss buchlin saget wie die zwē . . . herrē*, etc.[1]

---

[1] A section of the drawing given by Dr. De Costa in his monograph on the globe, showing the American parts reduced to a plane projection, and presenting the name of *Terra Sanctæ Crucis.* There is another sketch on p. 123.

[2] Harrisse, *Fernand Colomb*, p. 145.



Coſmographie intro
ductio:cum quibuſdam Geome
trię ac Aſtronomię princi
pijs ad eam rem
neceſſarijs.

Inſuper quattuor Americi Ve
ſpucij navigationes.

Univerſalis Coſmographię deſcriptio
tam in ſolido ꝙ plano/eis etiam
inſertis quę Ptholomeo
ignota/a nuperis
reperta ſunt.

Cum deus aſtra regat/et terrę climata Ceſar
Nec tellus/nec eis ſydera maius habent.

TITLE OF THE 1509 (STRASBURG) EDITION.

While the Strasburg press was emitting this 1509 edition it was also printing the sheets of another little tract, the anonymous *Globus mundi*,[2] of which a fac-simile of the title is annexed, in which it will be perceived the bit of the New World shown is called "Newe welt," and not America, though "America lately discovered" is the designation given in the text. The credit of the discovery is given unreservedly to Vespucius, and Columbus is not mentioned.[3]

The breaking up of the press was a serious blow to the little community at St.-Dié. Ringmann, in the full faith of completing the edition of Ptolemy which they had in view, had brought from Italy a Greek manuscript of the old geographer; but the poet was soon to follow his patron, for, having retired to Schlestadt, his native town, he died there in 1511 at the early age of twenty-nine. The Ptolemy project, however, did not fail. Its production was transferred to Strasburg; and there, in 1513, it appeared, including the series of maps associated ever since with the name of Hylacomylus, and showing evidences in the text of the use which had been made of Ringmann's Greek manuscript.

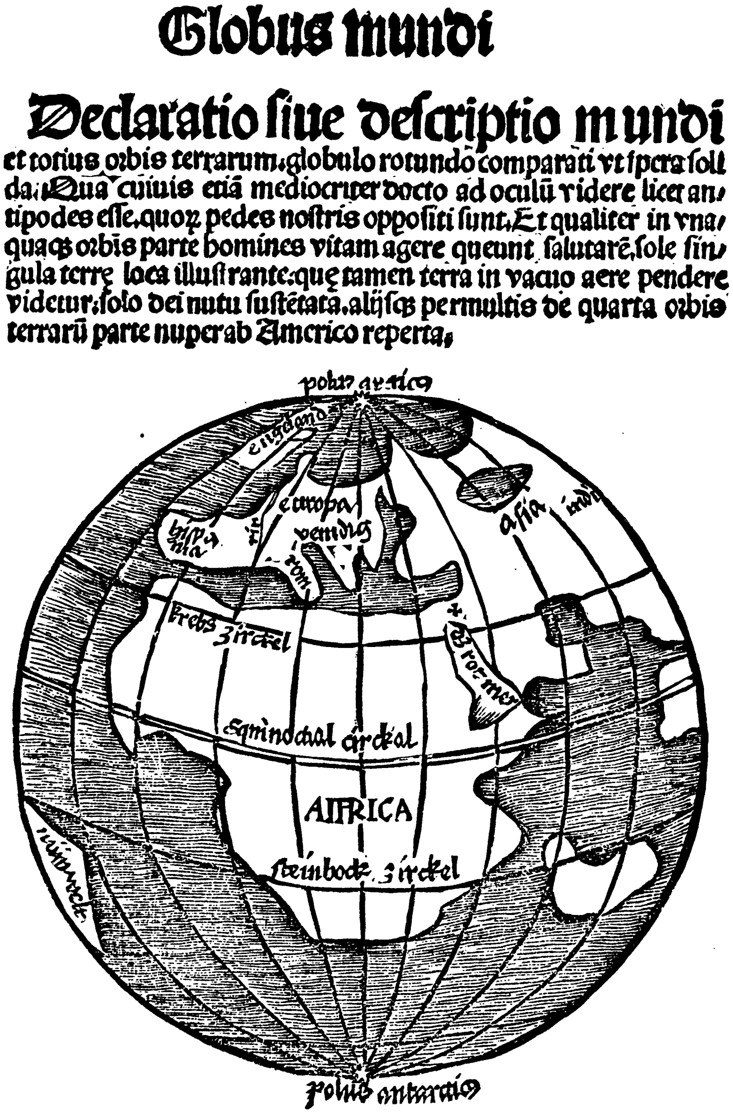
We look to this book in vain for any attempt to follow up the conferring of the name of Vespucius on the New World. The two maps which it contains, showing the recent discoveries, are given in fac-simile on pages 111 and 112. In one the large region which stands for South America has no designation; in the other there is supposed to be some relation to Columbus' own map, while it bears a legend which gives to Columbus unequivocally the credit of the discovery of the New World. It has been contended of late that the earliest cartographical application of the name is on two globes preserved in the collection of the Freiherr von Hauslab, in Vienna, one of which (printed) Varnhagen in his paper on Apianus and Schöner puts under 1509, and the other (manuscript) under 1513. Weiser in his *Magalhães-Strasse* (p. 27)

---

[1] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 62; *Additions*, no. 31; Huth, v. 1,526; Varnhagen, *Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 31. Cf. Navarrete, *Opúsculos*, i. 94.

[2] Equally intended, as Varnhagen (*Le premier voyage*, p. 36), thinks to be accompanied by the Latin of the *Quattuor navigationes*.

[3] This little black-letter quarto contains fourteen unnumbered leaves, and the woodcut on the title is repeated on Bii, *verso*, E, *recto*, and Eiiii, *verso*. There are five other woodcuts, one of which is repeated three times. Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 61; also p. 462) reports only the Harvard College copy, which was received from Obadiah Rich in 1830. There are other entries of this tract in Panzer, vi. 44, no. 149, under Argentorati (Strasburg), referring to the *Crevenna Catalogue*, ii. 117; Sabin, vii. 286; *Grenville Catalogue*, p. 480; Graesse, iii. 94; Henry Stevens's *Historical Nuggets*, no. 1,252, pricing a copy in 1862 at £10 10*s*.; Harrassowitz (81, no. 48), pricing one at 1,000 marks; Huth, ii. 602; Court, no. 145; *Bibliotheca Thottiana*, v. 219; and Humboldt refers to it in his *Examen critique*, vi. 142, and in his introduction to Ghillany's *Behaim*, p. 8, note. Cf. also D'Avezac's *Waltzemüller*, p. 114; Major's *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 387, and his paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. xl.; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 173. D'Avezac used a copy in the Mazarine Library. A German translation, printed also by Grüninger at Strasburg, appeared under the title, *Der Welt Kugel*, etc. (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 32.) Varnhagen (*Le premier voyage*, p. 36) thinks this German text the original one.



Globus mundi

Declaratio ſiue deſcriptio mundi
et totius orbis terrarum, globulo rotundo comparati vt ſpera ſoli
da. Qua cuiuis etiā mediocriter docto ad oculū videre licet an/
tipodes eſſe, quoꝝ pedes noſtris oppoſiti ſunt. Et qualiter in vna/
quaqꝫ orbis parte homines vitam agere queunt ſalutarē, ſole ſin/
gula terrę loca illuſtrante: quę tamen terra in vacuo aere pendere
videtur: ſolo dei nutu ſuſtētata, aliiſqꝫ permultis de quarta orbis
terrarū parte nuper ab Americo reperta.

TITLE OF THE 1509 (STRASBURG) EDITION.

doubts these dates.[1] The application of the new name, America, we also find not far from this time, say between 1512 and 1515, in a manuscript mappemonde (see p. 125) which Major, when he described it in the *Archæologia* (xl. p. 1), unhesitatingly ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, thinking that he could trace certain relations between Da Vinci and Vespucius. This map bears distinctly the name *America* on the South American continent. Its connection with Da Vinci is now denied.

Not far from the same time a certain undated edition of the *Cosmographiæ introductio* appeared at Lyons, though no place is given. Of this edition there are two copies in the British Museum, and others in the Lenox and Barlow collections; but they all lack a map,[1] which is found in a copy first brought to public attention by the bookseller Tross, of Paris, in 1881,[2] and which is now owned by Mr. C. H. Kalbfleisch, of New York. Its date is uncertain. Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 63) placed it first in 1510, but later (*Cabots*, p. 182) he dated it about 1514, as Tross had already done. D'Avezac (*Waltzemüller*, p. 123) thinks it could not have been earlier than 1517.[3]

---

[1] Cf. Harrisse, *Cabots*, 182; D'Avezac, *Allocution à la Société de Géographie de Paris*, Oct. 20, 1871, p. 16; and his *Waltzemüller*, p. 116.

The chief interest of this map to us is the fact that it bears the words "America noviter reperta" on what stands for South America; and there is fair ground for supposing that it antedates all other printed maps yet known which bear this name.

At not far from the same time, fixed in this instance certainly in 1515, we find *America* on the earliest known globe of Schöner.[4] Probably printed to accompany this globe, is a rare little tract, issued the same year (1515) at Nuremberg, under the title of *Luculentissima quædā terræ totius descriptio.* In this Schöner speaks of a "fourth part of the globe, named after its discoverer, Americus Vespucius, a man of sagacious mind, who found it in 1497," adopting the controverted date.[5]

Meanwhile the fame of Vespucius was prospering with the Vienna coterie. One of them, Georg Tanstetter, sometimes called Collimitius, was editing the *De natura locorum librum* of Albertus Magnus; and apparently after the book was printed he made with type a marginal note, to cite the profession of Vespucius that he had reached to fifty degrees south, as showing that there was habitable land so far towards the Southern Pole.[6]

Joachim Watt, or Vadianus, as he was called in his editorial Latin, had in 1515 adopted the new name of America, and repeated it in 1518, when he reproduced his letter in his edition of Pomponius Mela, as explained on another page.[7] Apian had been employed to make the mappemonde for it, which was to show the new discoveries. The map seems not to have been finished in time; but when it appeared, two years later (1520), in the new edition of Solinus, by Camers, though it bore the name of America on the southern main, it still preserved the legend in connection therewith which awarded the discovery to Columbus.[8] Watt now quarrelled with Camers, for they had worked jointly, and their two books are usually found in one cover, with Apian's map between them. Returning to St. Gall, Vadianus practised there as a physician, and re-issued his Mela at Basle in 1522, dedicating it to that Dr. Faber who had been the teacher of Ringmann in Paris eighteen years before.[9]

In 1522 Lorenz Friess, or Laurentius Phrysius, another of Duke René's coterie, a correspondent of Vespucius, published a new edition of Ptolemy at the Grüninger press in Strasburg, in which the fame of Columbus and Vespucius is kept up in the usual equalizing way. The preface, by Thomas Ancuparius, sounds the praises of the Florentine, ascribing to him the discovery "of what we to-day call America;" the Admiral's map, *Tabula Terre Nove*,[10] which Waldseemüller had published in the 1513 edition, is once more reproduced, with other of the maps of that edition, re-engraved on a reduced scale. The usual legend, crediting the discovery to Columbus, is shown in a section of the map, which is given in another place.[1] Phrysius acknowledges that the maps are essentially Waldseemüller's, though they have some changes and additions; but he adds a new mappemonde of his own, putting the name America on the great southern main, — the first time of its appearing in any map of the Ptolemy series. A fac-simile is annexed.

---

[1] See this Vol. p. 120.

[2] No. 4,924 of his *Catalogue*, no. xiv. of that year.

[3] This Latin text of Bassin was also printed at Venice in 1537 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 156; Leclerc, no. 2,517). Humboldt (*Examen critique*, iv. 102, 114) and others have been misled by a similarity of title in supposing that there were other editions of the *Cosmographiæ introductio* published at Ingoldstadt in 1529, 1532, and at Venice in 1535, 1541, 1551, and 1554. This book, however, is only an abridgment of Apian's *Cosmographia*, which was originally printed at Landshut in 1524. Cf. Huth, i. 357; Leclerc, no. 156; D'Avezac, *Waltzemüller*, p. 124. The Bassin version of the voyages was later the basis of the accounts, either at length or abridged, or in versions in other languages, in the *Paesi novamente* and its translations; in the *Novus orbis* of 1532 (it is here given as addressed to René, King of Sicily and Jerusalem), and later, in Ramusio's *Viaggi*, vol. i. (1550); in Eden's *Treatyse of the Newe India* (1553); in the *Historiale description de l'Afrique* of Leo Africanus (1556), — cf. *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 211, 229; in De Bry, first and second parts of the *Grands voyages*, and third and fourth of the *Petits voyages*, not to name other of the older collections; and among later ones in Bandini, *Vita e lettere di Vespucci* (pp. 1, 33, 46, 57), and in the *Collecção de noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas* (1812), published by the Royal Academy of Lisbon. Varnhagen reprints the Latin text in his *Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 34.

[4] Depicted on p. 118. Cf. Wieser, *Magalhaēs-Strasse*, pp. 26, 27.

[5] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 142.

[6] The original edition appeared at Vienna in 1514; but it was reprinted at Strasburg in 1515. Cf. Sabin, vol. i. no. 671; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 76, 77, 78; Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, 70; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 48.

[7] See the following section of the present chapter.

[8] See a fac-simile of this part of the map in the chapter on Magellan.

[9] Stevens, *Bibliotheca historica* (1870), no. 1,272; *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 1,824.

[10] See p. 112.

There is thus far absolutely no proof that any one disputed the essential facts of the discovery by Columbus of the outlying islands of Asia, as the belief went, or denied him the credit of giving a new world to the crowns of Aragon and Castile, whether that were Asia or not. The maps which have come down to us, so far as they record anything, invariably give Columbus the credit. The detractors and panegyrists of Vespucius have asserted in turn that he was privy to the doings at St.-Dié and Strasburg, and that he was not; but proof is lacking for either proposition. No one can dispute, however, that he was dead before his name was applied to the new discoveries on any published map.

If indeed the date of 1497, as given by the St.-Dié publication, was correct, there might have been ground for adjudging his explorations of the mainland to have antedated those of Columbus; but the conclusion is irresistible that either the Spanish authorities did not know that such a claim had been made, or they deemed the date an error of the press; since to rely upon the claim would have helped them in their conflict with the heirs of Columbus, which began the year following the publication of that claim, or in 1508, and continued to vex all concerned till 1527; and during all that time Vespucius, as has been mentioned, is not named in the records of the proceedings. It is equally hard to believe that Ferdinand Columbus would have passed by a claim derogating from the fame of his father, if it had come to him as a positive assertion. That he knew of the St.-Dié tract we have direct evidence in his possession of a copy of it. That it did not trouble him we know also with as much confidence as negative testimony can impart; for we have no knowledge of his noticing it, but instead the positive assertion of a contemporary that he did not notice it.

The claim for Vespucius, however, was soon to be set up. In 1527 Las Casas began, if we may believe Quintana, the writing of his *Historia*.[2] It is not easy, however, to fix precisely the year when he tells us that the belief had become current of Vespucius being really the first to set his foot on the main. "Amerigo," he tells us further,[3] "is said to have placed the name of America on maps,[4] thus sinfully failing toward the Admiral. If he purposely gave currency to this belief in his first setting foot on the main, it was a great wickedness; and if it was not done intentionally, it looks like it." Las Casas still makes allowances, and fails of positive accusation, when again he speaks of "the injustice of Amerigo, or the injustice perhaps those who printed the *Quattuor navigationes* appear to have committed toward the Admiral;" and once more when he says that "foreign writers call the country America: it ought to be called Columba." But he grows more positive as he goes on, when he wonders how Ferdinand Columbus, who had, as he says, Vespucius' account, could have found nothing in it of deceit and injustice to object to.

Who were these "foreign writers?" Stobnicza, of Cracow, in the *Introductio in Claudii Ptholomei cosmographiā*, which he published in 1512, said: "Et ne soli Ptolomeo laborassem, curavi etiam notas facere quasdam partes terre ipsi ptolomeo alijsque vetustioribus ignotas que Amerii vespucij aliorumque lustratione ad nostram noticiam puenere." Upon the reverse of folio v., in the chapter "De meridianis," occurs: "Similiter in occasu ultra africam & europam magna pars terre quam ab Americo eius reptore Americam vocant vulgo autem novus mundus dicitur." Upon the reverse of folio vii. in the chapter "De partibus terre" is this: "Non solū aūt pdicte tres ptes nunc sunt lacius lustrate, verum & alia quata pars ab Americo vesputio sagacis ingenii viro inventa est, quam ab ipso Americo eius inventore Amerigem q̄si a americi terram sive americā appellari volunt cuius latitudo est sub tota torrida zona," etc. These expressions were repeated in the second edition in 1519. Apian in 1524 had accepted the name in his *Cosmographicus liber*, as he had in an uncertain way, in 1522, in two editions, one

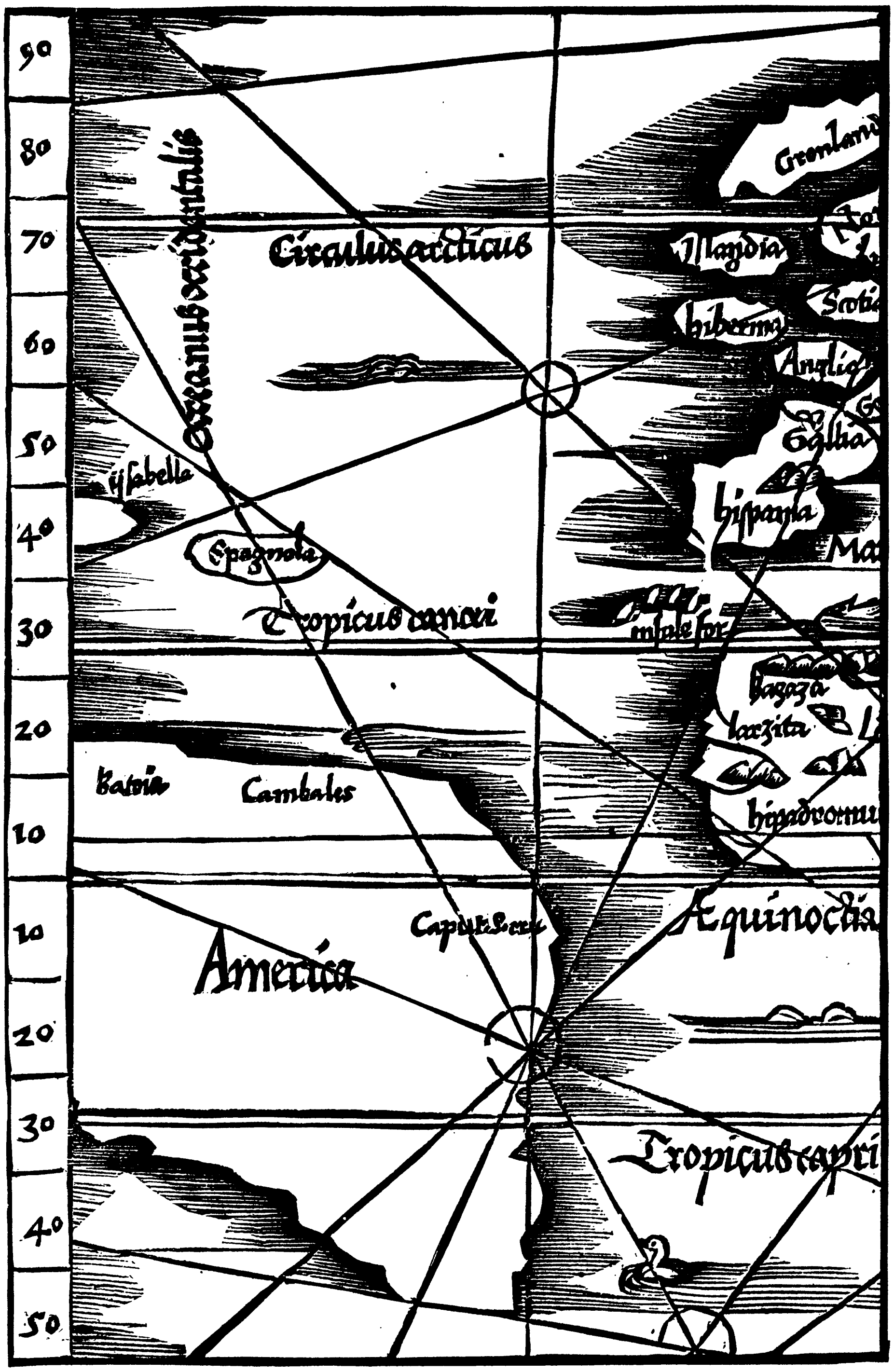
---

[1] See chapter on Magellan.

[2] Helps, however, cannot trace him at work upon it before 1552, and he had not finished it in 1561; and for three centuries yet to come it was to remain in manuscript.

[3] Book i. cap. 140.

[4] Harrisse (*Fernand Colomb*, p. 30), says: "The absence of nautical charts and planispheres, not only in the Colombina, but in all the muniment offices of Spain, is a signal disappointment. There is one chart which above all we need, — made by Vespucius, and which, in 1518, was in the collection of the Infanta Ferdinand, brother of Charles V." A copy of Valsequa's chart of 1439 which belonged to Vespucius, being marked "Questa ampla pelle di geographia fù pagata da Amerigo Vespucci cxxx ducati di oro di marco," was, according to Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet. Add.*, p. xxiii), in existence in Majorca as late as 1838.



LAURENTIUS FRISIUS, IN THE PTOLEMY OF 1522 (*westerly part.*)

printed at Ratisbon, the other without place, of the tract, *Declaratio et usus typi cosmographici*, illustrative of his map.[1]

Glareanus in 1529 spoke of the land to the west "quam Americam vocant," though he couples the names of Columbus and Vespucius in speaking of its discovery. Apian and Gemma Phrysius in their *Cosmographia* of the same year recognize the new name;[2] and Phrysius again in his *De principiis astronomiæ*, first published at Antwerp in 1530, gave a chapter (no. xxx.) to "America," and repeated it in later editions.[3] Münster in the *Novus orbis* of 1532 finds that the extended coast of South America "takes the name of America from Americus, who discovered it."[4] We find the name again in the *Epitome trium terræ partium* of Vadianus, published at Tiguri in 1534,[5] and in Honter's *Rudimentorum cosmographiæ libri*, published at Basle in the same year. When the Spanish sea-manual, Medina's *Arte de navegar*, was published in Italian at Venice in 1544, it had a chart with America on it; and the *De sphæra* of Cornelius Valerius (Antwerp, 1561) says this fourth part of the world took its name from Americus.

Thus it was manifest that popular belief, outside of Spain, at least,[6] was, as Las Casas affirms, working at last into false channels. Of course the time would come when Vespucius, wrongfully or rightfully, would be charged with promoting this belief. He was already dead, and could not repel the insinuation. In 1533 this charge came for the first time in print, so far as we now know, and from one who had taken his part in spreading the error. It has already been mentioned how Schöner, in his globe of 1515, and in the little book which explained that globe, had accepted the name from the coterie of the Vosges. He still used the name in 1520 in another globe.[7] Now in 1533, in his *Opusculum geographicum ex diversorum libris ac cartis summa cura & diligentia collectum, accomodatum ad recenter elaboratum ab eodem globum decriptionis terrenæ. Ioachimi Camerarii. Ex urbe Norica, . . . Anno XXXIII*,[8] he unreservedly charged Vespucius with fixing his own name upon that region of India Superior which he believed to be an island.[9]

In 1535, in a new edition of Ptolemy, Servetus repeated the map of the New World from the editions of 1522 and 1525 which helped to give further currency to the name of America; but he checks his readers in his text by saying that those are misled who call the continent America, since Vespucius never touched it till long after Columbus had.[10] This cautious statement did not save Servetus from the disdainful comment of Gomara (1551), who accuses that editor of Ptolemy of attempting to blacken the name of the Florentine.

It was but an easy process for a euphonious name, once accepted for a large part of the new discoveries, gradually to be extended until it covered them all. The discovery of the South Sea by Balboa in 1513 rendered it certain that there was a country of unmistakably continental extent lying south of the field of Columbus' observations, which, though it might prove to be connected with Asia by the Isthmus of Panama, was still worthy of an independent designation.[11] We have seen how the Land of the Holy Cross, Paria, and all other names gave way in recognition of the one man who had best satisfied Europe that this region had a continental extent. If it be admitted even that Vespucius was in any way privy to the bestowal of his name upon it, there was at first no purpose to enlarge the application of such name beyond this well-recognized coast. That the name went beyond

---

[1] The letters AM appear upon the representation of the New World contained in it.

[2] Cf. on Gemma Frisius' additions to Apianus' *Cosmographia*, published in Spanish from the Latin in 1548, what Navarrete says in his *Opúsculos*, ii. 76.

[3] Antwerp, 1544, cap. xxx. "America ab inventore Amerio [*sic*] Vesputio nomen habet;" Antwerp, 1548, adds "alii Bresiliam vocât;" Paris, 1548, cap. xxx., "de America," and cap. xxxi. "de insulis apud Americam;" Paris, 1556, etc. Cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 156, 252, 279; *Additions*, nos. 92, 168.

[4] "Quam ab Americo primo inventore Americam vocant."

[5] "Insularum America cognominata obtenditur."

[6] Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* (which it will be remembered was an island on which Vespucius is represented as leaving one of his companions), as published in the 1551 edition at London, speaks of the general repute of Vespucius' account, — "Those iiii voyages that be nowe in printe and abrode in euery mannes handes." Cf. *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 162. William Cuningham, in his *Cosmographical Glasse* (London, 1559), ignores Columbus, and gives Vespucius the credit of finding "America" in June, 1497 (Ibid., no. 228).

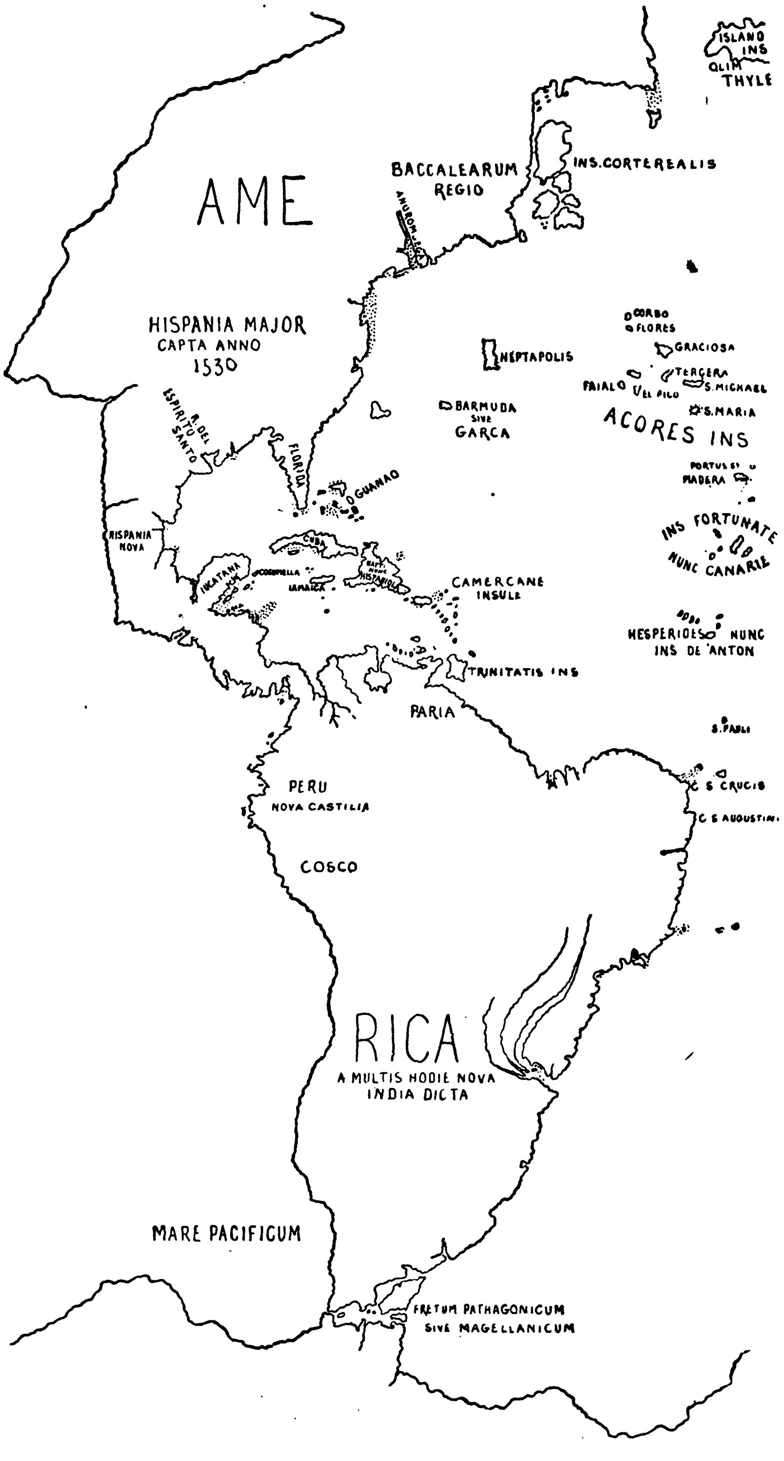
[7] See p. 119.

[8] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 178; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 106; Charles Deane's paper on Schöner in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1883.

[9] *Examen critique*, v. 174. Here is a contemporary's evidence that Vespucius supposed the new coasts to be Asia.

[10] "Tota itaque quod aiunt aberrant cœlo qui hanc continentem Americâ nuncupari contendunt, cum Americus multo post Columbû eandê terram adieret, nec cum Hispanis ille, sed cum Portugallensibus, ut suas merces commutaret, èo se contulito." It was repeated in the edition of 1541.

[11] Pedro de Ledesma, Columbus' pilot in his third voyage, deposed in 1513 that he considered Paria a part of Asia (Navarrete, iii. 539).



MERCATOR, 1541.[1]

---

[1] This is the configuration ot Mercator's gores (for a globe) reduced to Mercator's subsequently-devised projection.

that coast came of one of those shaping tendencies which are without control. "It was," as Humboldt says,[1] "accident, and not fraud and dissensions, which deprived the continent of America of the name of Columbus." It was in 1541, and by Mercator in his printed gores for a globe, that in a cartographical record we first find the name *America* extended to cover the entire continent; for he places the letters AME at Baccalaos, and completed the name with RICA at the La Plata.[2] Thus the injustice was made perpetual; and there seems no greater instance of the instability of truth in the world's history. Such monstrous perversion could but incite an indignation which needed a victim, — and it found him in Vespucius. The intimation of Schöner was magnified in time by everybody, and the unfortunate date of 1497, as well as the altogether doubtful aspect of his *Quattuor navigationes*, helped on the accusation. Vespucius stood in every cyclopædia and history as the personification of baseness and arrogance;[3] and his treacherous return for the kindness which Columbus did him in February, 1505, when he gave him a letter of recommendation to his son Diego,[4] at a time when the Florentine stood in need of such assistance, was often made to point a moral. The most emphatic of these accusers, working up his case with every subsidiary help, has been the Viscount Santarem. He will not admit the possibility of Vespucius' ignorance of the movement at St.-Dié. "We are led to the conclusion," he says, in summing up, "that the name given to the new continent after the death of Columbus was the result of a preconceived plan against his memory, either designedly and with malice aforethought, or by the secret influence of an extensive patronage of foreign merchants residing at Seville and elsewhere, dependent on Vespucius as naval contractor."[5]

It was not till Humboldt approached the subject in the fourth and fifth volumes of his *Examen critique de l'histoire et de la géographie du nouveau monde* that the great injustice to Vespucius on account of the greater injustice to Columbus began to be apparent. No one but Santarem, since Humboldt's time, has attempted to rehabilitate the old arguments. Those who are cautious had said before that he might pardonably have given his name to the long coast-line which he had tracked, but that he was not responsible for its ultimate expansion.[6] But Humboldt's opinion at once prevailed, and he reviewed and confirmed them in his *Cosmos*.[7] Humboldt's views are convincingly and elaborately enforced; but the busy reader may like to know they are well epitomized by Wiesener in a paper, "Améric Vespuce et Christophe Colomb: la véritable origine du nom d'Amérique," which was published in the *Revue des questions historiques* (1866), i. 225–252, and translated into English in the *Catholic World* (1867), v. 611.

The best English authority on this question is Mr. R. H. Major, who has examined it with both thoroughness and condensation of statement in his paper on the Da Vinci map in the *Archæologia*, vol. xl., in his *Prince Henry the Navigator* (pp. 367–380),[8] and in his *Discoveries of Prince Henry*, chap. xiv. Harrisse in his *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, pp. 65, 94, enumerates the contestants on the question; and Varnhagen, who is never unjust to Columbus, traces in a summary way the progress in the acceptance of the name of America in his *Nouvelles recherches sur les derniers voyages du navigateur Florentin.* In German, Oscar Peschel in his *Geschichte des*

---

[1] *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 676.

[2] Wieser, *Der Portulan des Königs Philipp*, vol. ii. Vienna, 1876.

[3] See instances cited by Prof. J. D. Butler, *Transactions* of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, vol. ii. (1873, 1874). There was an attempt made in 1845, by some within the New York Historical Society, to render tardy justice to the memory of Columbus by taking his name, in the form of Columbia, as a national designation of the United States; but it necessarily failed (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 315). "Allegania" was an alternative suggestion made at the same time.

[4] This letter is preserved in the Archives of the Duke of Veraguas. It has been often printed. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 149.

[5] Vizconde de Santarem (Manoel Francisco de Barros y Sousa), *Researches respecting Americus Vespucius and his Voyages*. Translated by E. V. Childe (Boston, 1850), 221 pp. 16mo. This is a translation of the *Recherches historiques, critiques et bibliographiques sur Améric Vespuce et ses voyages*, which was published in Paris in 1842. Santarem had before this sought to discredit the voyages claimed for Vespucius in 1501 and 1503, and had communicated a memoir on the subject to Navarrete's *Coleccion*. He also published a paper in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* in October, 1833, and added to his statements in subsequent numbers (October, 1835; September, 1836; February and September, 1837). These various contributions were combined and annotated in the *Recherches*, etc., already mentioned. Cf. his *Memoria e investigaciones históricas sobre los viajes de Américo Vespucio*, in the *Recueil complet de traités*, vi. 304. There is a biography of Vespucius, with an appendix of "Pruebas é ilustraciones" in the *Coleccion de Opúsculos* of Navarrete, published (1848) at Madrid, after his death.

[6] Such, for instance, was Caleb Cushing's opinion in his *Reminiscences of Spain*, ii. 234.

[7] Eng. tr., ii. 680.

[8] These chapters are reprinted in Sabin's *American Bibliopolist*, 1870–1871.

Zeitalters der Entdeckungen (book ii. chap. 13) has examined the matter with a scholar's instincts. The subject was followed by M. Schoetter in a paper read at the Congrès des Américanistes at Luxemburg in 1877; but it is not apparent from the abstract of the paper in the *Proceedings* of that session (p. 357) that any new light was thrown upon the matter.

Professor Jules Marcou would drive the subject beyond the bounds of any personal associations by establishing the origin of the name in the native designation (Americ, Amerrique, Amerique) of a range of mountains in Central America;[1] and Mr. T. H. Lambert, in the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society (no. 1 of 1883), asks us to find the origin in the name given by the Peruvians to their country, — neither of which theories has received or is likely to receive any considerable acceptance.[2]

---

[1] His theory was advanced in a paper on "The Origin of the Name America" in the *Atlantic Monthly* (March, 1875), xxxv. 291, and in "Sur l'origine du nom d'Amérique," in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, June, 1875. He again advanced his theory in the *New York Nation*, April 10, 1884, to which the editors replied that it was "fatally ingenious," — a courteous rejoinder, quite in contrast with that of H. H. Bancroft in his *Central America* (i. 291), who charges the Professor with "seeking fame through foolishness" and his theory. Marcou's argument in part depends upon the fact, as he claims, that Vespucius' name was properly Albericus or Alberico, and he disputes the genuineness of autographs which make it Amerigo; but nothing was more common in those days than variety, for one cause or another, in the fashioning of names. We find the Florentine's name variously written, — Amerigo, Merigo, Almerico, Alberico, Alberigo; and Vespucci, Vespucy, Vespuchi, Vespuchy, Vesputio, Vespulsius, Despuchi, Espuchi; or in Latin Vespucius, Vespuccius, and Vesputius.

[2] The Germans have written more or less to connect themselves with the name as with the naming, — deducing Amerigo or Americus from the Old German Emmerich. Cf. Von der Hagen, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Gesellschaft für Deutsche Sprache*, 1835; *Notes and Queries*, 1856; *Historical Magazine*, January, 1857, p. 24; Dr. Theodor Vetter in *New York Nation*, March 20, 1884; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iv. 52.

APIANUS (*from* REUSNER'S *Icones*, 1590, p. 175).

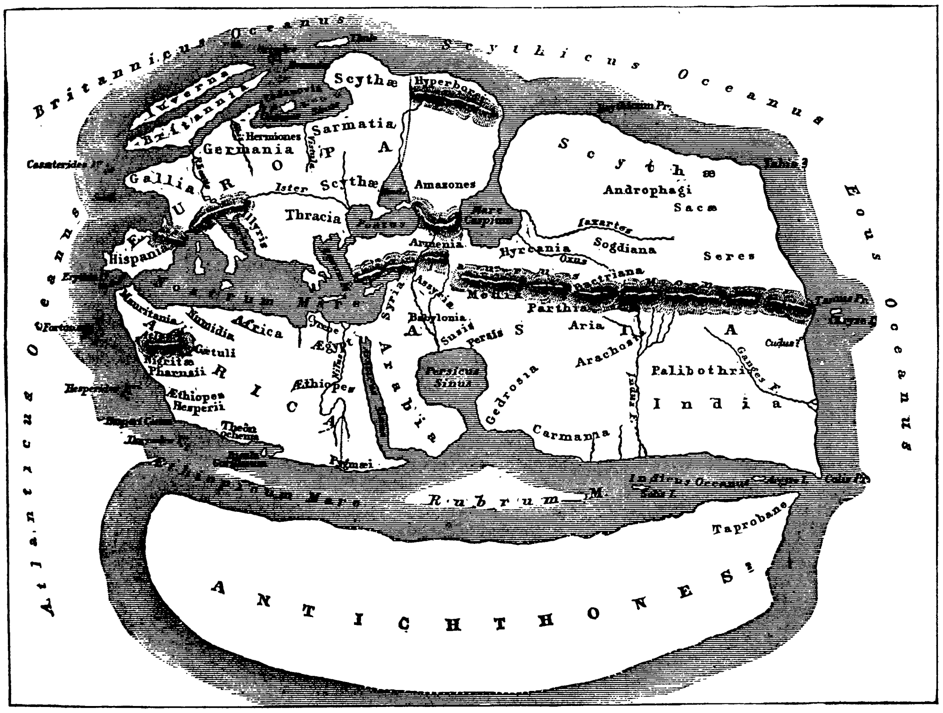
THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF

POMPONIUS MELA, SOLINUS, VADIANUS, AND APIANUS.

BY THE EDITOR.

OF Pomponius Mela we know little beyond the fact that he was born in Spain, not far from Gibraltar, and that he wrote, as seems probable, his popular geographical treatise in the year 43 A.D.[1] The *editio princeps* of this treatise was printed in 1471 at Milan, it is supposed, by Antonius Zarotus, under the title *Cosmographia*. It was a small quarto of fifty-



POMPONIUS MELA'S WORLD.[2]

---

[1] Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, ii. 352-368.

[2] Reduced after map in Bunbury's *Ancient Geography* (London, 1879), ii. 368.

IOACHIMVS VADIANVS MEDI-
cus, & Poëta.
Phœbi cultor eram, medicæ ſtudioſus & artis,
Ac melicæ: Galli Conſul in vrbe bonus.
M. D. LI.

VADIANUS.[1]

nine leaves. Two copies have been sold lately. The Sunderland copy (no. 10,117) brought £11 5*s*., and has since been held by Quaritch at £15 15*s*. Another copy was no. 897 in part iii. of the *Beckford Catalogue*. In 1478 there was an edition, *De situ orbis*, at Venice (Sunderland, no. 10,118); and in 1482 another edition, *Cosmographia geographica*, was also published at Venice (Leclerc, no. 456; Murphy, no. 2,003; D'Avezac, *Géographes Grecs et Latins*, p. 13). It was called *Cosmographia* in the edition of 1498 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 8; Huth, iv. 1166); *De orbis situ* in that of Venice, 1502; *De totius orbis descriptione* in the Paris edition of 1507, edited by Geofroy Tory (A. J. Bernard's *Geofroy Tory, premier imprimeur royal*, Paris, 1865, p. 81; Carter-Brown, i. 32; Muller, 1872, no. 2,318; 1877, no. 2,062).

In 1512 the text of Mela came under new influences. Henry Stevens (*Bibliotheca geographica*, p. 210) and others have pointed out how a circle of geographical students at this time were making Vienna a centre of interest by their interpretation of the views of Mela and of Solinus, a writer of the third century, whose *Polyhistor* is a description of the world known to the ancients. Within this knot of cosmographers, John Camers undertook the editing of Mela; and his edition, *De situ orbis*, was printed by Jean Singrein at Vienna in 1512, though it bears neither place nor date (Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 1,825; D'Avezac, *Géographes Grecs et Latins*, p. 14; Leclerc, no. 457; Sunderland, no. 10,119). Another Mela of the same year (1512) is known to have been printed by Weissenburger, presumably at Nuremberg, and edited by Johannes Cocleius as *Cosmographia Pomponii Mele: authoris nitidissimi tribus libris digesta: . . . compendio Johannis Coclei Norici adaucta quo geographie principia generaliter comprehēduntur* (Weigel, 1877, no. 227; there is a copy in Charles Deane's library). In 1517 Mela made a part of the collection of Antonie Francino at Florence, which was re-issued in 1519 and 1526 (D'Avezac, p. 16; Sunderland, nos. 10,121, 10,122).

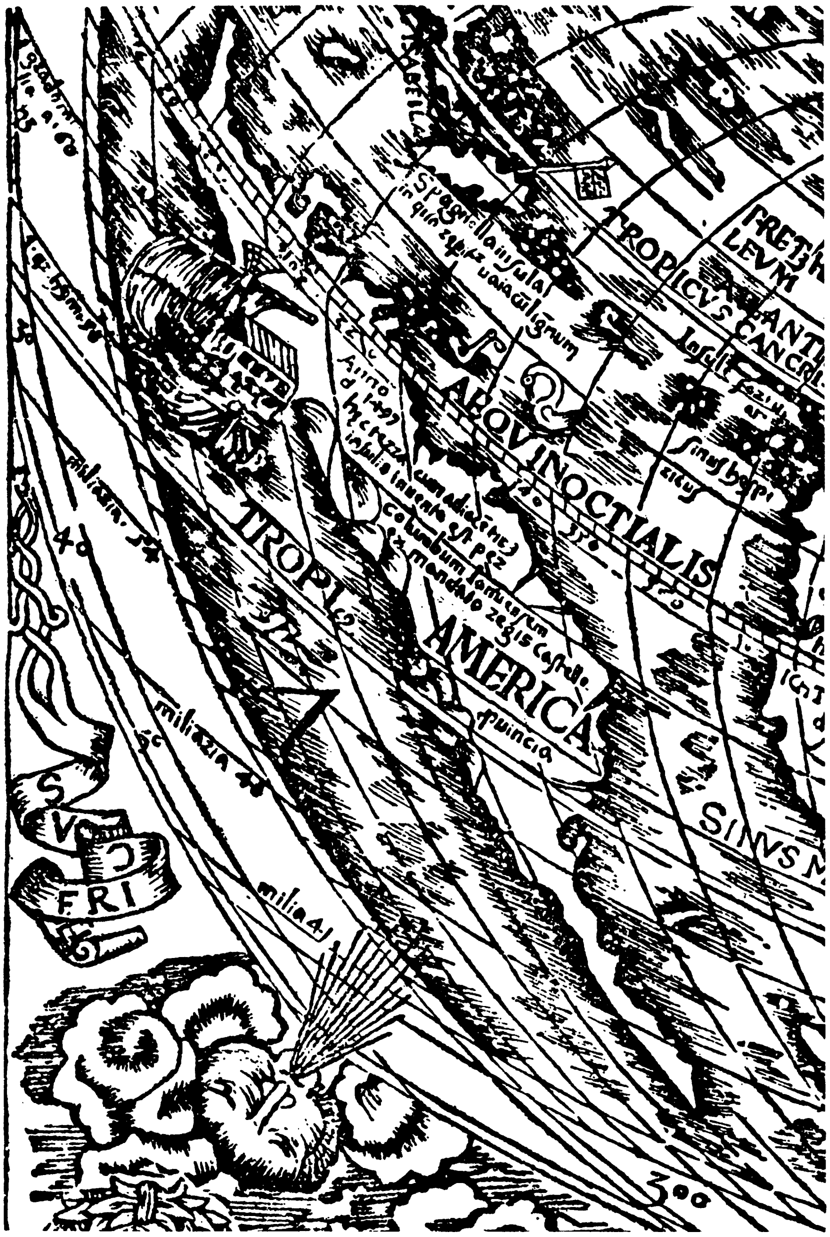
---

[1] Fac-simile of a cut in Reusner's *Icones* (Strasburg, 1590), p. 162.

Meanwhile another student, Joachim Watt, a native of St. Gall, in Switzerland, now about thirty years old, who had been a student of Camers, and who is better known by the latinized form of his name, Vadianus, had, in November, 1514, addressed a letter to Rudolfus Agricola, in which he adopted the suggestion first made by Waldseemüller that the fore-name of Vespucius should be applied to that part of the New World which we now call Brazil. This letter was printed at Vienna (1515) in a little tract, — *Habes, Lector, hoc libello, Rudolphi Agricolæ Junioris Rheti ad Jochimum Vadianum epistolam,* — now become very rare. It contains also the letter of Agricola, Sept. 1, 1514, which drew out the response of Vadianus dated October 16, — Agricola on his part referring to the work on Mela which was then occupying Vadianus (a copy owned by Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 2,799, passed into the Huth Library, *Catalogue*, v. 1506. Harrassowitz has since priced a copy, *Catalogue*, List 61, no. 57, at 280 marks).

The *De situ orbis* of Mela, as edited by Vadianus, came out finally in 1518, and contained one of the two letters, — that of Vadianus himself; and it is in this reproduction that writers have usually referred to its text (Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 92; Murphy, no. 2,004; Leclerc, no. 458; Sunderland, no. 10,120; Graesse, v. 401; Carter-Brown, i. 55). Camers also issued at the same time an edition uniform with the Aldine imprint of Solinus; and this and the Mela are often found bound together. Two years later (1520) copies of the two usually have bound up between them the famous cordiform map of Apian (Petrus Apianus, in the Latin form; Bienewitz, in his vernacular). This for a long time was considered the earliest engraved map to show the name of America, which appeared, as the annexed fac-simile shows, on the representation of South America. There may be some question if the map equally belongs to the Mela and to the Solinus, for the two in this edition are usually bound together; yet in a few copies of this double book, as in the Cranmer copy in the British Museum, and in the Huth copy (*Catalogue*, iv. 1372), there is a map for each book. There are copies of the Solinus in the Carter-Brown, Lenox, Harvard College, Boston Public, and American Antiquarian Society libraries (cf. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 175; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 108; Murphy, no. 2,338; Trübner, 1876, £15 15*s.*; Weigel, 1877, 240 marks; Calvary, 1883, 250 marks; Leclerc, 1881, no. 2,686, 500 francs; Ellis & White, 1877, £25). The inscription on the map reads: "Tipus orbis universalis juxta Ptolomei cosmographi traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliosque lustrationes a Petro Apiano Leysnico elucbrat. An. Do. M. D. XX." Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, no. 68) cites from Varnhagen's *Postface aux trois livraisons sur Vespucci*, a little tract of eight leaves, which is said to be an exposition of the map to accompany it, called *Declaratio et usus typi cosmographici*, Ratisbon, 1522. The map was again used in the first complete edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, when the date was changed to "M. D. XXX" (Carter-Brown, i. 94; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 154; Kunstmann, *Entdeckung Amerikas*, p. 134; Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, p. 33; Uricoechea, *Mapoteca Colombiana*, no. 4). Vadianus meanwhile had quarrelled with Camers, and had returned to St. Gall, and now re-edited his *Mela*, and published it at Basle in 1522 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 112; Murphy, no. 2,004**; Carter-Brown, i. 590; Leclerc, no. 459).

In 1524 Apianus published the first edition of his cosmographical studies, — a book that for near a century, under various revisions, maintained a high reputation. The *Cosmographicus liber* was published at Landshut in 1524, — a thin quarto with two diagrams showing the New World, in one of which the designation is "Ameri" for an island; in the other, "America." Bibliographers differ as to collation, some giving fifty-two, and others sixty leaves; and there are evidently different editions of the same year. The book is usually priced at £5 or £6. Cf. Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 174; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 127, and *Additions*, p. 87; Carter-Brown, i. 78; Huth, i. 39; Murphy, no. 93; Sabin, no. 1,738. There is an account of Apianus (born 1495; died 1551 or 1552) in Clement's *Bibliographie curieuse* (Göttingen, 1750–1760). It is in chapter iv. of part ii. of the *Cosmographicus liber* that America is mentioned; but there is no intimation of Columbus having discovered it. Where "Isabella aut


TROPICVS CANCRI
FRETV̄ LEVUM
ARQVINOCTIALIS
TROPI
AMERICA
Spagnolla insula
in qua repitz uaiaciligrum
Anno d 1497 hec terra cum adiacentibus insulis inuenta est per Columbum Ianuensem ex mandato regis Castelle
puincia
SINVS M
milia 41
miliaria 54
miliaria 56
Sinus
300

PART OF APIANUS'S MAP, 1520.[1]

Cuba" is spoken of, is an early instance of conferring the latter name on that island, after La Cosa's use of it.

In 1529 a pupil of Apianus, Gemma Frisius, annotated his master's work, when it was published at Antwerp, while an abridgment, *Cos-*

---

[1] There are fac-similes of the entire map in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 69, and in Santarem's *Atlas;* and on a much reduced scale in Daly's *Early Cartography*. Cf. Varnhagen's *Jo: Schöner e P. Apianus:*

mographiæ introductio, was printed the same year (1529) at Ingoldstadt (Sabin, no. 1,739; Court, no. 21; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 148, 149, and *Additions*, no. 88. There is a copy of the abridgment in Harvard College Library).

The third edition of *Mela, cum commentariis Vadiani* appeared at Paris in 1530, but without maps (cf. Carter-Brown, i. 97; Muller, 1877, no. 2,063; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 157); and again in 1532 (Sunderland, no. 10,124; Harrassowitz, list 61, no. 60).

It is not necessary to follow, other than synoptically, the various subsequent editions of these three representative books, with brief indications of the changes that they assumed to comport with the now rapidly advancing knowledge of the New World.

1533. Apianus, full or abridged, in Latin, at Venice, at Freiburg, at Antwerp, at Ingoldstadt, at Paris (Carter-Brown, i. 591; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 179, 202, and *Additions*, no. 100; Sabin, nos. 1,742, 1,757. Some copies have 1532 in the colophon). Apianus printed this year at Ingoldstadt various tracts in Latin and German on the instruments used in observations for latitude and longitude (Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 173, etc). Vadianus, in his *Epitome trium terræ partium*, published at Tiguri, described America as a part of Asia (Weigel, 1877, no. 1,574). He dated his preface at St. Gall, "VII. Kallen. August, M. D. XXXIII."

1534. Apianus in Latin at Venice (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 106). The *Epitome* of Vadianus in folio, published at Tiguri, with a map, "Typus cosmographicus universalis, Tiguri, anno M. D. XXXIIII," which resembles somewhat that of Finæus, representing the New World as an island approaching the shape of South America. The Carter-Brown copy has no map (cf. Huth, v. 1508; Leclerc, no. 586, 130 francs; Carter-Brown, i. 112; Weigel, 1877, no. 1,576; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 189). An edition in octavo, without date, is held to be of the same year. It is usually said to have no map; but Quaritch (no. 12,475) has advertised a copy for £4, — "the only copy he had ever seen containing the map." The *Huth Catalogue*, v. 1508, shows a copy with twelve wood-cut maps of two leaves each, and four single leaves of maps and globes. The part pertaining to America in this edition is pages 544-564, "Insulæ Oceani præcipuæ," which is considered to belong to the Asiatic continent (cf. Stevens, 1870, no. 2,179; Muller, 1872, no. 1,551; 1877, no. 3,293; Weigel, 1877, no. 1,575).

1535. Apianus, in Latin, at Venice (Sabin, no. 1,743; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 202). Vadianus, in Latin, at Antwerp. (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 209; Huth, v. 1508; Court, no. 360).

1536. An edition of Mela, *De situ orbis*, without place and date, was printed at Basle, in small octavo, with the corrections of Olive and Barbaro. Cf. D'Avezac, *Géographes Grecs et Latins*, p. 20; Sunderland, no. 10,123; Weigel (1877), p. 99.

1537. The first Dutch edition of Apianus, *De cosmographie rā Pe Apianus*, Antwerp, with woodcut of globe on the title. The first of two small maps shows America. It contains a description of Peru. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 121; Muller (1875), no. 2,314.

1538. Mela and Solinus, printed by Henri Petri at Basle with large and small maps, one representing the New World to the east of Asia as "Terra incognita." Cf. Harrassowitz (1882), no. 91, p. 2, 60 marks; D'Avezac, p. 21.

1539. An edition of Mela, *De orbis situ*, at Paris (Sunderland, no. 10,124). Apianus's *Cosmographia per Gemmam Phrysium restituta*, in small quarto, was published at Antwerp by A. Berckman. A globe on the titlepage shows the Old World. It has no other map (Carter-Brown, i. 124; Sabin, no. 1,744; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 229, 230).

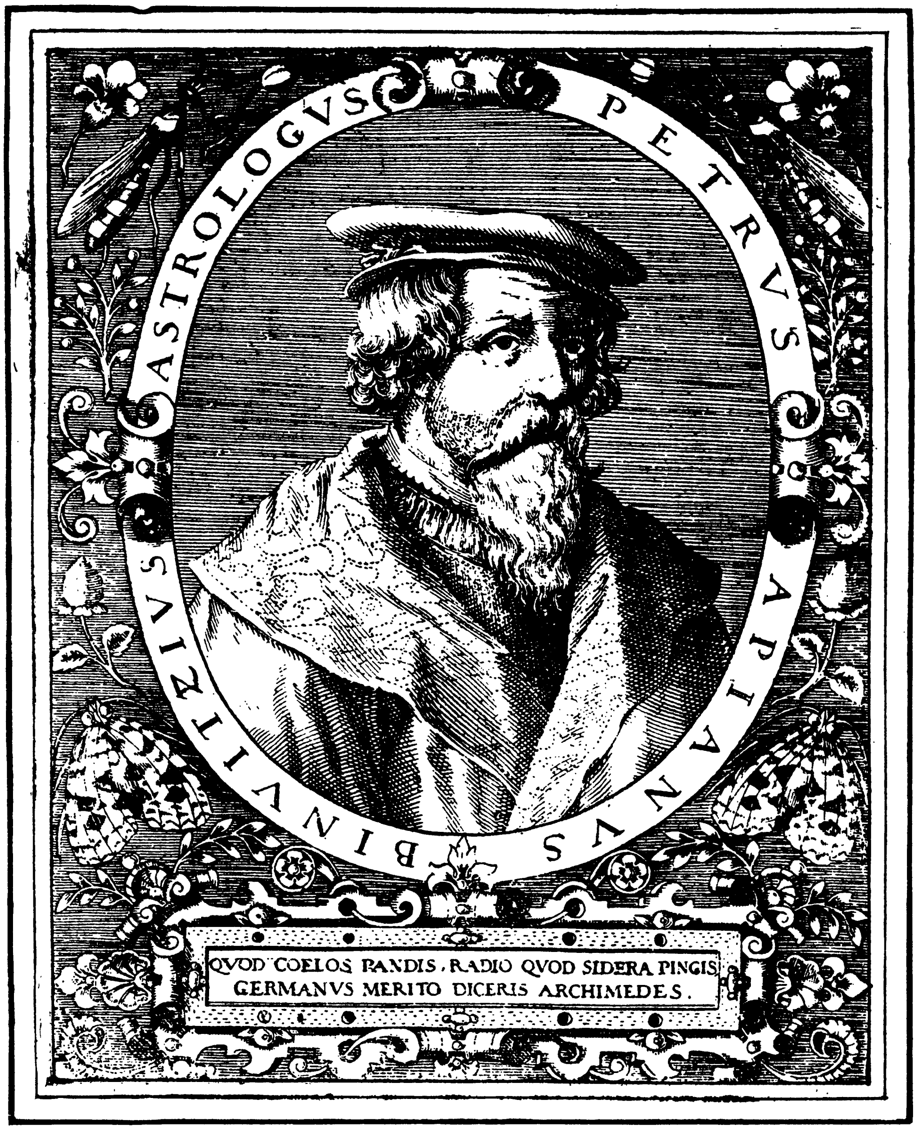
1540. An edition of Mela, issued at Paris, has the Orontius Finæus map of 1531, with the type of the Dedication changed. The Harvard College copy and one given in Harrassowitz' *Catalogue* (81), no. 55, show no map. Cf. Leclerc, no. 460, 200 francs; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 230, *Additions*, nos. 126, 127, 460; Court, no. 283; Rosenthal (1884), no. 51, at 150 marks. An edition of Apianus in Latin at Antwerp, without map; but Lelewel (*Moyen-âge*, pl. 46) gives a map purporting to follow one in this edition of Apianus. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 125; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 230; Sabin, no. 1,745.

1541. Editions of Apianus in Latin at Venice and at Nuremberg. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 235, 236; Sabin, nos. 1,746, 1,747.

1543. Mela and Solinus at Basle (D'Avezac, p. 21).

Influencia de um e outro e de varios de seus contemporaneos na adopção do nome America; primeiros globos e primeiros mappas-mundi com este nome; globo de Waltzeemüller, e plaquette acerca do de Schöner, Vienna, 1872, privately printed, 61 pp., 100 copies (*Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,231; Quaritch prices it at about £1). A recent account of the history of the Vienna presses, *Wiens Buchdrucker-geschichte* (1883), by Anton Mayer, refers to the edition of Solinus of 1520 (vol. i. pp. 38, 41), and to the editions of Pomponius Mela, edited by Vadianus, giving a fac-simile of the title (p. 39) in one case.

Santarem gives twenty-five editions of Ptolemy between 1511 and 1584 which do not bear the name of America, and three (1522, 1541, and 1552) which have it. Cf. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* (1837), vol. viii.


PETRVS APIANVS BINVITIZIVS ASTROLOGVS
QVOD COELOS PANDIS, RADIO QVOD SIDERA PINGIS
GERMANVS MERITO DICERIS ARCHIMEDES.

APIANUS.[1]

1544. An edition of Apianus in French at Antwerp, with a map, which was used in various later editions. Cf. Sabin, no. 1,752; Carter-Brown, i. 592; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 253.

1545. Apianus, in Latin, at Antwerp, with the same map as in the 1544 French edition. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 135; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 262; Muller (1875), no. 2,365 (1877), no. 158; Sabin, no. 1,748.

---

[1] This follows a fac-simile of an old cut given in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 294.

1548. Apianus in Spanish, *Cosmographia augmentada por Gemma Frisio*, at Antwerp, with the same folding map. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 283; Sabin, no. 1,753; Carter-Brown, i. 147; Dufosse, no. 10,201, 45 francs; Quaritch (1878), no. 104, £6 6*s.*; *Cat. hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac. do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 3. Apianus in Italian at Antwerp, *Libro de la cosmographia de Pedro Apiano*, with the same map. The *Epitome* of Vadianus, published at Tiguri, with double maps engraved on wood, contains one, dated 1546, showing America, which is reproduced in Santarem's *Atlas*. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 151; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 170, 464, *Additions*, no. 104.

1550. Apianus in Latin at Antwerp, with map at folio 30, with additions by Frisius; and folios 30–48, on America (cf. Carter-Brown, i. 154; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 298; Murphy, no. 94; Sabin, no. 1,749; Muller, 1875, no. 2,366). Some bibliographers report Latin editions of this year at Amsterdam and Basle.

1551. Editions of Apianus at Paris, in Latin and French, with a folding map and two smaller ones, — a reprint of the Antwerp edition of 1550. The language of the maps is French in both editions (Court, no. 20). Clement (*Bibliothèque curieuse*, i. 404) gives 1553 as the date of the colophon. An edition of Mela and Solinus (D'Avezac, p. 21).

1553. Editions of Apianus in Latin at Antwerp and Paris, and in Dutch at Antwerp, with mappemonde and two small maps. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 174, 594. Some copies have 1551 in the colophon, as does that belonging to Jules Marcou, of Cambridge. There is a copy of the Paris edition in the Boston Public Library, no. 2,285, 58.

1554. An abridged edition of Apianus, *Cosmographiæ introductio*, Venice. A copy in Harvard College Library.

1556. An edition of Mela, at Paris (Sunderland, no. 10,125).

1557. An edition of Mela, as edited by Vadianus, at Basle (D'Avezac, p. 21).

1561. A Dutch edition of Apianus, at Antwerp, without map. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 597; Sabin, no. 1,754.

1564. An octavo edition of Vadianus' *Mela* (D'Avezac, p. 21). A Latin edition of Apianus at Antwerp, with mappemonde.

1574. Latin editions of Apianus at Antwerp and Cologne, with a folding mappemonde (Carter-Brown, i. 296, 297; Sabin, no. 1,750).

1575. Spanish and Italian texts of Apianus published at Antwerp, with mappemonde, and descriptions of the New World taken from Gomara and Girava. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 302; Sabin, no. 1,756; Clement, *Bibliothèque curieuse*, i. 405.

1576. Mela, as edited by Vadianus (D'Avezac, p. 21). With the *Polyhistor* of Solinus, published at Basle. The Harvard College copy has no map of America. Cf. Graesse, v. 402.

1577. Henri Estienne's collection in quarto, containing Mela (D'Avezac, p. 24).

1581. Apianus in French, at Antwerp, with a folding mappemonde (p. 72). The part on America is pp. 155–187 (Murphy, no. 95).

1582. An edition of Mela edited by A. Schottus, published at Antwerp, with map by Ortelius (Sunderland, no. 10,126).

1584. The *Cosmographia* of Apianus and Frisius, called by Clement (*Bibliothèque curieuse*, i. 404) the best edition, published at Antwerp by Bellero, in two issues, a change in the title distinguishing them. It has the same map with the 1564 and 1574 editions, and the section on "Insulæ Americæ" begins on p. 157. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 354, no map mentioned; Sabin, no. 1,751.

1585. An edition of Mela in English, translated by Arthur Golding, published at London as *The Worke of Pomponius Mela, the Cosmographer, concerning the Situation of the World*. The preface is dated Feb. 6, 1584, in which Golding promises versions of Solinus and Thevet. There is a copy in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

1592. A Dutch edition of Apianus, published at Antwerp (Sabin, no. 1,755).

1595. An edition of Mela, as edited by Vadianus, published at Basle (D'Avezac, p. 21).

1598. A Dutch edition of Apianus, published at Amsterdam, with folding map. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 521; Muller (1877), no. 164.

1605. Mathias Bonhomme published an edition of Mela and Solinus (D'Avezac, p. 21).

1609. A Dutch edition of Apianus, printed at Antwerp, with mappemonde (Carter-Brown, ii. 76; Sabin, no. 1,755). Bonhomme's edition of Mela and Solinus, reissued (D'Avezac, p. 21).

1615, etc. Numerous editions of Mela appeared subsequently: 1615 (Vadianus), Basle, 1619, 1625, 1626, 1635; at Madrid, 1642, 1644, in Spanish; Leyden, 1646, in Latin; and under different editors, 1658, 1685, and 1700, and often later

CHAPTER III.

THE COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS.

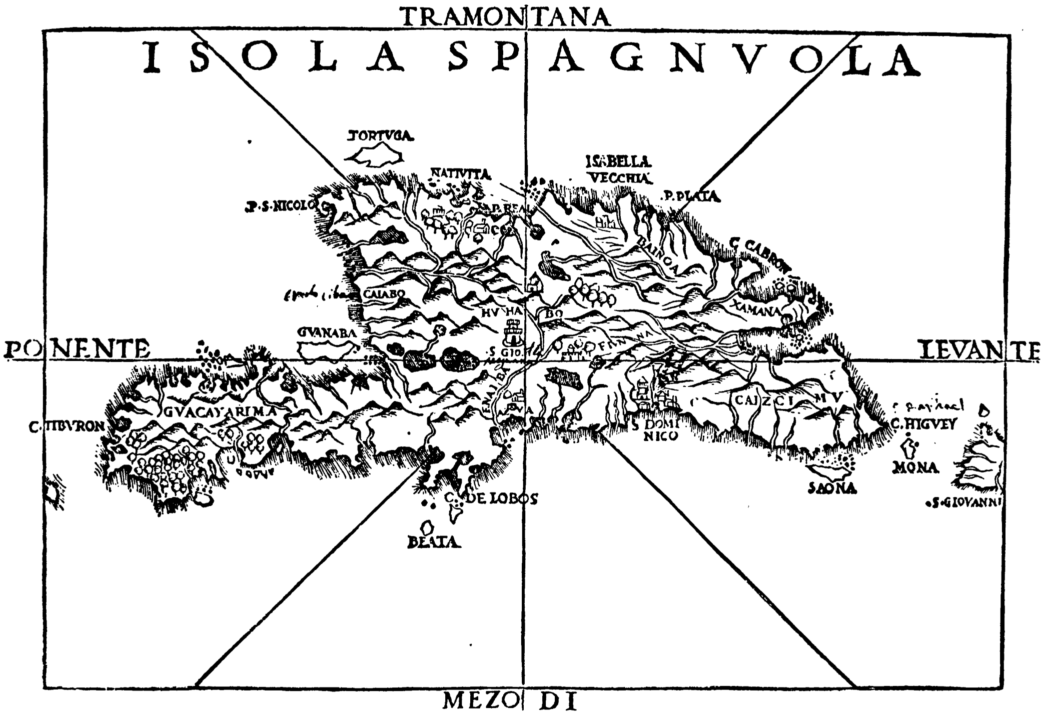
BY EDWARD CHANNING, PH.D.,

Instructor in History in Harvard College.

IN 1498 the news of the discovery of Paria and the pearl fisheries reached Spain; and during the next year a number of expeditions was fitted out at private expense for trade and exploration. The first to set sail was commanded by Alonso de Ojeda, the quondam captor of Caonabo, who, with Juan de la Cosa — a mariner scarcely inferior in his own estimation to the Admiral himself — and with Morigo Vespuche, as Ojeda calls him, left the Bay of Cadiz toward the end of May, 1499. Ojeda, provided with a copy of the track-chart sent home by Columbus, easily found his way to the coast of South America, a few degrees north of the equator. Thence he coasted northward by the mouth of the Rio Dulce (Essequibo) into the Gulf of Paria, which he left by the Boca del Drago. He then passed to the Isla Margarita and the northern shores of Tierra Firme, along which he sailed until he came to a deep gulf into which opened a large lagoon. The gulf he called the Golfo de Venecia (Venezuela), from the fancied resemblance of a village on its shores to the Queen of the Adriatic; while to the lagoon, now known as the Lake of Maracáibo, he gave the name of S. Bartoloméo. From this gulf he sailed westward by the land of Coquibacoa to the Cabo de la Vela, whence he took his departure for home, where, after many adventures, he arrived in the summer of the following year.

Close in his track sailed Cristóbal Guerra and Pedro Alonso Niño, who arrived off the coast of Paria a few days after Ojeda had left it. Still following him, they traded along the coast as far west as Caucheto, and tarried at the neighboring islands, especially Margarita, until their little vessel of fifty tons was well loaded; when they sailed for Spain, where they arrived in April, 1500, "so laden with pearls that they were in maner with every mariner as common as chaffe."

About four months before Guerra's return, Vicente Yañez Pinzon, the former captain of the "Niña," sailed from Palos with four vessels; and, pursuing a southerly course, was the first of Europeans to cross the equator on the American side of the Atlantic. He sighted the coast of the New World in eight degrees south latitude, near a cape to which he gave the name of Santa Maria de la Consolacion (S. Augustin). There he landed; but met with no vestiges of human beings, except some footprints of gigantic size. After taking possession of the country with all proper forms, he reimbarked; and proceeding northward and westward, discovered and partially explored the delta of an immense river, which he called the Paricura, and which, after being known as the Marañon or Orellana, now appears on the maps as the Amazon. Thence, by the Gulf of Paria, Española (Hispaniola), and the Bahamas, he returned to Spain, where he arrived in the latter part of September, 1500.[2]



HISPANIOLA.[1]

Diego de Lepe left Palos not long after Vicente Yañez, and reached the coast of the New World to the south of the Cabo de S. Augustin, to which he gave the name of *Rostro hermoso;* and doubling it, he ran along the coast to the Gulf of Paria, whence he returned to Palos. In October, 1500, Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Cosa sailed from the bay of Cadiz for the Golfo de Venecia (Venezuela), which they entered and explored. Thence, stopping occasionally to trade with the natives, they coasted the shores of Tierra Firme, by the Cabo de la Vela, the province of Santa Marta, the mouths of the Rio Grande de la Magdalena, the port of Cartagena, the river of Cenú, and the Punta Caribana, to the Gulf of Urabá (Darien), which they explored with some care. They were unsuccessful in their search for a strait to the west; and after sailing along the coast of Veragua to Nombre de Dios, they started on the return voyage. But the ravages of the *broma* (teredo) rendering their ships leaky, they were forced into a harbor of Española, where the vessels, after the most valuable portions of the cargo had been removed, went to the bottom. Bastidas was seized by order of Bobadilla, then governor of Española, for alleged illicit traffic with the natives, and sent to Spain for trial, where he arrived in September, 1502. He was soon after acquitted on the charges brought against him.

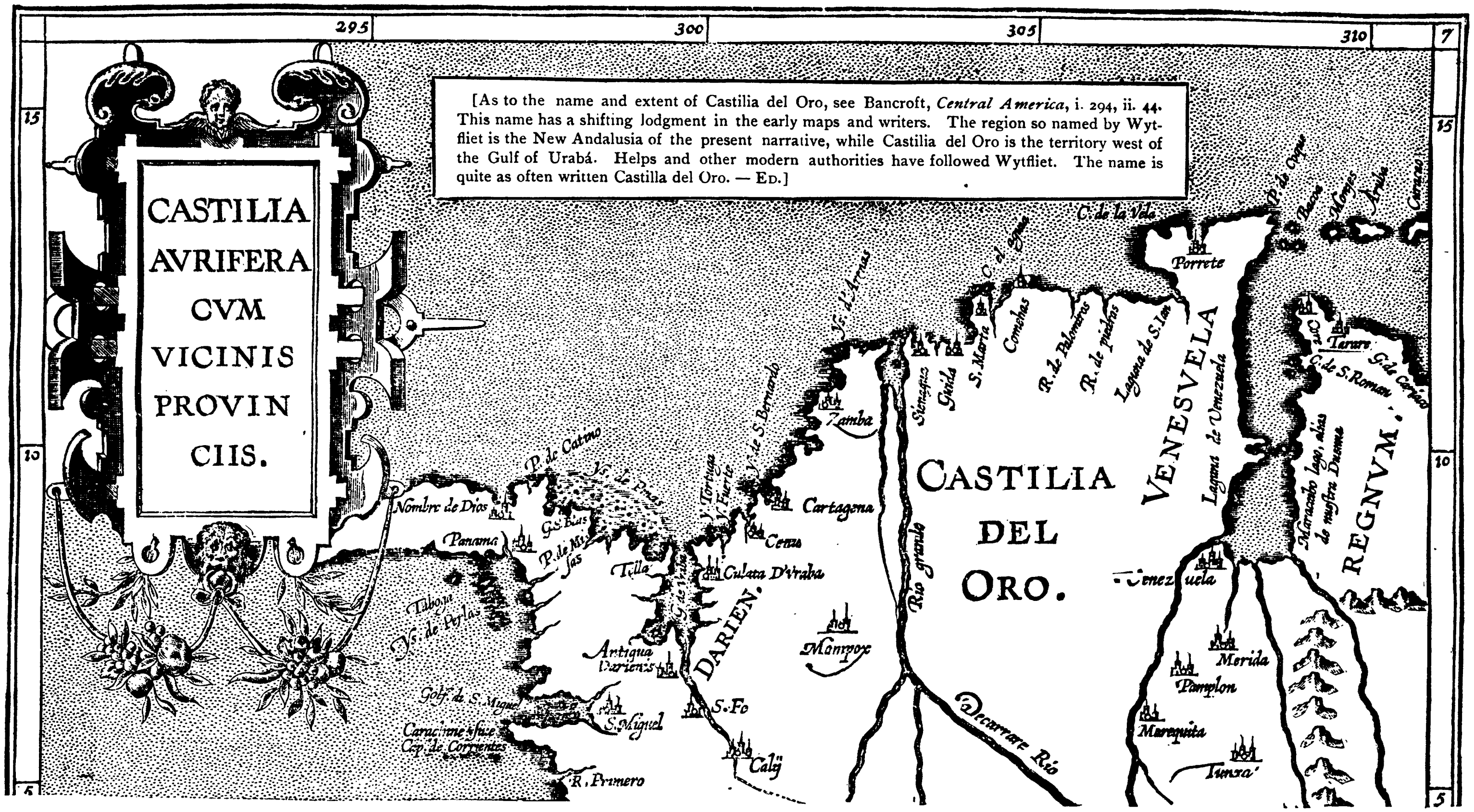
---

[1] A reduced fac-simile of the map (1556) in Ramusio, iii. 44, following that which originally appeared in the Venice edition of Peter Martyr and Oviedo, 1534.

[2] [Cf. the section on the "Historical chorography of South America" in which the gradual development of the outline of that continent is traced. — ED.]

Alonso de Ojeda had reported the presence of Englishmen on the coast of Tierra Firme; and, partly to forestall any occupation of the country by them, he had been given permission to explore, settle, and govern, at his own expense, the province of Coquibacoa. He associated with him Juan de Vergara and Garcia de Ocampo, who provided the funds required, and went with the expedition which left Cadiz in January, 1502. They reached, without any serious mishap, the Gulf of Paria, where they beached and cleaned their vessels, and encountered the natives. Thence through the Boca del Drago they traded from port to port, until they came to an irrigated land, which the natives called Curiana, but to which Ojeda gave the name of Valfermoso. At this place they seized whatever they could which might be of service in the infant settlement, and then proceeded westward; while Vergara went to Jamaica for provisions, with orders to rejoin the fleet at S. Bartoloméo (Maracáibo), or at the Cabo de la Vela. After visiting the Island of Curazao (Curaçao) Ojeda arrived at Coquibacoa, and finally decided to settle at a place which he called Santa Cruz, — probably the Bahia Honda of the present day. Vergara soon arrived; but the supply of food was inadequate, and the hostility of the natives made foraging a matter of great difficulty and danger. To add to their discomfort, quarrels broke out between the leaders, and Ojeda was seized by his two partners and carried to Española, where he arrived in September, 1502. He was eventually set at liberty, while his goods were restored by the King's command. The expedition, however, was a complete failure.

This second unprofitable voyage of Ojeda seems to have dampened the ardor of the navigators and their friends at home; and although Navarrete regards it as certain that Juan de la Cosa sailed to Urabá as chief in command in 1504–1506, and that Ojeda made a voyage in the direction of Tierra Firme in the beginning of 1505, it was not until after the successful voyage of La Cosa in 1507–1508, that the work of colonization was again



[As to the name and extent of Castilia del Oro, see Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 294, ii. 44. This name has a shifting lodgment in the early maps and writers. The region so named by Wytfliet is the New Andalusia of the present narrative, while Castilia del Oro is the territory west of the Gulf of Urabá. Helps and other modern authorities have followed Wytfliet. The name is quite as often written Castilla del Oro. — Ed.]

CASTILIA DEL ORO, 1597 (*after Wytfliet*).

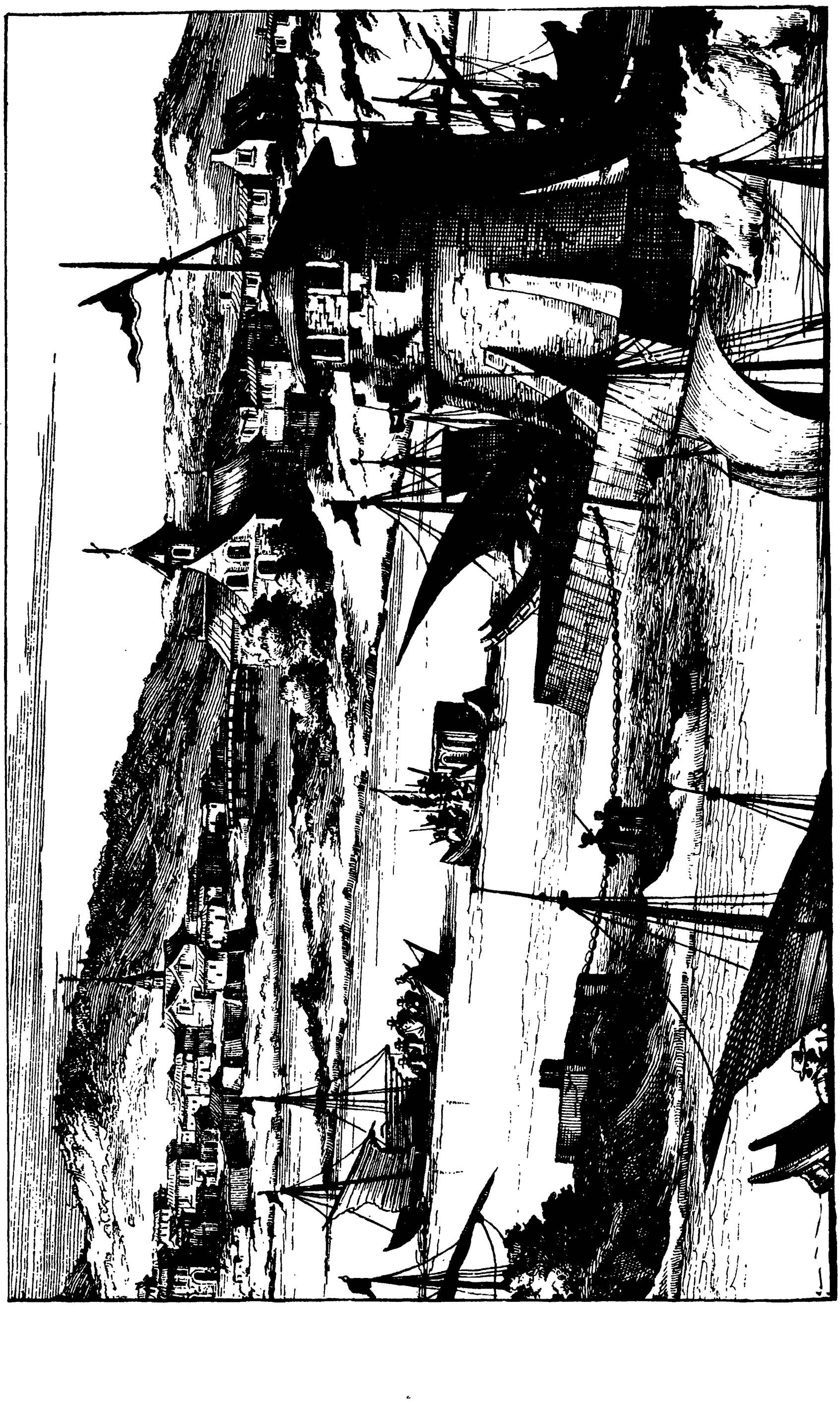
taken up with vigor.[1] Two men offered themselves as leaders in this enterprise; and, as it was impossible to decide between them, they were both commissioned to settle and govern for four years the mainland from the Cabo de la Vela to the Cabo Gracias á Dios, while the Gulf of Urabá (Darien) was to be the boundary between their respective governments. To Alonso de Ojeda was given the eastern province, or Nueva Andaluçia, while Diego de Nicuesa was the destined governor of the western province, then for the first time named Castilla del Oro. The fertile Island of Jamaica was intended to serve as a granary to the two governors; and to them were also granted many other privileges,— as, for instance, freedom from taxation, and, more important still, the right for each to take from Española four hundred settlers and two hundred miners.

Nicuesa and Ojeda met at Santo Domingo, whither they had gone to complete their preparations, and became involved in a boundary dispute. Each claimed the province of Darien[1] as within his jurisdiction. It was finally agreed, however, that the river of Darien should be the boundary line. With regard to Jamaica, the new admiral, Diego Columbus, prevented all disputes by sending Juan de Esquivel to hold it for him. Diego further contributed to the failure of the enterprise by preventing the governors from taking the colonists from Española, to which they were entitled by their licenses. At last, however, on Nov. 12, 1509, Ojeda, with Juan de la Cosa and three hundred men, left Santo Domingo; and five days later entered the harbor of Cartagena, where he landed, and had a disastrous engagement with the natives. These used their poisoned arrows to such good purpose that sixty-nine Spaniards, Juan de la Cosa among them, were killed. Nicuesa arrived in the harbor soon after; and the two commanders, joining forces, drove the natives back, and recovered the body of La Cosa, which they found swollen and disfigured by poison, and suspended from a tree. The two fleets then separated; Nicuesa standing over to the shore of Castilla del Oro, while Ojeda coasted the western shore of the Gulf of Urabá, and settled at a place to which he gave the name of San Sebastian. Here they built a fort, and ravaged the surrounding country in search of gold, slaves, and food; but here again the natives, who used poisoned arrows, kept the Spaniards within their fort, where starvation soon stared them in the face. Ojeda despatched a ship to Española for provisions and recruits; and no help coming, went himself in a vessel which had been brought to San Sebastian by a certain piratical Talavera. Ojeda was wrecked on Cuba; but after terrible suffering reached Santo Domingo, only to find that his lieutenant, Enciso, had sailed some time before with all that was necessary for the relief of the colony. The future movements of Ojeda are

---

[1] It should be remembered that Columbus on his fourth voyage had sailed along the coast from Cape Honduras to Nombre de Dios, and that Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis, coasting the shores of the Gulf of Honduras, had sailed within sight of Yucatan in 1506; and therefore that in 1508 the coast-line was well known from the Cabo de S. Augustin to Honduras.

[2] [This name in the early narratives and maps appears as Tarena, Tariene, or Darien, with a great variety of the latter form. Cf. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 326. — ED.]



CARTAGENA.[1]

---

[1] [This view of the town of Cartagena at a somewhat later day is a fac-simile of a cut in Montanus, and has some of the doubt attached to all of his pictures.— Ed.]

not known. He testified in the trial of Talavera and his companions, who were hanged in 1511; and in 1513 and 1515 his depositions were taken in the suit brought by the King's attorney against the heirs of Columbus. Broken in spirit and ruined in fortune, he never returned to his colony.

Martin Fernandez de Enciso, a wealthy lawyer (*bachiller*) of Santo Domingo, had been appointed by Ojeda *alcalde mayor* of Nueva Andaluçia, and had been left behind to follow his chief with stores and recruits. On his way to San Sebastian he stopped at Cartagena; found no difficulty in making friends with the natives who had opposed Ojeda so stoutly; and while awaiting there the completion of some repairs on a boat, was surprised by the appearance of a brigantine containing the remnant of the San Sebastian colony. When Ojeda had sailed with Talavera he had left Pizarro, the future conqueror of Peru, in command, with orders to hold the place for fifty days, and then, if succor had not arrived, to make the best of his way to Santo Domingo. Pizarro had waited more than fifty days, until the colonists had dwindled to a number not too large for the two little vessels at his disposal. In these they had then left the place. But soon after clearing the harbor one of his brigantines, struck by a fish, had gone down with all on board; and it had been with much difficulty that the other had been navigated to Cartagena. Enciso, commander now that Ojeda and La Cosa were gone, determined to return to San Sebastian; but, while rounding the Punta Caribana, the large vessel laden with the stores went on the rocks and became a total loss, the crew barely escaping with their lives. They were now in as bad a plight as before; and decided, at the suggestion of Vasco Nuñez de Balbóa, to cross the Gulf of Urabá to a country where the natives did not use poisoned arrows, and where, therefore, foraging would not be so dangerous as at San Sebastian.[1] The removal to the other side of the gulf was safely carried out, and the natives driven from their village. The Spaniards settled themselves here, and called the place Santa Maria del Antigua del Darien. Provisions and gold were found in abundance; but Enciso, declaring it unlawful for private persons to trade with the natives for gold, was deposed; for, as Vasco Nuñez said, the new settlement was within the jurisdiction of Nicuesa, and therefore no obedience whatever was due to Enciso. A municipal form of government was then instituted, with Vasco Nuñez and Zamudio as *alcaldes*, and Valdivia as *regidor*. But the Antigua settlers were no more disposed to obey their chosen magistrates than they had been to give obedience to him who had been appointed to rule over them, and they soon became divided into factions. At this juncture arrived Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, whom Nicuesa had left at Española to follow him with recruits and provisions. Colmenares easily persuaded the settlers at Antigua to put themselves under the government of Nicuesa; and then, accompanied by two agents from Darien, sailed away in search of his chief. Nicuesa, after aiding Ojeda at Cartagena, had sailed for Castilla del Oro; but while coasting its shores had become separated from the rest of his fleet, and had been wrecked off the mouth of a large river. He had rejoined the rest of his expedition after the most terrible suffering. Nicuesa had suspected Lope de Olano, his second in command, of lukewarmness in going to his relief, and had put him in chains. In this condition he was found by the agents from Antigua, to one of whom it appears that Olano was related. This, and the punishment with which Nicuesa threatened those at Antigua who had traded for gold, impelled the agents to return with all speed to oppose his reception; and, therefore, when he arrived off Antigua he was told to go back. Attempting to sustain himself on land, he was seized, put on a worn-out vessel, and bid to make the best of his way to Española. He sailed from Antigua in March, 1511, and was never heard of again.

---

[1] This Vasco Nuñez was a bankrupt farmer of Española who went with Bastidas on his voyage to the Gulf of Urabá, and had been so carefully concealed aboard Enciso's ship that the officers sent to apprehend absconding debtors had failed to discover him.

After his departure the quarrels between the two factions broke out again, and were appeased only by the sending of Enciso and Zamudio to Spain to present their respective cases at Court. They sailed for Española in a vessel commanded by the *regidor* Valdivia (a firm friend of Vasco Nuñez), who went well provided with gold to secure the favor and protection of the new admiral, Diego Columbus, and of Pasamonte, the King's treasurer at Santo Domingo, for himself and Vasco Nuñez. While Valdivia was absent on this mission, Vasco Nuñez explored the surrounding country and won the good-will of the natives. It was on one of these expeditions that the son of a chief, seeing the greed of the Spaniards for gold, told them of the shores of a sea which lay to the southward of the mountains, where there were kings who possessed enormous quantities of the highly coveted metal. Valdivia, who brought a commission from the Admiral to Vasco Nuñez (commonly called Balbóa) as governor of Antigua, was immediately sent back with a large sum of money, carrying the news of a sea to be discovered. Valdivia was wrecked on the southern coast of Yucatan, where, with all but two of his crew, he was sacrificed and eaten by the natives. After some time had elapsed with no news from Española, Vasco Nuñez, fearing that Valdivia had proved a treacherous friend, despatched two emissaries — Colmenares and Caicedo — to Spain to lay the state of affairs at Darien before the King.

Not long after their departure a vessel arrived from Española, commanded by Serrano, with food, recruits, and a commission from Pasamonte to Vasco Nuñez as governor. But Serrano also brought a letter from Zamudio, giving an account of his experience in Spain, where he had found the King more disposed to consider favorably the complaints of Enciso than the justifications which he himself offered. Indeed, it seems that Zamudio, who barely escaped arrest, wrote that it was probable that Vasco Nuñez would be summoned to Spain to give an account of himself. Upon the receipt of this unpleasant letter, Vasco Nuñez determined to discover the new sea of

El Adelantado BASCO NUÑES de
xeres que descubrió la mar del Sur.

BALBÓA.[1]

which there was report, and thus to atone for his shortcomings with respect to Enciso and Nicuesa.

To this end he left Antigua on the 1st of September, 1513; and proceeding by the way of the country of Careta, on the evening of September 24 encamped on the side of a mountain from whose topmost peak his native guide declared the other sea could be discerned. Early in the morning of the next day, Sept. 25, 1513, the sixty-seven Spaniards ascended the mountain; and Vasco Nuñez de Balbóa, going somewhat in advance, found himself — first of civilized men — gazing upon the new-found sea, which he called *Mar del Sur* (South Sea), in distinction to the *Mar del*

---

[1] [Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera, edition of 1728. — ED.]

Norte, or the sea on the northern side of the isthmus, although it is known to us by the name of Pacific, which Magellan later gave to it. Of this ocean and all lands bordering upon it he took possession for his royal master and mistress, and then descended toward its shores. The sea itself was hard to reach, and it was not until three days later that a detachment under Alonso Martin discovered the beach; when Alonso Martin, jumping into a convenient canoe, pushed forth, while he called upon his comrades to bear witness that he was the first European to sail upon the southern sea. On the 29th of September Vasco Nuñez reached the water; and marching boldly into it, again claimed it for the King and Queen of Castile and Aragon. It was an arm of the ocean which he had found. According to the Spanish custom, he bestowed upon it the name of the patron saint of that particular day, and as the Gulf of San Miguel it is still known to us. After a short voyage in some canoes, in the course of which Vasco Nuñez came near drowning, he collected an immense amount of tribute from the neighboring chiefs, and then took up his homeward march, arriving at Antigua without serious accident in the latter part of January, 1514. When we consider the small force at his command and the almost overpowering difficulties of the route, — to say nothing of hostile natives, — this march of Vasco Nuñez de Balbóa is among the most wonderful exploits of which we have trustworthy information.

But this achievement did not bring him the indemnity and honors for which he hoped. A new governor, appointed July 27, 1513, — notwithstanding the news which Colmenares and Caicedo had carried with them of the existence of a sea, — had sailed before Pedro de Arbolancha, bearing the news of the discovery, could arrive in Spain, inasmuch as he did not even leave Antigua until March, 1514. This new governor was Pedro Arias de Avila, better known as Pedrárias, though sometimes called by English writers Dávila. Pedrárias, dubbed *El Galan* and *El Justador* in his youth, and *Furor Domini* in his later years, has been given a hard character by all historians. This is perfectly natural, for, like all other Spanish governors, he cruelly oppressed the natives, and thus won the dislike of Las Casas; while Oviedo, who usually differs as much as possible from Las Casas, hated Pedrárias for other reasons. Pedrárias' treatment of Vasco Nuñez, in whose career there was that dramatic element so captivating, was scant at least of favor. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that Pedrárias occupied an office from which Nicuesa and Enciso had been driven, and he ruled a community which had required the utmost vigilance on the part of Vasco Nuñez to hold in check.

With Pedrárias went a goodly company, among whom may be mentioned Hernando de Soto, Diego de Almagro, and Benalcazar, who, with Pizarro, already in Antigua, were to push discovery and conquest along the shores of the Mar del Sur. There also went in the same company that Bernal Diaz del Castillo who was to be one of the future conquistadores of Mexico and the rude but charming relater of that conquest; and Pascual de Andagoya, who, while inferior to Benalcazar as a ruler and to Bernal Diaz as a narrator, was yet a very important character. The lawyer Enciso returned among them to the scene of his former disappointment as *alguazil mayor;* and, lastly, let us mention Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, who accompanied the expedition as *escriban general* and *veedor.* Pedrárias sailed from San Lucar on the 12th of April, 1514, and arrived safely in the harbor of Antigua on the 29th of June. The survivors of the companies of Ojeda and Nicuesa, and of the reinforcements brought thither at different times, numbered in all but four hundred and fifty souls; and they could have offered little opposition to the fifteen hundred accompanying Pedrárias, if they had so desired. But no attempt was made to prevent his landing; and as soon as Pedrárias felt himself fairly installed, an inquiry was instituted into the previous acts of Vasco Nuñez. This trial, or *residencia,* was conducted by Espinosa, the new *alcalde mayor.* There is no doubt but that Enciso tried hard to bring the murder of Nicuesa, for such it was, home to Vasco Nuñez. The efforts of Quivedo, the recently appointed bishop of Santa Maria de la Antigua é Castilla del Oro, and of Isabel del Bobadilla, the new governor's wife, who had been won over in some unknown way, secured the acquittal of Vasco Nuñez on all criminal charges. In the innumerable civil suits, however, which were brought against him by Enciso and by all others who felt grieved, he was mulcted in a large amount.

This affair off his hands, Pedrárias set about executing his supplementary instructions, which were to connect the north and south seas by a chain of posts. He sent out three expeditions, which, besides exploration, were to forage for food, since the supply in Antigua was very small. The stores brought by the fleet had been in a great measure spoiled on the voyage, and the provisions at Antigua which Vasco Nuñez' foresight had provided, while ample for his little band, were entirely inadequate to the support of the augmented colony. The leaders of these expeditions — with the exception of Enciso, who went to Cenú, whence he was speedily driven—acted in a most inhuman fashion; and the good feeling which had subsisted between Vasco Nuñez and the natives was changed to the most bitter hatred. To use Vasco Nunez' own words: "For where the Indians were like sheep, they have become like fierce lions, and have acquired so much daring, that formerly they were accustomed to come out to the paths with presents to the Christians, now they come out and they kill them; and this has been on account of the bad things which the captains who went out on the incursions have done to them." He especially blamed Ayora and Morales, who commanded two of the earliest expeditions. Ayora escaped with his ill-gotten wealth to Spain, where he died before he could be brought to justice.

Morales, following the route of Vasco Nuñez across the isthmus, arrived on the other side, and sailed to the Pearl Islands, which Vasco Nuñez had seen in the distance. Here he obtained an immense booty; and thence, crossing to the southern side of the Gulf of San Miguel, he endeavored to return to Darien by the way of Birú and the River Atrato. But he was speedily driven back; and was so hard pressed by the natives throughout his homeward march that he and his companions barely escaped with their treasure and their lives. It was about this time that Vasco Nuñez went for a second time in search of the golden temple of Dabaibe and suffered defeat, with the loss of Luis Carillo, his second in command, and many of his men; while another attempt on Cenú, this time by Becerra, ended in the death of that commander and of all but one of his companions. In 1515, however, a force commanded by Gonzalo de Badajos crossed the isthmus and discovered the rich country lying on the Gulf of Parita. Badajos accumulated an enormous amount of gold, which he was obliged to abandon when he sought safety in ignominious flight.

These repeated disasters in the direction of Cenú nettled old Pedrárias, and he resolved to go himself in command of an expedition and chastise the natives. He was speedily defeated; but, instead of returning immediately to Antigua, he sailed over to Veragua and founded the town of Acla (Bones of Men), as the northern termination of a road across the isthmus. He then sent Gaspar Espinosa across the isthmus to found a town on the other side. Espinosa on his way met the fleeing Badajos; but being better prepared, and a more able commander, he recovered the abandoned treasure and founded the old town of Panamá; while a detachment under Hurtado, which he sent along the coast toward the west, discovered the Gulf of San Lucar (Nicoya).

As we have seen, Vasco Nuñez' account of the discovery of the South Sea reached Spain too late to prevent the sailing of Pedrárias; but the King nevertheless placed reliance in him, and appointed him *adelantado*, or lieutenant, to prosecute discoveries along the shores of the southern sea, and also made him governor of the provinces of Panamá and Coyba. This commission had reached Antigua before the departure of Espinosa; but Pedrárias withheld it for reasons of his own. And before he delivered it there arrived from Cuba a vessel commanded by a friend of Vasco Nuñez, — a certain Garabito, — who by making known his arrival to Vasco Nuñez and not to Pedrárias, aroused the latter's suspicions. Accordingly, Vasco Nuñez was seized and placed in confinement. After a while, however, upon his promising to marry one of Pedrárias' daughters, who at the time was in Spain, they became reconciled, and Vasco Nuñez was given his commission, and immediately began preparation for a voyage on the South Sea. As it seemed impossible to obtain a sufficient amount of the proper kind of timber on the other side the isthmus, enough to build a few small vessels was carried over the mountains. When the men began to work it, they found it worm-eaten; and a new supply was procured, which was almost immediately washed away by a sudden rise of the Rio Balsas, on whose banks they had established their ship-yard. At last, however, two little vessels were built and navigated to the Islas de las Perlas, whence Vasco Nuñez made a short and unsuccessful cruise to the southward. But before he went a second time he sent Garabito and other emissaries to Acla to discover whether Pedrárias had been superseded. It seems to have been arranged that when these men arrived near Acla one of their number should go secretly to the house of Vasco Nuñez there and obtain the required information. If a new governor had arrived they were to return to the southern side of the isthmus, and Vasco Nuñez would put himself and his little fleet out of the new governor's reach, trusting in some grand discovery to atone for his disloyalty. Pedrárias was still governor; but Garabito proved a false friend, and told Pedrárias that Vasco Nuñez had no idea of marrying his daughter: on the contrary, he intended to sail away with his native mistress (with whom Garabito was in love) and found for himself a government on the shores of the Mar del Sur. Pedrárias was furious, and enticed Vasco Nuñez to Acla, where this new charge of treason, added to the former one of the murder of Nicuesa, secured his conviction by the *alcalde mayor* Espinosa, and on the very next day he and his four companions were executed. This was in 1517.

In 1519 Pedrárias removed the seat of government from Antigua to Panamá, which was made a city in 1521, while Antigua was not long after abandoned. In 1519 Espinosa coasted northward and westward, in Vasco Nuñez' vessels, as far as the Gulf of Culebras; and in 1522 Pascual de Andagoya penetrated the country of Birú for twenty leagues or more, when ill health compelled his return to Panamá. He brought wonderful accounts of an Inca empire which was said to exist somewhere along the coast to the south.[1]

In 1519 a pilot, Andrés Niño by name, who had been with Vasco Nuñez on his last cruise, interested Gil Gonzalez de Avila, then *contador* of Española, in the subject of exploration along the coast of the South Sea. Gonzalez agreed to go as commander-in-chief, accompanying Niño in the vessels which Vasco Nuñez had built. The necessary orders from the King were easily obtained, and they sailed for Antigua, where they arrived safely; but Pedrárias refused to deliver the vessels. Gil Gonzalez, nothing daunted, took in pieces the ships by which he had come from Spain, transported the most important parts of them across the isthmus, and built new vessels. These, however, were lost before reaching Panamá; but the crews arrived there in safety, and Pedrárias, when brought face to face with the commander, could not refuse to obey the King's orders. Thus, after many delays, Gil Gonzalez and Andrés Niño sailed from the Islas de las Perlas on the 21st of January, 1522. After they had gone a hundred leagues or more, it was found necessary to beach and repair the vessels. This was done by Niño, while Gil Gonzalez, with one hundred men and four horses, pushed along the shore, and, after many hairbreadth escapes, rejoined the fleet, which under Niño had been repaired and brought around by water. The meeting was at a gulf named by them Sanct Viçente; but it proved to be the San Lucar of Hurtado, and the Nicoya of the present day. After a short time passed in recuperation, the two detachments again separated. Niño with the vessels coasted the shore at least as far as the Bay of Fonseca, and thence returned to the Gulf of Nicoya. Here he was soon rejoined by the land party; which, after leaving the gulf, had penetrated inland to the Lake of Nicaragua. They explored the surrounding country sufficiently to discover the outlet of the lake, which led to the north, and not to the south, as had been hoped. They had but one severe fight with the natives, accumulated vast sums of gold, and baptized many thousand converts. With their treasure they returned in safety to Panamá on the 25th of June, 1523, after an absence of nearly a year and a half.

---

[1] [See the chapter on Peru. — Ed.]

At Panamá Gil Gonzalez found an enemy worse than the natives of Nicaragua in the person of Pedrárias, whose cupidity was aroused by the sight of the gold. But crossing the isthmus, he escaped from Nombre de Dios just as Pedrárias was on the point of arresting him, and steered for Española, where his actions were approved by the Hieronimite Fathers, who authorized him to return and explore the country. This he endeavored to do by the way of the outlet of the Lake of Nicaragua, by which route he would avoid placing himself in the power of Pedrárias. He unfortunately reached the Honduras coast too far north, and marched inland only to be met by a rival party of Spaniards under Hernando de Soto. It seemed that as soon as possible after Gil Gonzalez' departure from Nombre de Dios, Pedrárias had despatched a strong force under Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba to take possession of and hold the coveted territory for him. Córdoba, hearing from the natives of Spaniards advancing from the north, had sent De Soto to intercept them. Gil Gonzalez defeated this detachment; but not being in sufficient force to meet Córdoba, he retreated to the northern shore, where he found Cristóbal de Olid, who had been sent by Cortés to occupy Honduras in his interest. Olid proved a traitor to Cortés, and soon captured not only Gil Gonzalez, but Francisco de las Casas, who had been sent by Cortés to seize him. Las Casas, who was a man of daring, assassinated Olid, with the help of Gil Gonzalez. The latter was then sent to make what terms he could with Cortés as to a joint occupation of the country.[1] But Gil Gonzalez fell into the hands of the enemies of the Conqueror of Mexico, and was sent to Spain to answer, among other things, for the murder of Olid. He reached Seville in 1526; but, completely overwhelmed by his repeated disasters, died soon after.

Córdoba, who had thrown off allegiance to Pedrárias, was executed. Pedrárias himself was turned out of his government of Darien by Pedro de los Rios, and took refuge in the governorship of Nicaragua, and died quietly at Leon in 1530, at the advanced age of nearly ninety years.

---

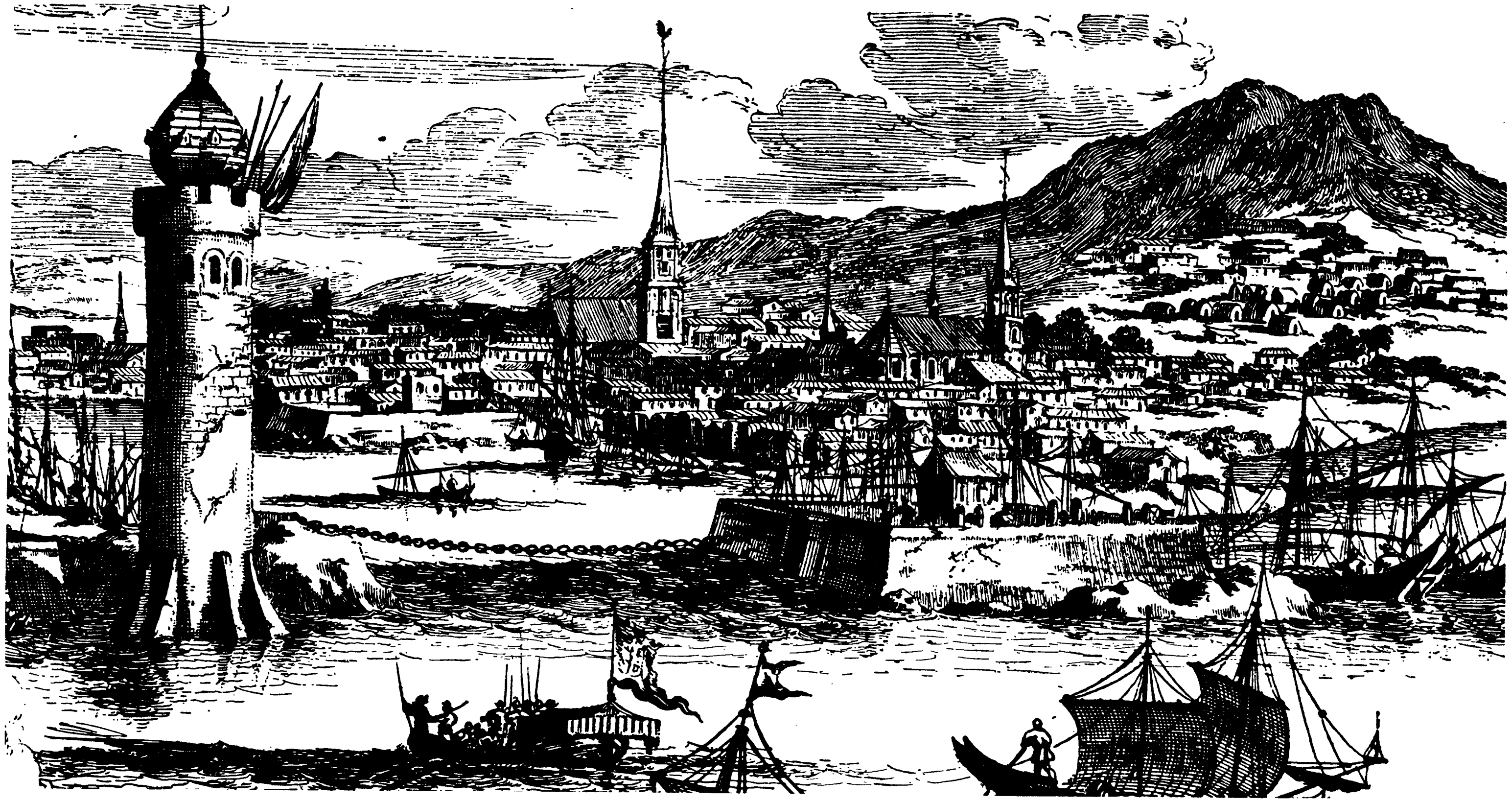
[1] [Cf. the chapter on Cortés. — Ed.]

In 1492 Christopher Columbus had discovered Cuba, which he called Juana; and two years later he had partially explored the Island of Jamaica, whither he had been driven on his fourth voyage, and compelled to stay from June, 1503, to June, 1504. In 1508 this lesser island had been granted to Ojeda and Nicuesa as a storehouse from which to draw supplies in case of need. But, as we have seen, the Admiral of the Indies at that time, Diego Columbus, son of the great Admiral, had sent Juan de Esquivel with sixty men to seize the island and hold it for him against all comers. Esquivel founded the town of Sevilla Nueva — later Sevilla d' Oro — on the shores of the harbor where Columbus had stayed so long; and thus the island was settled.

Although Cuba had been discovered in 1492, nothing had been done toward its exploration till 1508, when Ovando, at that time governor of Española, sent Sebastian de Ocampo to determine whether it was an island or not. Columbus, it will be remembered, did not, or would not, believe it insular, though the Indians whom he brought from Guanahani had told him it was; and it had suited his purpose to make his companions swear that they believed it a peninsula of Asia. Ocampo settled the question by circumnavigating it from north to south; and, after another delay, Diego Columbus in 1511 sent Diego Velasquez, a wealthy planter of Española, to conquer and settle the island, which at that time was called Fernandina. Velasquez, assisted by thirty men under Pamphilo de Narvaez from Jamaica, had no difficulty in doing this; and his task being accomplished, he threw off his allegiance to the Admiral. Settlers were attracted to Cuba from all sides. With the rest came one hundred, Bernal Diaz among them, from Antigua. But Velasquez had distributed the natives among his followers with such a lavish hand that these men were unable to get any slaves for themselves, and in this predicament agreed with Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba[1] to go on a slave-catching expedition to some neighboring islands. Velasquez probably contributed a small vessel to the two vessels which were fitted out by the others. With them went Anton Alaminos as pilot. Sailing from Havana in February, 1517, they doubled the Cabo de S. Anton, and steered toward the west and south. Storms and currents drove them from their course, and it was not until twenty-one days had passed after leaving S. Anton that they sighted some small islands. Running toward the coast, they espied inland a city, the size of which so impressed them that they called it *El gran Cairo*. Soon after some natives came on board, who, to their inquiries as to what land it was, answered "Conex Catoche;" and accordingly they named it the Punta de Catoche. At this place, having landed, they were enticed into an ambush, and many Spaniards were killed. From this inhospitable shore they sailed to the west, along the northern coast of Yucatan, and in two weeks arrived at a village which they named S. Lázaro, but to which the native name of Campeche has clung. There

---

[1] Not the Córdoba of Nicaragua.



HAVANA.[1]

---

[1] [This cut of the chief Cuban seaport represents it at a somewhat later day, and is a fac-simile from the cut in Montanus. — Ed.]

the natives were hostile. So they sailed on for six days more, when they arrived off a village called Pontonchan, now known, however, as Champoton. As they were short of water they landed at this place, and in a fight which followed, fifty seven Spaniards were killed and five were drowned. Nevertheless the survivors continued their voyage for three days longer, when they came to a river with three mouths, one of which, the Estero de los Lagartos, they entered. There they burned one of their vessels; and, having obtained a supply of water, sailed for Cuba. The reports which they gave of the riches of the newly discovered country so excited the greed of Velasquez that he fitted out a fleet of four vessels, the command of which he gave to his nephew, Juan de Grijalva. Anton Alaminos again went as pilot, and Pedro de Alvarado was captain of one of the ships. They left the Cabo de S. Anton on the 1st of May, 1518, and three days later sighted the Island of Cozumel, which they called Santa Cruz. From this island they sailed along the southern coast of Yucatan, which they thought an island, and which they named Santa Maria de los Remedios. They came finally to a shallow bay, still known by the name which they gave it, Bahia de la Ascension. But the prospect not looking very promising in this direction, they doubled on their track, and in due season arrived at S. Lázaro (Campeche), or, more probably, perhaps, at Champoton, where they had their first hostile encounter with the natives. But, being better provided with artillery and cotton armor than was Francisco Hernandez, Grijalva and his men maintained their ground and secured a much-needed supply of water. Thence following the shore, they soon came to an anchorage, which they at first called Puerto Deseado. On further investigation the pilot Alaminos declared that it was not a harbor, but the mouth of a strait between the island of Santa Maria de los Remedios (Yucatan) and another island, which they called Nueva España, but which afterward proved to be the mainland of Mexico. They named this strait the Boca de Términos. After recuperating there, they coasted toward the north by the mouths of many rivers, among others the Rio de Grijalva (Tabasco), until they came to an island on which they found a temple, where the native priests were wont to sacrifice human beings. To this island they gave the name of Isla de los Sacrificios; while another, a little to the north, they called S. Juan de Ulúa. The sheet of water between this island and the mainland afforded good anchorage, and to-day is known as the harbor of Vera Cruz. There Grijalva stayed some time, trading with the inhabitants, not of the islands merely, but of the mainland. To this he was beckoned by the waving of white flags, and he found himself much honored when he landed. After sending Pedro de Alvarado, with what gold had been obtained, to Cuba in a caravel which needed repairs, Grijalva proceeded on his voyage; but when he had arrived at some point between the Bahia de Tanguijo and the Rio Panuco, the pilot Alaminos declared it madness to go farther. So the fleet turned back, and, after more trading along the coast, they arrived safely at Matanzas in October of the same year. Velasquez, when he saw the spoil gathered on this expedition, was much vexed that Grijalva had not broken his instructions and founded a settlement. A new expedition was immediately prepared, the command of which was given to Hernan Cortés.[1] As for Grijalva, he took service under Pedrárias, and perished with Hurtado in Nicaragua.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE best account of the voyages and expeditions of the companions of Columbus, with the exception of those relating immediately to the settlement of Darien and the exploration of the western coast of the isthmus, is Navarrete's *Viages menores*.[2] This historian[3] had extraordinary opportunities in this field; and a nautical education contributed to his power of weighing evidence with regard to maritime affairs. No part of Navarrete has been translated into English, unless the first portion of Washington Irving's *Companions of Columbus* may be so regarded. The best account of these voyages in English, however, is Sir Arthur Helps's *Spanish Conquest in America*,[4] which, although defective in form, is readable, and, so far as it goes, trustworthy. This work deals not merely with the *Viages menores*, but also with the settlement of Darien; as, too, does Irving's *Companions*.

The first voyage of Ojeda rests mainly on the answers to the questions propounded by the *fiscal real* in the suit brought against Diego, the son of Columbus, in which the endeavor was made to show that Ojeda, and not Columbus, discovered the pearl coasts. But this claim on the part of the King's attorney was unsuccessful; for Ojeda himself expressly stated in his deposition, taken in Santo Domingo in 1513, that he was the first man who went to Tierra-Firme *after* the Admiral, and that he knew that the Admiral had been there because he saw the chart[5] which the Admiral had sent home. This lawsuit is so important in relation to these minor voyages that Navarrete printed much of the testimony then taken, with some notes of his own, at the end of his third volume.[6] Among the witnesses were Ojeda, Bastidas, Vicente Yañez Pinzon, Garcia Hernandez a "*fisico*," who had accompanied Vicente Yañez on his first voyage, the pilots Ledesma, Andrés de Morales, Juan Rodriguez, and many other mariners who had sailed with the different commanders. Their testimony was taken with regard to the third voyage of Columbus (second question); the voyage of Guerra and Niño (third and fourth questions); Ojeda's first voyage (fifth question); Bastidas (sixth question); Vicente Yañez (seventh question); Lepe (eighth question); etc. Taken altogether, this evidence is the best authority for what was done or was not done on these early voyages.[7]

---

[1] [From this point the story is continued in the chapter on Cortés. — ED.]

[2] *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglio XV.*, por Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete. The third volume of this series constitutes the *Viages menores, y los de Vespucio; Poblaciones en el Darien, suplemento al tomo II*, Madrid, 1829. [Cf. the Introduction to the present volume. — ED.]

[3] Cf. *Biblioteca marítima española*, ii. 436–438; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 198. [Cf. Introduction to the present volume. — ED.]

[4] [Cf. the chapters on Columbus, Las Casas, and Pizarro. — ED.]

[5] Navarrete, iii. 5, *note* 1, and 539, 544; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 88, *note*.

[6] *Coleccion*, iii. 538–615.

[7] Besides this original material, something concerning this first voyage of Ojeda is contained in Oviedo, i. 76, and ii. 132; Las Casas, ii. 389–434 (all references to Oviedo and Las Casas in this chapter are to the editions issued by the *Real Academia*); Herrera, dec. i. lib. 4, chaps. i.–iv.; Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 4–11, 167, 543–545; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 313, and iv. 195, 220; Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, i. 263, 280, ii. 106; Irving, *Companions*, pp. 9–27; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 111, 118, 308; Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 322. There

The only things worth noting in the voyage of Guerra and Niño are the smallness of the vessel (fifty tons),[1] and the enormous pecuniary return. One of the voyagers,[2] very possibly Niño himself,[3] wrote an account of the voyage, which was translated into Italian, and published as chapters cx. and cxi. of the *Paesi novamente retrovati*. It was then translated into Latin, and inserted by Grynæus in the *Novus orbis*.[4]

A contemporary account of the voyage of Vicente Yañez Pinzon was printed in the *Paesi novamente*,[5] by whom written is not known. Varnhagen has attempted to show that the cape near which Vicente Yañez landed was not the Cabo de S. Augustin, but some point much farther north.[6] For a time the point was raised that Vicente Yañez arrived on the coast after Cabral; but that was plainly impossible, as he undoubtedly sighted the American coast before Cabral left Portugal.[7] As to the landfall itself, both Navarrete and Humboldt place it in about eight degrees south latitude; and they base their argument on the answers to the seventh question of the *fiscal real* in the celebrated lawsuit, in which Vicente Yañez said that it was true that he discovered from "El cabo de Consolacion que es en la parte de Portugal é agora se llama cabo de S. Augustin."[8] In this he was corroborated by the other witnesses.[9] The voyage was unsuccessful in a pecuniary point of view. Two vessels were lost at the Bahamas, whither Vicente Yañez had gone in quest of slaves. After his return to Spain it was only through the interposition of the King that he was able to save a small portion of his property from the clutches of the merchants who had fitted out the fleet.[10]

The voyage of Diego de Lepe rests entirely on the evidence given in the Columbus lawsuit,[11] from which it also appears that he drew a map for Fonseca on which the coast of the New World was delineated trending toward the south and west from Rostro Hermoso (Cabo de S. Augustin). Little is known of the further movements of Diego de Lepe, who, according to Morales, died in Portugal before 1515.[12] Navarrete printed nothing relating to him of a later date than November, 1500;[13] but in the *Documentos inéditos*

---

is also a notice of Ojeda by Navarrete in his *Opúsculos*, i. 113.

[1] [On this see note on p. 7 of the present volume. — ED.]

[2] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 12, *note* 1.

[3] *Biblioteca marítima española*, ii. 525.

[4] Page 117, ed. 1532. For other references to this voyage, see Peter Martyr (dec. i. chap. viii.), whose account is based on the above; Herrera, dec. i. lib. 4, chap. v.; Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 11–18, 540–542; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iv. 220; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 111; Irving, *Companions*, pp. 28–32.

[5] Chapters cxii. and cxiii. In Latin in Grynæus, p. 119, edition of 1532.

[6] Varnhagen, *Examen de quelques points de l'histoire géographique du Brésil*, pp. 19–24; Varnhagen, *Historia geral do Brazil* (2d ed.), i. 78–80.

[7] Cf. Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 19, *note*. Humboldt (*Examen critique*, i. 313) says that Vicente Yañez saw the coast forty-eight days before Cabral left Lisbon. As to the exact date of Vicente Yañez' landfall, the *Paesi novamente* (chap. cxii.) gives it as January 20, while Peter Martyr (dec. i. chap. ix.), who usually follows the *Paesi novamente*, in his description of this and of the Guerra and Niño voyages gives it as "Septimo kalendas Februarii," or January 26. But the difference is unimportant. [Cf. further the section on the "Historical Chorography of South America," in which the question is further examined. — ED.]

[8] Navarrete, iii. 547 *et seq.*

[9] See also Navarrete, *Notice chronologique*, in *Quatre voyages*, i. 349, and Humboldt, Introduction to Ghillany's *Behaim*, p. 2, where he says, in the description of the La Cosa map, that Cabo de S. Augustin, whose position is very accurately laid down on that map, was first called Rostro Hermoso, Cabo Sta. Maria de la Consolacion, and Cabo Sta. Cruz. In this he is probably correct; for if Vicente Yañez or Lepe did not discover it, how did La Cosa know where to place it? — unless he revised his map after 1500. This is not likely, as the map contains no hint of the discoveries made during his third voyage undertaken with Rodrigo de Bastidas in 1500–1502. Cf. Stevens, *Notes*, p. 33, note.

[10] Cf. two *Real provisions* of date Dec. 5, 1500, in Navarrete, iii. 82, 83; and see also a *Capitulacion* and *Asiento* of date Sept. 5, 1501, in *Documentos inéditos*, xxx. 535. Other references to this voyage are, — Herrera, dec. i. lib. 4, chap. vi.; Navarrete, iii. 18–23; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iv. 221; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 112; and Irving, *Companions*, pp. 33–41.

[11] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 552–555.

[12] Ibid., iii. 552.

[13] Ibid., iii. 80, 81.

are documents which would seem to show that he was preparing for a voyage in the beginning of 1502.[1]

Juan de la Cosa returned with Ojeda in the middle of June, 1500, and he sailed with Bastidas in the following October. The intervening time he probably spent in working on the map which bears the legend "Juan de la Cosa la fizo en Puerto de Sta. Maria en año de 1500." This is the earliest existing chart made by one of the navigators of the fifteenth century, the track-chart sent home by Columbus in 1498,[2] and the Lepe map, being lost. Humboldt was especially qualified to appreciate the clearness and accuracy of this La Cosa map by the knowledge of the geography of Spanish America which he gained during a long sojourn in that part of the world;[3] and this same knowledge gives especial value to whatever he says in the *Examen critique*[4] concerning the voyages herein described. Of Juan de la Cosa's knowledge of the geography of the northern coast of South America there can be little doubt, especially when it is borne in mind that he made no less than six voyages to that part of the world,[5] only two of which, however, preceded the date which he gives to his map. A comparison of La Cosa's map with the chart of 1527 usually, but probably erroneously, ascribed to Ferdinand Columbus, and with that of 1529 by Ribero, gives a clearer idea than the chronicles themselves do, of the discoveries of the early navigators.[6]

Like all these early minor voyages, that of Rodrigo Bastidas rests mainly on the testimony given in the lawsuit already referred to.[7] Navarrete in his *Viages menores* stated that Ojeda procured a license from Bishop Fonseca, who had been empowered to give such licenses. No document, however, of the kind has been produced with regard to Ojeda or any of these commanders before the time of Bastidas, whose *Asiento que hizo con SS. MM. Católicas* of June 5, 1500, has been printed.[8] As already related, the ravages of the teredo drove Bastidas into a harbor of Española, where he was forced to abandon his vessels and march to Santo Domingo. He divided his men into three bands, who saved themselves from starvation by exchanging for food some of the ornaments which they had procured on the coast of Tierra-Firme. This innocent traffic was declared illegal by Bobadilla, who sent Bastidas to Spain for trial. But two years later, on Jan. 29, 1504, their Majesties ordered his goods to be restored to him, and commanded that all further proceedings should be abandoned.[1] They also granted him a pension of fifty thousand maravedis, to be paid from the revenues "de los Golfos de Huraba e Barú;"[2] while Juan de la Cosa was not only pensioned in a similar fashion, but also made *alguacil mayor* of the Gulf of Urabá.[3] With the exception of a slave-catching voyage to Urabá in 1504, Bastidas lived quietly as a farmer in Española until 1520, when he led an expedition to settle the province of Santa Marta, and was there killed by his lieutenant. After his death his family, seeking to receive compensation for his services and losses, drew up an *Informacion de los servicios del adelantado Rodrigo de Bastidas;*[4] and eight years later presented another.[5] From this material it is possible to construct a clear and connected account of this voyage, especially when supplemented by Oviedo and Las Casas.[6]

---

[1] *Capitulacion*, etc., Sept. 14, 1501 (*Documentos inéditos*, xxxi. 5); *Cédulas*, November, 1501 (*Documentos inéditos*, xxxi. 100, 102); another *cédula* of January, 1502 (*Documentos inéditos*, xxxi. 119). See also Herrera, dec. i. lib. 4, chap. vii.; Navarrete, iii. 23, 594; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 314, iv. 221; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 113; and Irving, *Companions*, p. 42.

[2] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 5, and *note*, and p. 539; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 88, and *note*. [Cf. the section in the present volume on "The Early Maps of the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries," *ante*, p. 106. — ED.]

[3] Cf. *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent fait en* 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, *et* 1804, *par Alexandre de Humboldt et A. Bonpland, rédigé par Alexandre de Humboldt, avec un atlas géographique et physique* (8 vols.), Paris, 1816–1832. Translated into English by Helen Maria Williams, and published as *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions*, etc. (7 vols.), London, 1818–1829. There is another translation, with the same title, by Thomassina Ross (7 vols.), London, 1818–1829, of which a three-volume edition was brought out in 1852.

[4] *Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent*, etc., par A. de Humboldt, Paris, 1836–1839. This was first published in *Voyage de Humboldt et Bonpland*. Cf. *Bibliography of Humboldt*, vol. iii.

[5] (1) With Columbus — September, 1493 to June, 1496. (2) With Ojeda — May, 1499 to June, 1500. (3) With Bastidas — October, 1500 to September, 1502. (4) In command — 1504 to 1506. (5) In command — 1507 to 1508. (6) With Ojeda — 1509. Cf. Humboldt, *Examen critique*, v. 163; also Navarrete, *Biblioteca marítima española*, ii. 208.

[6] [See further on the La Cosa map, Vol. III. of the present *History*, p. 8, and the present volume, p. 106, where fac-similes and sketches are given. — ED.]

[7] Answers to the sixth question (*Coleccion*, iii. 545), reviewed by the editor on pp. 591 and 592 of the same volume.

[8] *Documentos inéditos*, ii. 362. It was partially translated in Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 186, *note*.

This was the first voyage which really came within the scope of Hubert H. Bancroft's *Central America;* and therefore he has described it at some length.[7] This book is a vast and invaluable mine of information, to be extracted only after much labor and trouble, owing to a faulty table of contents, and the absence of side-notes or dates to the pages; and there is at present no index. The text is illustrated with a mass of descriptive and bibliographical notes which are really the feature of the work, and give it its encyclopedic value. Considering its range and character, the book has surprisingly few errors of any kind; and indeed the only thing which prevents our placing implicit reliance on it is Mr. Bancroft's assertion[8] that "very little of the manuscript as it comes to me, whether in the form of rough material or more finished chapters, is the work of one person alone;" while we are not given the means of attaching responsibility where it belongs, as regards both the character of the investigation and the literary form which is presented. As to the ultimate authorship of the text itself, we are only assured[9] that "at least one half of the manuscript has been written by my own hand."[10]

The second voyage of Alonso de Ojeda rests entirely on some documents which Navarrete printed in the third volume of his *Coleccion*, and upon which he founded his account of the voyage.[11] The first, in point of time, is a *cédula* of June 8, 1501, continuing a license of July, 1500, to explore and govern the Isla de Coquivacoa.[12] Two days later, on June 10, 1501, a formal commission as governor was given to Ojeda,[13] and the articles of association were executed by him and his partners, Vergara and Ocampo, on the 5th of July.[14] An *escribano*, Juan de Guevara by name, was appointed in the beginning of September of the same year. The fleet was a long time in fitting out, and it was not till the next spring that Ojeda issued his orders and instructions to the commanders of the other vessels and to the pilots.[15] These are of great importance, as giving the names of the places which he had visited on his first voyage. The attempt at colonization ended disastrously, and Ojeda found himself at Santo Domingo as the defendant in a suit brought against him by his associates. Navarrete used the evidence given in this suit in his account; but he printed only the *ejecutoria*, in which the King and Queen ordered that Ojeda should be set at liberty, and that his goods should be restored to him.[16] The position of the irrigated land[1] which he called Valfermoso is difficult to determine; but it certainly was not the Curiana of the present day, which is identical with the Curiana of Guerra and Niño.[2]

---

[1] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, ii. 416.

[2] *Documentos inéditos*, xxxi. 230.

[3] *Título* (1502, April 3), *Documentos inéditos*, xxxi. 129.

[4] *Documentos inéditos*, ii. 366.

[5] Ibid., xxxvii. 459.

[6] Oviedo, i. 76, and ii. 334; Las Casas, iii. 10. Something may also be found in Herrera, dec. i. lib. 4, chap. xiv., and in Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 25; Quintana, *Obras completas* in *Biblioteca de autores Españoles*, xix. 281; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 360, iv. 224; Helps, i. 281; and Irving, *Companions*, p. 43–45.

[7] Vol. i. pp. 114, 183–194.

[8] Cf. *Early American Chroniclers*, p. 44.

[9] *Chroniclers*, p. 44.

[10] [There is a further estimate in another part of the present work. — Ed.]

[11] *Coleccion*, pp. 28, 168, 591; see also Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 360, and iv. 226; and Irving, *Companions*, pp. 46–53.

[12] *Coleccion*, iii. 85.

[13] Ibid., iii. 89.

[14] Ibid., iii. 91.

[15] Ibid., iii. 103, 105–107.

[16] Ibid., ii. 420–436.

Martin Fernandez de Enciso — the *bachiller Enciso* — "first came to the Indies with Bastidas," says Bancroft,[3] and practised law to such good purpose that he accumulated two thousand castellanos, — equivalent to ten thousand in our day.[4] This he contributed toward the expenses of the Nueva Andalucia colony, of which he was made *alcalde mayor*. But he was unfortunate in that office, as we have seen, and was sent to Spain, whence he returned in 1513 with Pedrárias as *alguacil mayor*. In 1514 he led an expedition to Cenú, to which Irving erroneously gives an earlier date.[5] From 1514 to 1519 nothing is known of Enciso's movements; but in the latter year he published the *Suma de geografía que trata de todas las partidas y provincias del mundo, en especial de las Indias*, which contains much bearing on this period. What became of the author is not known.

The trading voyages to Tierra-Firme between Ojeda's two attempts at colonization have no geographical importance; and, indeed, their very existence depends on a few documents which were unearthed from the Archives of the Indies by the indefatigable labors of Muñoz, Navarrete, and the editors of the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Españolas de América y Oceanía*.[6] Of these trading voyages first comes the cruise of Juan de la Cosa, or Juan Vizcaino, as he was sometimes called, whose intention to embark upon it is inferred from a letter from the Queen to the royal officers,[7] and an *asiento* bearing date Feb. 14, 1504.[8] Nothing is known of the voyage itself, except that Navarrete, on the authority of a *cédula* which he did not print, gives the amount of money received by the Crown as its share of the profits.[9]

The voyage which Ojeda is supposed to have made in 1505 rests on a still weaker foundation, as there is nothing with regard to it except a *cédula*, bearing date Sept. 21, 1505,[10] concerning certain valuables which may have been procured on this voyage or on the first ill-fated attempt at colonization. That it was contemplated is ascertained from a *Cédula para que Alfonso Doxeda sea Gobernador de la Costa de Ququebacóa e Huraba*,[11] etc. The document, dated Sept. 21, 1504, is followed by two of the same date referring to Ojeda's financial troubles. Is it not possible that the above-mentioned document of Sept. 21, 1505, belongs with them? The agreement (*asiento*) of Sept. 30, 1504, confirmed in March of the next year, is in the same volume, while an order to the Governor of Española not to interfere with the luckless Ojeda was printed by Navarrete (iii. 111), who has said all that can be said concerning the expedition in his *Noticia biográfica*.[12]

The voyage of Juan de la Cosa with Martin de los Reyes and Juan Correa rests entirely on the assertion of Navarrete that they returned in 1508, because it was stated (where, he does not say) that the proceeds of the voyage were so many hundred thousand maravedis.[1] Concerning the discovery of Yucatan by Vicente Yañez Pinzon, there is no original material;[2] but here again evidence of preparation for a voyage can be found in an *asiento y capytulacion* of April 24, 1505, in the *Documentos inéditos* (xxxi. 309).

---

[1] *Tierra de riego*, Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 32.

[2] Navarrete, iii. 32, *note* 3. In this note he mentions Enciso's *Suma de geografía* as an authority.

[3] *Central America*, i. 339, *note*.

[4] Navarrete, *Biblioteca marítima española*, ii. 432; but see also Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 192, *note*.

[5] Irving, *Companions*, pp. 126–129. See *Memorial que dió el bachiller Enciso de lo ejecutado por el en defensa de los Reales derechos en la materia de los indios*, in *Documentos inéditos*, i. 441. This document contains, pp. 442–444, the celebrated *requerimiento* which Pedrárias was ordered to read to the natives before he seized their lands. A translation is in Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 397, *note*. It may also be found in Oviedo, iii. 28. Bancroft in the above note also indicates the depositary of the *requerimiento* drawn up for the use of Ojeda and Nicuesa. With regard to this Cenú expedition, see also Enciso, *Suma de geografía*, p. 56.

[6] Cited in this chapter as *Documentos inéditos*. [See further on this collection in the Introduction to the present volume. — Ed.]

[7] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 109; and see also *Biblioteca marítima española*, ii. 210, 211.

[8] *Documentos inéditos*, xxxi. 220.

[9] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 161.

[10] *Documentos inéditos*, xxxi. 360.

[11] Ibid., xxxi. 250.

[12] *Coleccion*, iii. 169.

After this time the history of Tierra-Firme is much better known; for it is with the colonies sent out under Ojeda and Nicuesa in 1509 that the *Historia general* of Oviedo becomes a standard authority. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés was born in Madrid in 1478, and in 1490 he entered the household of the Duke of Villahermoso. Later he served under Prince Juan and the King of Naples until 1507, when he entered the service of the King and Queen of Spain. In 1513 he was appointed *escribano*, and later (upon the death of Caicedo, who, it will be remembered, was one of the agents Vasco Nuñez had sent to Spain to announce the existence of an unknown sea) *veedor de las fundaciones d' oro* to the expedition which under Pedrárias was sent to Tierra-Firme in that year. Oviedo did not approve of the course pursued by that worthy, and returned to Spain in 1515 to inform the new King, Charles I. (Emperor Charles V.) of the true condition of affairs in the Indies. He brought about many important reforms, secured for himself the office of perpetual *regidor* of Antigua, — *escribano general* of the province, receiver of the fines of the *cámara*,[3] — and cargoes and goods forfeited for smuggling were also bestowed upon him. His *veeduría* was extended so as to include all Tierra-Firme; and when the news of the execution of Vasco Nuñez arrived at Court, he was ordered to take charge of his goods and those of his associates. Oviedo, provided with so many offices and with an order commanding all governors to furnish him with a true account of their doings, returned to Antigua soon after the new governor, Lope de Sosa, who had been appointed, upon his representations, to succeed Pedrárias. But unfortunately for him Lope de Sosa died in the harbor of Antigua (1520), and Oviedo was left face to face with Pedrárias. It was not long before they quarrelled as to the policy of removing the seat of government of the province from Antigua to Panamá, which Oviedo did not approve. Pedrárias craftily made him his lieutenant at Antigua, in which office Oviedo conducted himself so honestly that he incurred the hatred of all the evil-disposed colonists of that town, and was forced to resign. He also complained of Pedrárias before the new *alcalde mayor*, and was glad to go to Spain as the representative of Antigua. On his way he stopped at Cuba and Santo Domingo, where he saw Velasquez and Diego Columbus; with the latter he sailed for home. There he used his opportunities so well that he procured, in 1523, the appointment of Pedro de los Rios as Pedrárias' successor, and for himself the governorship of Cartagena; and after publishing his *Sumario* he returned to Castilla del Oro, where he remained until 1530, when he returned to Spain, resigned his *veeduría*, and some time after received the appointment of *Cronista general de Indias*. In 1532 he was again in Santo Domingo, and in 1533 he was appointed *alcaid* of the fortress there. But the remainder of his life was passed in literary pursuits, and he died in Valladolid in 1557 at the age of seventy-nine. From this account it can easily be seen that whatever he wrote with regard to the affairs of Tierra-Firme must be received with caution, as he was far from being an impartial observer.[4]

The first document with regard to the final and successful settlement of Tierra-Firme is the *cédula* of June 9, 1508, in which Diego de Nicuesa and Alonso de Ojeda were commissioned governors of Veragua and Urabá for four years.[5] Juan de la Cosa was confirmed in his office of *alguacil mayor de Urabá* on the seventeenth of the same month;[1] and the Governor of Española was directed to give him a house for his wife and children, together with a sufficient number of Indians.[2]

---

[1] *Coleccion*, iii. 162.

[2] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 46; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iv. 228; Herrera, dec. i. lib. 6, chap. xvii. But this discovery is denied by Harrisse.

[3] "Collector of penalties." Cf. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 473.

[4] [The bibliographical history of Oviedo's writings is given in the note following the chapter on Las Casas. Harrisse, who gives a chapter on Oviedo in his *Christophe Colomb*, p. 97, points out how rarely he refers to original documents. — Ed.]

[5] *Real cédula por la cual, con referencia á lo capitulado con Diego de Nicuesa y Alonso de Hojeda, y al nombramiento de ámbos por cuatro años para gobernadores de Veragua el primero y de Urabá et segundo, debiendo ser Teniente suyo Juan de la Cosa, se ratifica el nombramiento á Hojeda*

As we have seen, the two governors were prevented by Diego Columbus from taking the well-to-do class of colonists from Española upon which they had counted. This statement is made on the authority of Nicuesa's lieutenant, Rodrigo de Colmenares, who afterward deserted Nicuesa at Antigua, and went to Spain in 1512 in company with Caicedo to report the existence of a new sea. While there, either on this or a later visit, he presented a memorial to the King *sobre el desgraciado suceso de Diego de Nicuesa.*[3] The allegations of Colmenares are borne out by two *cédulas* of Feb. 28, 1510;[4] while a *cédula* of June 15, 1510, declared that the Gulf of Urabá belonged to the province which had been assigned to Ojeda.[5] Nicuesa was informed of this decision in a *cédula* of the same date.[6] There are four more *cédulas* of July 25, 1511, in two of which the Admiral Diego Columbus and the treasurer Pasamonte are ordered to assist the unhappy governors, while the other two were written to inform those governors that such orders had been sent.[7] The fate of neither of them, however, is certain. The judges of appeal in Española were ordered to inquire into the crimes, *délits*, and excesses of Ojeda, Talavera, and companions.[8] Talavera and his associates were hanged in Jamaica in 1511, and Ojeda's deposition was taken in 1513, and again in 1515 in Santo Domingo, in the celebrated lawsuit; but beyond this his further movements are not accurately known.[9] As for Nicuesa, he too underwent shipwreck and starvation; and when at last fortune seemed about to smile upon him, he was cruelly cast out by the mutinous settlers at Darien; and although a story was current that he had been wrecked on Cuba and had there left inscribed on a tree, "Here died the unfortunate Nicuesa," yet the best opinion is that he and his seventeen faithful followers perished at sea.[10]

The only complete biography of Vasco Nuñez de Balbóa is that of Don Manuel José Quintana,[11] who had access to the then unpublished portion of Oviedo, and to documents many of which are possibly not yet published. His *Vida*,[12] therefore, is very useful in filling gaps in the account of the expeditions from Antigua both before and after the coming of Pedrárias. There is no account by an eye-witness of the expeditions undertaken by Vasco Nuñez before 1514; and the only approach to such a document is the

---

(June 9, 1508), Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 116; in the original spelling, and bearing date May 9, 1508, in *Documentos inéditos*, xxxii. 25. The "*capitulado*" mentioned in the above title is in *Documentos inéditos*, xxxii. 29–43, and is followed by the *Real cédula para Xoan de la Cossa sea capitan e gobernador por Alhonso Doxeda; e en las partes donde esthobiere el dicho Doxeda su Lugar Thiniente* (June 9, 1508); and see also *Capitulacion que se toma con Diego de Nicuesa y Alonso de Ojeda* (June 9, 1508), *Documentos inéditos*, xxii. 13.

[1] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 118; *Documentos inéditos*, xxxii. 46; and see also Ibid., p. 52.

[2] *Cédula, Documentos inéditos*, xxxii. 51.

[3] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 386 and note; probably presented in 1516. Cf. *Biblioteca marítima española*, ii. 666.

[4] *Documentos inéditos*, xxxi. 529, 533.

[5] Ibid., xxxii. 101.

[6] Ibid., xxxii. 103.

[7] Ibid., xxxii. 231, 236, 240, 257.

[8] See document of October 5, 1511, in Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 120, and of Oct. 6, 1511, in *Documentos inéditos*, xxxii. 284.

[9] Other references are Oviedo, ii. 421; Las Casas, iii. 289–311; Peter Martyr, dec. ii. chap. i.; Herrera, dec. i. lib. 7, chaps. vii., xi., xiv.–xvi., and lib. 8, iii.–v.; Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 170; Quintana, *U. S.*, pp. 281, 301; Helps, i. 287–296; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 289–301; Irving, *Companions*, pp. 54–102.

[10] See, however, on the career of Nicuesa after leaving Cartagena the following authorities: Oviedo, ii. 465–477; Las Casas, iii. 329–347; Peter Martyr, dec. ii. chaps. ii.–iii.; Herrera, dec. i. lib. 7, chap. xvi., and lib. 8, chaps. i.–iii. and viii.; *Vidas de Españoles célebres* in vol. xix. of *Biblioteca de autores Españoles, obras completas del Excímo Sr. D. Manuel José Quintana*, p. 283; Helps, i. 303–317; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 289–308, and 336, *note;* Irving, *Companions*, pp. 103–117, 138–146.

[11] Cf. Navarrete, *Biblioteca marítima española*, ii. 409.

[12] Quintana, *U. S.*, pp. 281–300.

letter which Vasco Nuñez wrote to the King on Jan. 20, 1513.[1] The writer of this letter came to the Indies with Bastidas in 1500; and after the unhappy ending of that voyage settled in Española. But he was not suited to the placid life of a planter, and becoming involved in debt, was glad to escape from his creditors in Enciso's ship. It was by his advice that the San Sebastian colony was transferred to the other side of the Gulf of Urabá; and when there his shrewdness had discovered a way of getting rid of Enciso. The exact part he played in the murder of Nicuesa is not clear; but it is certain, as Bancroft points out, that his connection with that nefarious act was the lever by which his enemies finally accomplished his overthrow. It can be thus easily understood that the censures which he passes on Enciso and Nicuesa must be received with caution. Still, we should not forget that Vasco Nuñez succeeded where they failed. He was a man of little or no education, and portions of this letter are almost untranslatable. Nevertheless, Clements R. Markham has given an English rendering in the Introduction to his translation of Andagoya's *Relacion*.[2] Among the other accounts,[3] that of Herrera is very full, and, so far as it can be compared with accessible documents, sufficiently accurate.

There is no real discrepancy in the various narratives, except with regard to the date of the discovery of the Pacific, which Peter Martyr says took place on the 26th of September, while all the other authorities have the 25th; Oviedo going so far as to give the very hour when the new waters first dawned on Balbóa's sight.[4]

There is no lack of original material concerning the government of Pedrárias. First come his commission[5] (July 27, 1513) and instructions[6] (Aug. 2, 1513), which Navarrete has printed, together with the letter written by the King on receipt of the reports of Vasco Nuñez' grand discovery.[7] The date of this paper is not given; but there has recently been printed[8] a letter from the King to Vasco Nuñez of Aug. 19, 1514. In this note the monarch states that he has heard of the discovery of the new sea through Pasamonte, although he had not then seen Arbolancha. Pasamonte had probably written in Vasco Nuñez' favor; for the King adds that he has written to Pedrárias that he (Vasco Nuñez) should be well treated. It is possible that this is the letter above mentioned, a portion only of which is printed in Navarrete.

The date of the expedition to Dabaibe, in which so many men were lost, is not certain; but Vasco Nuñez saw the necessity of putting forward a defence, which he did in a letter to the King on the 16th of October, 1515.[9] In this letter, besides describing the really insuperable obstacles in the way of a successful expedition in that direction, — in which the lack of food, owing to the ravages of the locusts, bears a prominent part, — he attacks Pedrárias and his government very severely.

The doings of Arbolancha in Spain are not known. There is a letter of the King to Pedrárias, dated Sept. 27, 1514, appointing Vasco Nuñez *adelantado* of the coast region which he had discovered.[1] We have several letters of the King to Pedrárias, to the new *adelantado*, and to other officers, on November 23 and 27.[2]

---

[1] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 358–375.

[2] *Narrative . . . of Pascual de Andagoya*, translated by C. R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society, 1865, Introduction, pp. iii, xix.

[3] Oviedo, iii. 4–21; Las Casas, iii. 312–328, iv. 66–134; Peter Martyr, dec. ii. chaps. iii.–vi., dec. iii. chap. i.; Herrera, dec. i. lib. 9 and 10, with the exception of chap. vii. of book 10, which relates to Pedrárias, and of a few other chapters with regard to the affairs of Velasquez, etc.; Galvano, Hakluyt Society ed., p. 124; Helps, i. 321–352, and chap. iv. of his *Pizarro;* Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 129, 133, 330–385, 438; and *Mexico*, iii. 558; Irving, *Companions*, pp. 136–212 and 254–276; Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 347.

[4] Cf. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 364, *note*. Irving unluckily followed Peter Martyr, as Bancroft shows. [Humboldt is inclined to magnify the significance of the information which Columbus in his third voyage got, as looking to a knowledge, by the Spaniards, of the south sea as early as 1503. Cf. his *Relation historique du voyage aux régions équinoxiales*, iii. 703, 705, 713; *Cosmos*, Eng. tr. (Bohn), ii. 642; *Views of Nature* (Bohn), p. 432. — Ed.]

[5] *Coleccion*, iii. 337–342.

[6] Ibid., iii. 342–355.

[7] Ibid., iii. 355.

[8] *Documentos inéditos*, xxxvii. 282.

[9] Ibid., ii. 526; Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 375. Cf. Navarrete's *nota* on the credibility of Vasco Nuñez in Ibid., p. 385. Portions of this letter have been translated by Markham in the notes to pages 1 and 10 of Andagoya's *Narrative*, published by the Hakluyt Society.

The next document of importance is the narrative of Espinosa's expedition, written by himself. It is printed in the *Documentos inéditos* (vol. ii. pp. 467–522), with some corrections by the editors; but it may be found in the original spelling, and without such corrections, in another volume of that series,[3] where the date of 1514 is most erroneously assigned to it.

The *licenciate* Gaspar de Espinosa came to Tierra-Firme with Pedrárias as *alcalde mayor*. Soon after his arrival at Antigua he held the *residencia* of Vasco Nuñez, and then is not heard of again until he is found in command of this expedition. He founded Panamá (for the first time) and returned to Antigua, whence he followed Pedrárias to Acla to try Vasco Nuñez for treason. He unwillingly convicted him, but recommended mercy. After the great explorer's death he cruised in his vessels to the coast of Nicaragua; and later he played an important part in the conquest of Peru, and died at Cuzco while endeavoring to accommodate the differences between Pizarro and Almagro. The only other document of his which I have found is a *Relacion e proceso* concerning the voyage of 1519.[4]

There are a few other documents bearing on the history of Tierra-Firme;[5] but the best and most complete contemporary account of this period[6] was written by Pascual de Andagoya, who came to Antigua with Pedrárias. Andagoya was with Vasco Nuñez on his last voyage, accompanied Espinosa on both his expeditions, and led a force into Birú in 1522. After his return from that expedition he lived in Panamá until 1529, when Pedro de los Rios banished him from the isthmus. After a few years spent in Santo Domingo he returned to Panamá as lieutenant to the new governor, Barrionuevo, and acted as agent to Pizarro and the other conquerors of Peru until 1536, when his *residencia* was held with much rigor by the *licenciate* Pedro Vasquez, and he was sent to Spain. In 1539 he returned as *adelantado* and governor of Castilla Nueva, as the province bordering on the *Mar del Sur* from the Gulf of San Miguel to the San Juan River was then called. But the remainder of his life was one succession of disappointments, and he died some time after 1545.[7]

From this brief biography it will be seen that Andagoya's earlier career was successful, and that he was on friendly terms with Pedrárias, Espinosa, and Vasco Nuñez. He was therefore, so far as we are concerned, an impartial witness of the events which he describes; and his testimony is therefore more to be relied on than that of Oviedo, who was absent from Tierra-Firme a great part of the time, and who was besides inimical to Pedrárias. Otherwise Oviedo's account is the better; for the sequence of events is difficult, if not impossible, to unravel from Andagoya.

---

[1] Cf. Sabin, *Dictionary*, vol. xiii. no. 56,338; also vol. x. no. 41,604.

[2] Letter from the King to Pedrárias, Sept. 23, 1514 (*Documentos inéditos*, xxxvii. 285); to Alonso de la Fuente, nuestro Thesoréro de Castilla del Oro, same date (*Doc. in.*, p. 287); to other officials (*Doc. in.*, p. 289); to Vasco Nuñez (*Doc. in.*, p. 290). See also some extracts printed in the same volume, pp. 193–197.

[3] *Documentos inéditos*, xxxvii. 5–75.

[4] Ibid., xx. 5–119.

[5] *Carta de Alonso de la Puente* [*thesoréro* of Tierra-Firme] *y Diego Marquez*, 1516 (*Documentos inéditos*, ii. 538); *Carta al Mr. de Zevres el lycenciado Çuaço*, 1518 (*Documentos inéditos*, i. 304). *Alonso de Çuaço*, or *Zuazo*, was *juez de Residencia en Santo Domingo*. Cf. *Documentos inéditos*, i. 292, *note*.

[6] *Relacion de los sucesos de Pedrárias Dávila en las provincias de Tierra firme ó Castilla del oro, y de lo occurido en el descubrimiento de la mar del Sur y costas del Perú y Nicaragua, escrita por el Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya*, in Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 393–456. The portion bearing on the events described in this chapter ends at page 419. This has been translated and edited with notes, a map, and introduction by Clements R. Markham, in a volume published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1865. [Cf. chapter on Peru, and the paper on Andagoya by Navarrete in his *Opúsculos*, i. 137. — ED.]

[7] Cf. Navarrete, *Noticia biográfica del Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya, Coleccion*, iii. 457; also *Biblioteca marítima española*, ii. 519; and Markham's translation of Andagoya's *Relacion*, pp. xx.–xxx.

The second chronicler of the Indies, Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, who published the first two volumes of his *Historia general* in 1601,[1] drew upon himself the wrath of a descendant of Pedrárias, Don Francisco Arias Dávila, Conde de Puñonrostro, who petitioned for redress. *Memorials*, *relaciones*, and *refutaciones* were given on both sides until September, 1603, when the matter was referred to "Xil Ramirez de Arellano, del Consexo de Su Maxestad e Su Fiscal." This umpire decided in effect[2] that Herrera had gone too far, and that the acrimony of some of the passages objected to should be mitigated. The papers which passed in this discussion, after remaining for a long time buried in the Archives of the Indies, have been printed in the thirty-seventh volume of *Documentos inéditos*,[3] and are without doubt one of the most valuable sets among the papers in that collection. Among them are many letters from the King to the royal officials which throw much light on the history of that time. There is nothing in them, however, to remove the unfavorable opinion of Pedrárias which the execution of Vasco Nuñez aroused; for although there can be little doubt that Vasco Nuñez meditated technical treason, yet conviction for treason by the *alcalde mayor* would not have justified execution without appeal, especially when the fair-minded judge, Gaspar Espinosa, recommended mercy. This is perfectly clear; but the mind of Pedrárias, who presented the facts from his point of view, in the *Testimónio de mandamiénto de Pedrárias Dávila mandando proscesar a Vasco Nuñez de Balbóa*,[4] had been poisoned by the jealous Garabito.

The convicted traitors were executed without delay or appeal of any kind being given them. The general opinion is that this execution took place in 1517, and that date has been adopted in this chapter; but in the second volume of *Documentos inéditos* (p. 556), there is a *Peticion presentada por Hernando de Arguello, á nombre de Vasco Nuñez de Balbóa, sobre que se le prorrogue el término que se le habia dado para la construccion de unos navíos*, etc., which was granted, for eight months, on the 13th day of January, 1518 (*en treze de Enero de quiniéntos é diez é ocho años*). This document is signed by Pedrárias Dávila, Alonso de la Puente, and Diego Marquez; and it is properly attested by Martin Salte, *escribáno*. Argüello was the principal financial supporter of Vasco Nuñez in the South Sea enterprise, and was executed in the evening of the same day on which his chief suffered.[5]

The first fifty-seven pages of the fourteenth volume of the *Documentos inéditos* are taken up with the affairs of Gil Gonzalez Dávila. The first is an *asiénto* with the pilot Niño, by which he was given permission to discover and explore for one thousand leagues to the westward from Panamá. Gil Gonzalez was to go in command of the fleet,[6] composed of the vessels built by Vasco Nuñez, which Pedrárias was ordered to deliver to the new adventurers, but which he refused to do until Gil Gonzalez made the demand in person.[7]

A full statement of the equipments and cost of fitting out the fleet in Spain is given in *Documentos inéditos* (vol. xiv. pp. 8–20), and is exceedingly interesting as showing what the Spaniards thought essential to the outfit of an exploring expedition. What was actually accomplished in the way of sailing, marching, and baptizing is fully set forth in *Relacion de las leguas que el capitan Gil Gonzalez Dávila anduvo á pié por tierra por la costa de la mar del Sur, y de los caciques y indios que descubrió y se babtizaron, y del oro que dieron para Sus Magestades* (1522).[1]

---

[1] [See the bibliography of Herrera on p. 67, *ante*. — Ed.]

[2] *Documentos inéditos*, xxxvii. 311.

[3] See also Oviedo, iii. 21–51, 83 *et seq.;* Las Casas, iv. 135–244; Peter Martyr, dec. ii. chap. vii. dec. iii. chaps. i.–iii., v., vi., and x., and dec. v. chap. ix.; Herrera, dec. ii. lib. 1, 2, 3, dec. iii. lib. 4, 5, 8, 9, and 10 *passim ;* Quintana, *U. S.*, p. 294 Helps, i. 353–388; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 386–431; Irving, *Companions*, pp. 212–276.

[4] *Documentos inéditos*, xxxvii. 215–231.

[5] Oviedo, iii. 56; Las Casas, iv. 230–244; Peter Martyr, dec. iv. chap. ix.; Herrera, dec. ii. lib. 2, chaps. xiii., xv., and xxi.; Quintana, *U. S.*, pp. 298–299; Helps, i. 389–411; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 432–459; Irving, *Companions*, pp. 259–276. Cf. Manuel M. De Peralta, *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el siglo XVI.* (Madrid, 1883), pp. ix, 707, for documents relating to Pedrárias in Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and p. 83 for Diego Machuca de Zuazo's letter to the Emperor, written from Granada, May 30, 1531, referring to the death of Pedrárias.

[6] *Documentos inéditos*, xiv. 5, partly translated in Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 480, *note*.

[7] Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 481, *note*.

The latter part of the career of Gil Gonzalez is described in the *Informacion sobre la llegada de Gil Gonzalez Dávila y Cristóbal de Olid á las Higueras* (Oct. 8, 1524)[2] and in the succeeding documents, especially a *Traslado testimoniado de una cédula del Emperador Carlos V. . . . entre los capitanes Gil Gonzalez Dávila y Cristóbal Dolid* (Nov. 20, 1525).[3] The *Relacion* of Andagoya[4] contains a narrative of the expedition from a different point of view. Besides these papers, Bancroft found a document in the Squier Collection,[5] which he cites as *Carta de Gil Gonzalez Dávila el Rey* (March, 1524). This letter contains a great deal of detailed information, of which Bancroft has made good use in his account of that adventurer.[6]

There is no documentary evidence with regard to the settlement of Jamaica by Juan de Esquivel, or of the circumnavigation of Cuba by Sebastian de Ocampo; and there are but slight allusions to them in the "chroniclers."[7] There is not much to be found concerning the settlement of Cuba, except the accounts given by the early chroniclers. I should place Oviedo (vol. i. p. 494) first, although he got his knowledge second hand from the account given by Las Casas; while the story of this actual observer is necessarily tinged by the peculiar views — peculiar for the nation and epoch — which he held in later life with regard to the enslavement of the natives.[8]

With the voyage of Córdoba to Yucatan, Navarrete[9] again becomes useful, although he printed no new evidence. The voyage, therefore, rests upon the accounts given in the standard books,[10] upon the *Historia verdadera* of Bernal Diaz, the *Vida de Cortés* in Icazbalceta (i. 338), and a few documents recently dragged from the recesses of the Indian Archives.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo came to Tierra-Firme with Pedrárias; but, discouraged with the outlook there, he and about one hundred companions found their way to Cuba, attracted thither by the inducements held out by Velasquez. But there again he was doomed to disappointment, and served under Córdoba, Grijalva, and Cortés. After the conquest of Mexico he settled in Guatemala. Whatever may be the exaggerations in the latter part of his *Historia verdadera*,[11] there is no reason why Bernal Diaz should not have wished to tell the truth as to the voyages of Córdoba and Grijalva, with one or two exceptions, to be hereafter noted.

---

[1] *Documentos inéditos*, xiv. 20.

[2] Ibid., xiv. 25.

[3] Ibid., xiv. 47.

[4] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 413–418; Markham's translation, pp. 31–38; see also Oviedo, iii. 65 *et seq.;* Las Casas, v. 200 *et seq.;* Peter Martyr, dec. vi. chaps. ii.–viii.; Herrera, dec. ii. lib. 3, chap. xv. and lib. 4 etc., dec. iii. lib. 4, chaps. v. and vi.; Helps, iii. 69–76.

[5] Cf. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 483, *note.* [See the Introduction to the present volume. — Ed.]

[6] *Central America*, i. 478–492, 512–521, and 527–538. This letter, which is dated at Santo Domingo (March 6, 1524), has since been printed in Peralta's *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el Siglo XVI.* (Madrid, 1883), p. 3, where is also (p. 27) his *Itinerario*, beginning "21 de Enero de 1522."

[7] For Esquivel and Jamaica, see Herrera, dec. i. lib. 8, chap. v.; Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 171. For Ocampo's voyage, Oviedo, i. 495; Las Casas, iii. 210; Herrera, dec. i. lib. 7, chap. i.; Stevens's *Notes*, p. 35; Helps, i. 415, and ii. 165.

[8] See also Herrera, dec. i. lib. 9, chaps. iv., vii., and xv.; also lib. 10, chap. viii.; Helps, i. 415–432, and *Vida de Cortés* in Icazbalceta, *Coleccion . . . para la historia de México*, i. 319–337. [There is a little contemporary account of the conquest of Cuba in the Lenox Library, *Provinciæ . . . noviter reperta in ultima navigatione*, which seems to be a Latin version of a Spanish original now lost (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.* no. 101). On the death of Velasquez, see *Magazine of American History*, i. 622, 692. — Ed.]

[9] *Coleccion*, iii. 53.

[10] Oviedo, i. 497; Las Casas, iv. 348–363; Peter Martyr, dec. iv. chap. i.; Herrera, dec. ii. lib. 2, chap. xvii.; Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 53; Cogolludo, *Historia de Yucatan*, 3; Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 222; Helps, ii. 211–217; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 132, and *Mexico*, i. 5–11.

[11] [Cf. the chapter on Cortés. — Ed.]

Prescott, in his *Conquest of Mexico* (vol. i. p. 222), says that Córdoba sailed for one of the neighboring Bahamas, but that storms drove him far out of his course, etc. Bancroft[1] has effectually disposed of this error. But is it not a curious fact that Bernal Diaz and Oviedo should give the length of the voyage from Cape St. Anton to the sighting of the islands off Yucatan as from six to twenty-one days? Oviedo was probably nearer the mark, as it is very likely that the old soldier had forgotten the exact circumstances of the voyage; for it must be borne in mind that he did not write his book until long after the events which it chronicles. As to the object of the expedition, it was undoubtedly undertaken for the purpose of procuring slaves, and very possibly Velasquez contributed a small vessel to the two fitted out by the other adventurers;[2] but the claim set forth by the descendants of Velasquez, that he sent four fleets *at his own cost — La una con un F. H. de Córdoba*[3] — is preposterous.

The voyage of Juan de Grijalva was much better chronicled; for with regard to it there are in existence three accounts written by eye-witnesses. The first is that of Bernal Diaz,[4] which is minute, and generally accurate; but it is not unlikely that in his envy at the praise accorded to Cortés, he may have exaggerated the virtues of Grijalva. The latter also wrote an account of the expedition, which is embodied in Oviedo,[5] together with corrections suggested by Velasquez, whom Oviedo saw in 1523.

But before these I should place the *Itinerario* of Juan Diaz, a priest who accompanied the expedition.[6] The original is lost; but an Italian version is known, which was printed with the *Itinerario de Varthema* at Venice, in 1520.[7] This edition was apparently unknown to Navarrete, who gives 1522 as the date of its appearance in Italian, in which he is followed by Ternaux-Compans and Prescott.

Notwithstanding this mass of original material, it is not easy to construct a connected narrative of this voyage, for Oviedo sometimes contradicts himself; Bernal Diaz had undoubtedly forgotten the exact dates, which he nevertheless attempts to give in too many cases; Juan Diaz, owing partly to the numerous translations and changes incidental thereto, is sometimes unintelligible; and Las Casas,[8] who had good facilities for getting at the exact truth, is often very vague and difficult to follow.

---

[1] *History of Mexico*, i. 7, *note* 4.

[2] Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 5, 6, *notes*.

[3] *Memorial del negocio de D. Antonio Velasquez de Bazan*, etc., *Documentos Inéditos*, x. 80–86; this extract is on p. 82.

[4] *Historia verdadera*, chaps. viii.–xiv.

[5] *Historia general*, i. 502–537.

[6] As to the identity of Juan Diaz, see note to Bernal Diaz, *Historia verdadera*, ed. of 1632, folio 6; Oviedo, i. 502; Herrera, dec. ii. lib. 31, chap. i. As to his future career, see Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 158 and *note* 5. The full title of this account of Juan Diaz is: *Itinerario del armata del Re catholico in India verso la isola de Iuchathan del anno M.D.XVIII. alla qual fu presidente & capitan generale Ioan de Grisalva: el qual e facto per el capellano maggior de dicta armata a sua altezza.*

[7] [A copy of this, which belonged to Ferdinand Columbus, is in the Cathedral Library at Seville. The book is so scarce that Muñoz used a manuscript copy; and from Muñoz' manuscript the one used by Prescott was copied. Maisonneuve (1882 *Catalogue*, no. 2,980) has recently priced a copy at 600 francs. There is a copy in the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 65), and was sold the present year in the Court sale (no. 362). It was reprinted in 1522, 1526 (Murphy, no, 2,580), and 1535, — the last priced by Maisonneuve (no. 2,981) at 400 francs. Cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 98, 114, 137, 205, and *Additions*, no. 59. The *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (i. 119) puts a Venice edition, without date, under 1536. Ternaux gives a French translation in his *Relations et mémoires*, vol. x. Icazbalceta has given a Spanish version from the Italian, together with the Italian text, in his *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de México*, i. 281; also see his introduction, p. xv. He points out the errors of Ternaux's version. Cf. Bandelier's "Bibliography of Yucatan" in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.* (October, 1880), p. 82. Harrisse in his *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 60, cites a *Lettera mãdata della insula de Cuba*, 1520, which he says differs from the account of Juan Diaz. — ED.]

[8] Las Casas, iv. 421–449. Other references to this voyage are, — Peter Martyr, dec. iv. chaps. iii. and iv.; Herrera, dec. ii. lib. 3, chaps. i., ii., ix., x., and xi.; Navarrete, *Coleccion*,

JUAN DE GRIJALVA.[1]

In addition to this material, the *Décadas abreviadas de los descubrimientos, conquistas, fundaciones y otras cosas notables, acaecidas en las Indias occidentales desde* 1492 *á* 1640, has been of considerable service. This paper was found in manuscript form, without date or signature, in the Biblioteca Nacional by the editors of the *Documentos inéditos*, and printed by them in their eighth volume (pp. 5–52). It is not accurate throughout; but it gives the dates and order of events in many cases so clearly, that it is a document of some importance.

Edward Channing

---

iii. 55; Cogolludo, *Historia de Yucathan*, p. 8; Brasseur de Bourbourg, iv. 50; Helps, ii. 217; Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 132; and *Mexico*, pp. 15–35.

[1] Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera, i. 312. Cf. also the Mexican edition of Prescott, and Carbajal Espinosa's *Historia de México*, i. 64.

THE EARLY CARTOGRAPHY

OF THE

GULF OF MEXICO AND ADJACENT PARTS.

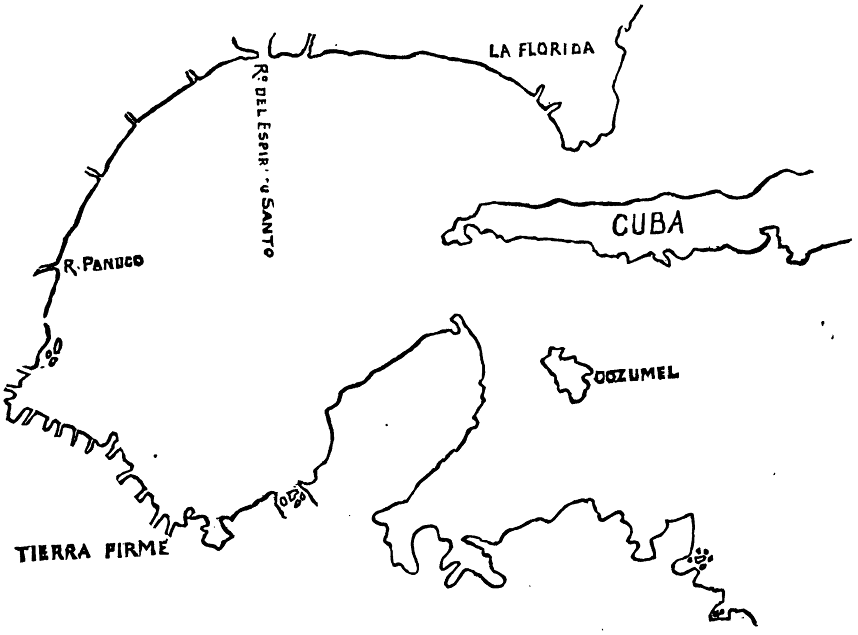
BY THE EDITOR.

IN a previous section on the early maps of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries the Editor has traced the development of the geography of the Gulf of Mexico with the group of the Antilles and the neighboring coasts, beginning with the delineation of La Cosa in 1500. He has indicated in the same section the influence of the explorations of Columbus and his companions in shaping the geographical ideas of the early years of the sixteenth century. Balbóa's discovery in 1513 was followed by the failure to find any passage to the west in the latitude of the Antilles; but the disappointment was not sufficient to remove the idea of such a passage from the minds of certain geographers for some years to come. The less visionary among them hesitated to embrace the notion, however, and we observe a willingness to be confined by something like definite knowledge in the maker of a map of the Pacific which is preserved in the Military Library at Weimar. This map shows Cordova's discoveries about Yucatan (1517), but has no indication of the islands which Magellan discovered (1520) in the Pacific; accordingly, Kohl places it in 1518. Balbóa's discovery is noted in the sea which was seen by the Castilians.[1]

THE PACIFIC, 1518.

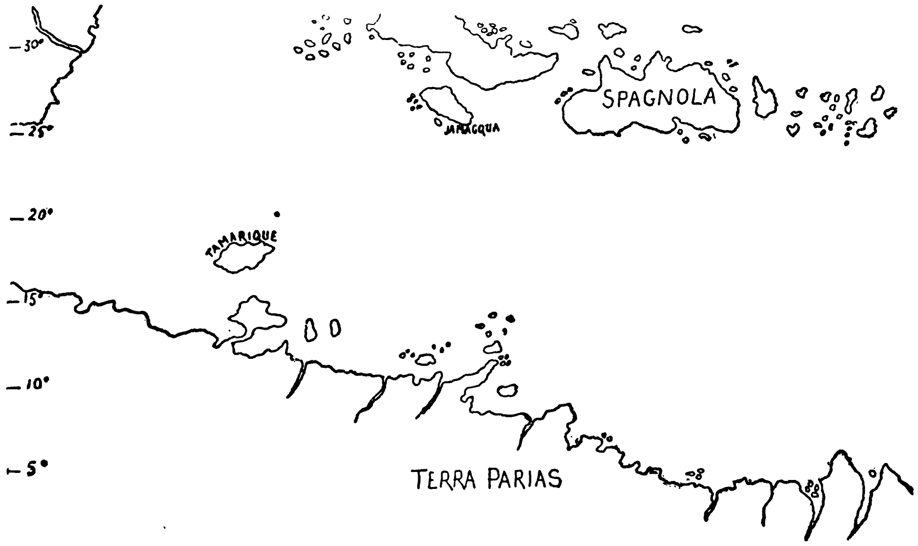
---

[1] This map has seemingly some relation to a map, preserved in the Propaganda at Rome, of which mention is made by Thomassy, *Les papes géographes*, p. 133.



GULF OF MEXICO, 1520.[1]

A sketch of a map found by Navarrete in the Spanish archives, and given by him in his *Coleccion*, vol. iii., as "Las Costas de Tierra-Firme y las tierras nuevas," probably embodies the results of Pineda's expedition to the northern shores of the

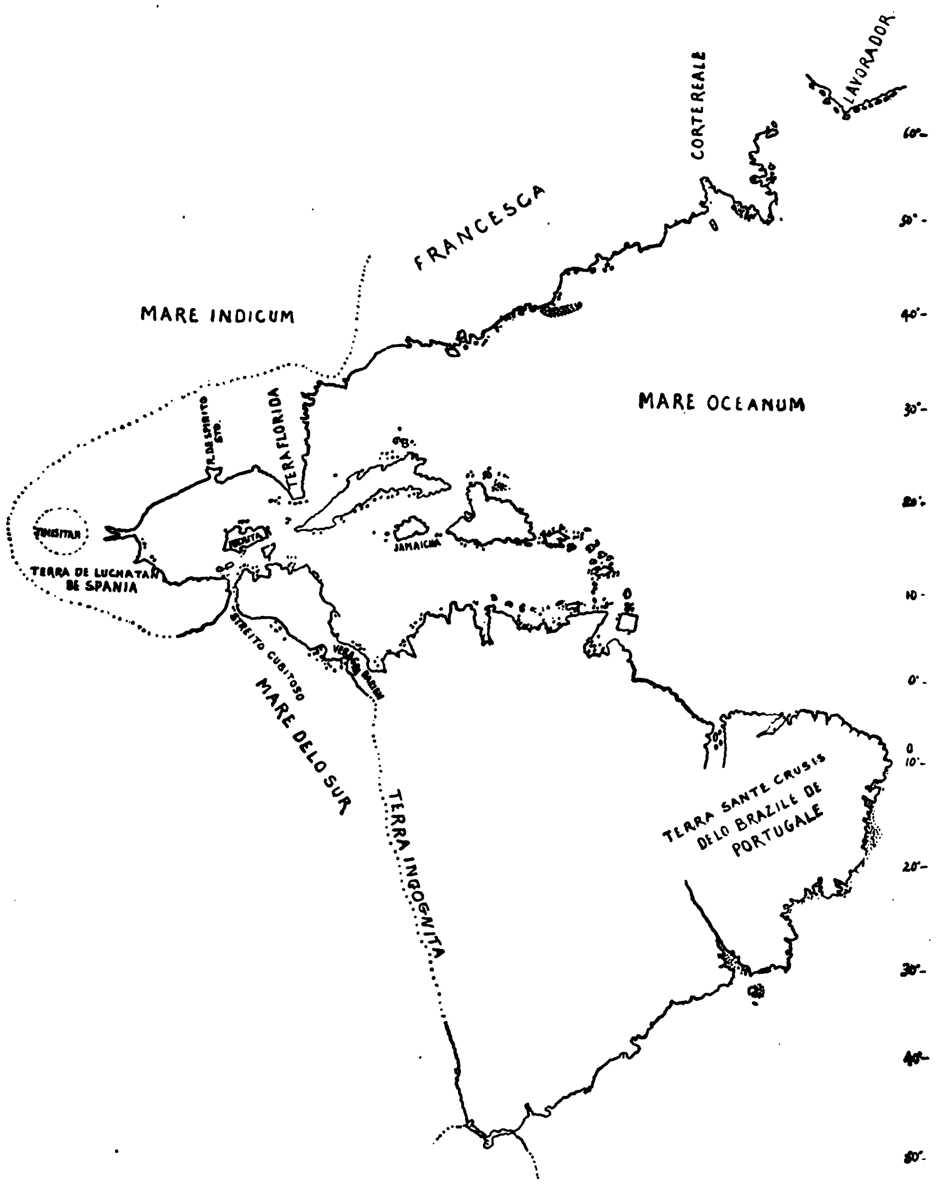


LORENZ FRIESS, 1522.

---

[1] This map is also given in Weise's *Discoveries of America*, p. 278

Gulf in 1519. This was the map sent to Spain by Garay, the governor of Jamaica. What seems to be the mouth of the Mississippi will be noted as the "Rio del Espiritu Santo." The surprisingly accurate draft of the shores of the Gulf which



MAIOLLO, 1527.[1]

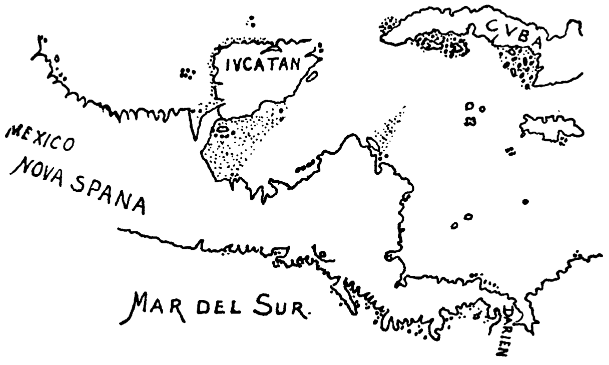
---

[1] Sketch of the map in the Ambrosian Library, of which the part north of Florida is given on a larger scale, after Desimoni's sketch, with coast names, in the present *History*, Vol. IV. pp. 28, 39. The present sketch follows a facsimile given in Weise's *Discoveries of America*.

Cortés sent to Europe was published in 1524, and is given to the reader on another page.[1]

There is a sketch of the northern shore of South America and the "Insule Canibalorum sive Antiglie" which was made by Lorenz Friess (Laurentius Frisius) in 1522. The outline, which is given herewith, represents one of the sheets of twelve woodcut maps which were not published till 1530 — under the title *Carta marina navigatoria Portugalensium.* Friess does not mention whence he got his material, which seems to be of an earlier date than the time of using it; and Kohl suspects it came from Waldseemüller. South America is marked "Das nüw Erfunde land."

In the Maiollo map of 1527 we find two distinct features, — the strait, connecting with the Pacific, which Cortés had been so anxious to find; and the insular Yucatan pushed farther than usual into the Gulf. The notion that Yucatan was an island is said to have arisen from a misconception of the meaning of the designation which the Indians applied to the country.[2] The Portuguese Portulano of 1514–1518[3] had made Yucatan a peninsula; but four years later Grijalva had been instructed to sail round it, and Cortés in his map of 1520 had left an intervening channel.[4] We see the uncertainty which prevailed among cartographers regarding this question in the peninsular character which Yucatan has in the map of 1520,[5] as resulting from Pineda's search; in the seeming hesitancy of the Toreno map,[6] and in the unmistakable insularity of the Friess,[7] Verrazano,[8] and Ribero[9] charts. The decision of the latter royal hydrographer governed a school of map-makers for some years, and a similar strait of greater or less width separates it from the main in the Finæus map of 1531,[10] the Lenox woodcut of 1534,[11] the Ulpius globe of 1542,[12] not to name others; though the peninsular notion still prevailed with some of the cartographers.[13]



THE WEIMAR MAP OF 1527.

A map which shows the extent of the explorations on the Pacific from Balbóa's time till Gonzales and others reached the country about the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, is that of

---

[1] See notes following chap. vi.

[2] Yucatan seems to have been first named, or its name at least was first recorded, as Yuncatan by Bartholomew Columbus (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 471). There are various theories regarding the origin of the name. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 11, 12; Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 223. A new Government map of Yucatan was published in 1878 (*Magazine of American History*, vol. iii. p. 295).

[3] As given by Kunstmann. See Vol. IV. p. 36 of the present work.

[4] See notes following chap. vi.

[5] See *ante*, p. 218.

[6] See *ante*, p. 43.

[7] See *ante*, p. 127.

[8] See Vol. IV. p. 26.

[9] See *post*, p. 221.

[10] See Vol. III. p. 11.

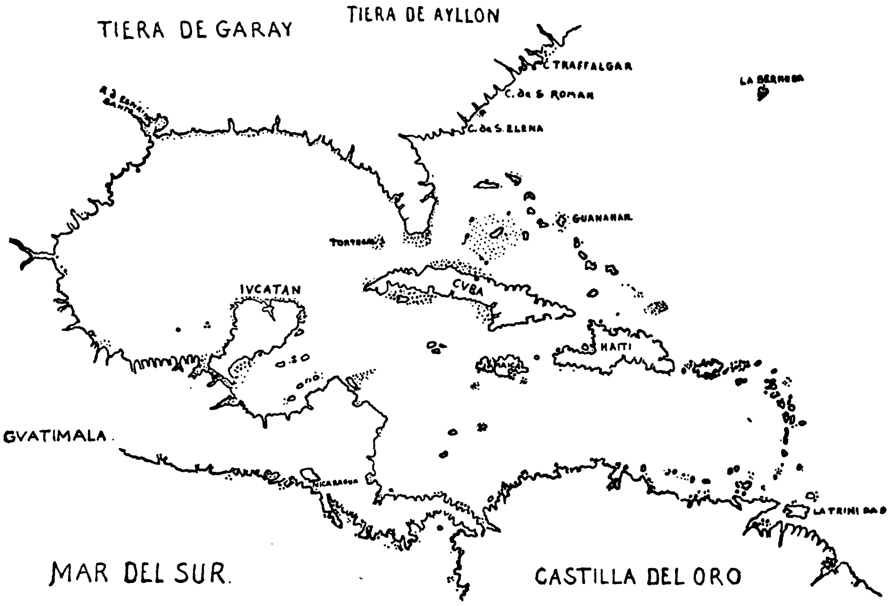
[11] See *post*, p. 223.

[12] See Vol. IV. p. 42.

[13] Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 21; Valentini in *Magazine of American History*, iii. 295, who supposes that the land usually thought to be an incomplete Cuba in Ruysch's map of 1508 (p. 115, *ante*) is really Yucatan, based on the results of the so-called first voyage of Vespucius, and that its seven Latin names correspond to a part of the nineteen Portuguese names which are given on the western shore of the so-called Admiral's map of the Ptolemy of 1513 (p. 112, *ante*). Peschel (*Geschichte der Erdkunde*, 1865, p. 235) also suggests that this map is the work of Vespucius.

1527, which was formerly ascribed to Ferdinand Columbus, but has been shown (?) by Harrisse to be more likely the work of Nuño Garcia de Toreno. The map, which is of the world, and of which but a small section is given herewith, is called *Carta universal en que se contiene todo lo que del mundo se a descubierto hasta aora; hizola un cosmographo de su magestad anno M. D. XXVII en Sevilla.* Its outline of the two Americas is shown in a sketch given on an earlier page.[1] The original is preserved in the Grand-Ducal Library at Weimar.

A map of similar character, dated two years later, is one which is the work of Diego Ribero, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, who had been the royal cosmographer since 1523, — an office which he was to hold till his death, ten years later, in 1533. There are two early copies of this map, of which a small section is herewith given; both are on parchment, and are preserved respectively at Weimar and Rome, though Thomassy[2] says there is a third copy. The Roman copy is in the Archivio del Collegio di Propaganda, and is said to have belonged to Cardinal Borgia. The North American sections of the map have been several times reproduced in connection with discussions of the voyages of Gomez and Verrazano.[3] The entire American continent was first engraved by M. C. Sprengel in 1795, after a copy then in Büttner's library at Jena, when it was appended to a German translation of Muñoz, with a memoir upon it which was also printed separately as *Ueber Ribero's älteste Welt-karte.* The map is entitled *Carta universal en que*



RIBERO, 1529.

---

[1] Page 43. The best reproduction of it is in Kohl's *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika;* and there is another fac-simile in Santarem's *Atlas,* no. xiv. Cf. Humboldt, *Examen critique,* ii. 184, and his preface to Ghillany's *Behaim;* Harrisse, *Cabots,* pp. 69, 172; Murr, *Memorabilia bibliothecarum* (Nuremberg, 1786), ii. 97; Lindenau, *Correspondance de Zach* (October, 1810); Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen-âge,* ii. 110; 110; *Ocean Highways* (1872).

[2] *Les papes géographes,* p. 118.

[3] See Vol. IV. p. 38.

se contiene todo lo que del mundo se ha descubierto fasta agora: Hizola Diego Ribero cosmographo de su magestad: año de 1529. *La Qual se divide en dos partes conforme á la capitulaçion que hizieron los catholicos Reyes de España, y el Rey don Juan de portugal en la Villa* [*citta*] *de Tordesillas: Año de* 1494, — thus recording the Spanish understanding, as the map of 1527 did, of the line of demarcation. The Propaganda copy has "en Sevilla" after the date. The most serviceable of the modern reproductions of the American parts is that given by Kohl in his *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, though other drafts of parts are open to the student in Santarem's *Atlas* (pl. xxv.), Lelewel's *Moyen-âge* (pl. xli.), Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, and Bancroft's *Central America* (i. 146).[1]

These two maps of 1527 and 1529 established a type of the American coasts which prevailed for some time. One such map is that of which a fac-simile is given in the *Cartas de Indias*, called "Carta de las Antillas, seno Mejicano y costas de tierra-firme, y de la America setentrional," which seems, however, to have been made later than 1541.[2] Another is preserved in the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel, of which Harrisse makes mention in his *Cabots*, p. 185. A significant map of this type, commonly cited as the *Atlas de Philippe II., dédié à Charles Quint*, is more correctly defined in the title given to a photographic reproduction,[3] *Portulano de Charles Quint donné à Philippe II., accompagné d'une notice par MM. F. Spitzer et Ch. Wiener*, Paris, 1875. The map is not dated; but the development of the coasts of Florida, California, Peru, and of Magellan's Straits, with the absence of the coast-line of Chili, which had been tracked in 1536, has led to the belief that it represents investigations of a period not long before 1540. The original draft first attracted attention when exhibited in 1875 at the Geographical Congress in Paris, and shortly after it was the subject of several printed papers.[4] Major is inclined to think it the work of Baptista Agnese, and Wieser is of the same opinion; while for the American parts it is contended that the Italian geographer — for the language of the map is Italian — followed the maps of 1527 and 1529.

What would seem to be the earliest engraved map of this type exists, so far as is known, in but a single copy, now in the Lenox Library. It is a woodcut, measuring 21 × 17 inches, and is entitled *La carta uniuersale della terra firma & Isole delle Indie occidētali, cio è del mondo nuouo fatta per dichiaratione delli libri delle Indie, cauata da due carte da nauicare fatte in Sibilia da li piloti della Maiesta Cesarea*, — the maps referred to being those of 1527 and 1529, as is supposed. Harrisse, however, claims that this Venice cut preceded the map of 1527, and was probably the work of the same chart-maker. Stevens holds that it followed both of these maps, and should be dated 1534; while Harrisse would place it before Peter Martyr's death in September, 1526. According to Brevoort and Harrisse,[5] the map was issued to accompany the conglomerate work of Martyr and Oviedo, *Summario de la generale historia de l'Indie occidentali*, which was printed in three parts at Venice in 1534.[6] Murphy, in his *Verrazzano* (p. 125), quotes the colophon of the Oviedo part of the book as evidence of the origin of the map, which translated stands thus: "Printed at Venice in the month of December, 1534. For the explanation of these books there has been made a universal map of the countries of

---

[1] Cf. Humboldt, *Examen critique*, iii. 184; *Gazetta letteraria universale* (May, 1796), p. 468; Santarem in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (1847), vii. 310, and in his *Recherches sur la découverte des pays au-delà du Cap-Bojador*, pp. xxiii and 125; Murr, *Histoire diplomatique de Behaim*, p. 26; Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen-âge*, ii. 166.

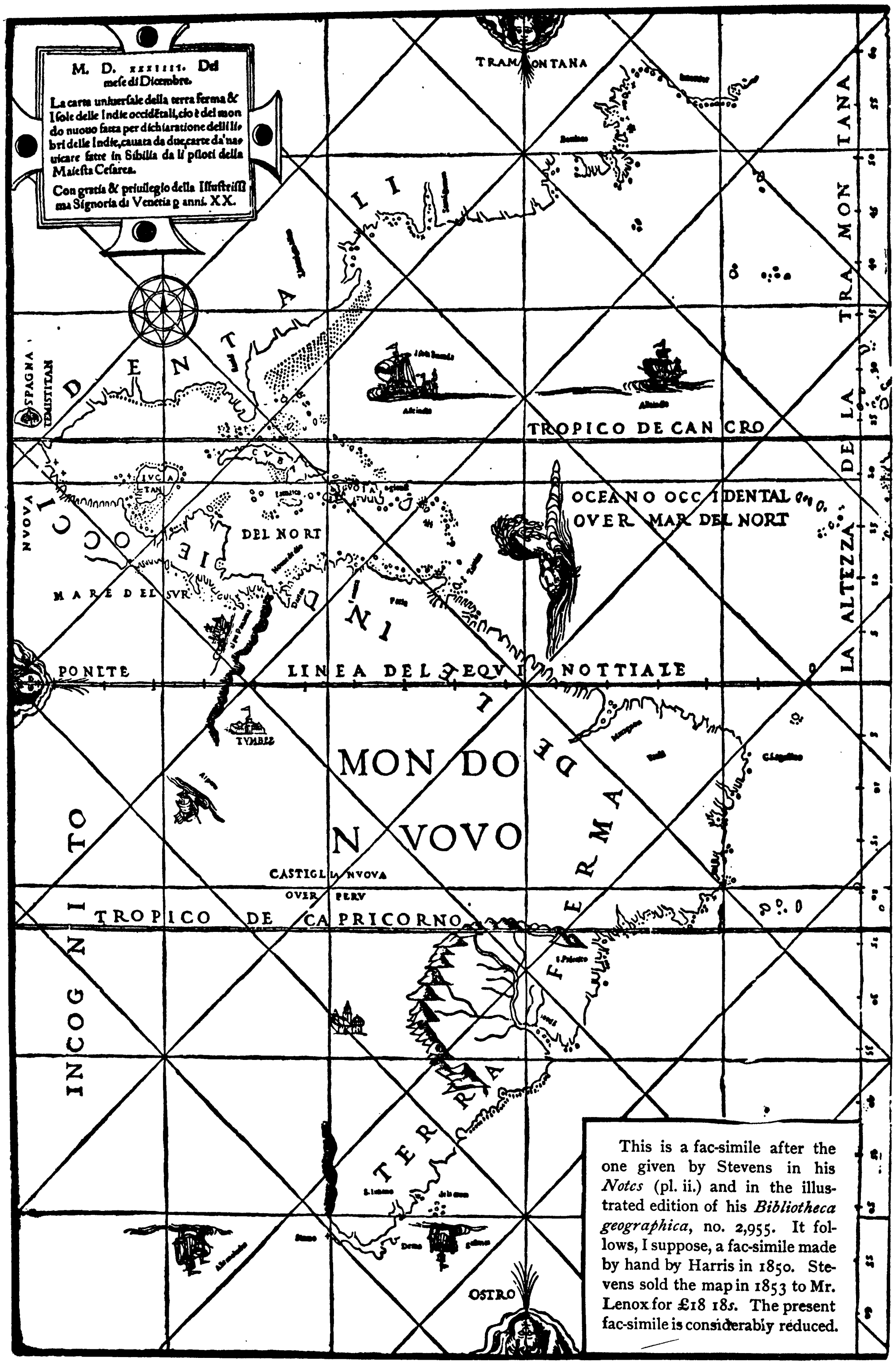
[2] See *ante*, p. 92.

[3] One hundred copies issued.

[4] Dr. J. Chavanne in *Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (1875), p. 485; A. Steinhauser in Ibid., p. 588; *Petermann's Mittheilungen* (1876), p. 52; Malte-Brun in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* (1876), p. 625; Dr. Franz Wieser's "Der Portulan des Infanten und nachmaligen Königs Philipp II. von Spanien," printed in the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, lxxxii. 541 (March, 1876), and also printed separately.

[5] *Cabots*, p. 168.

[6] See Vol. III. p. 19.

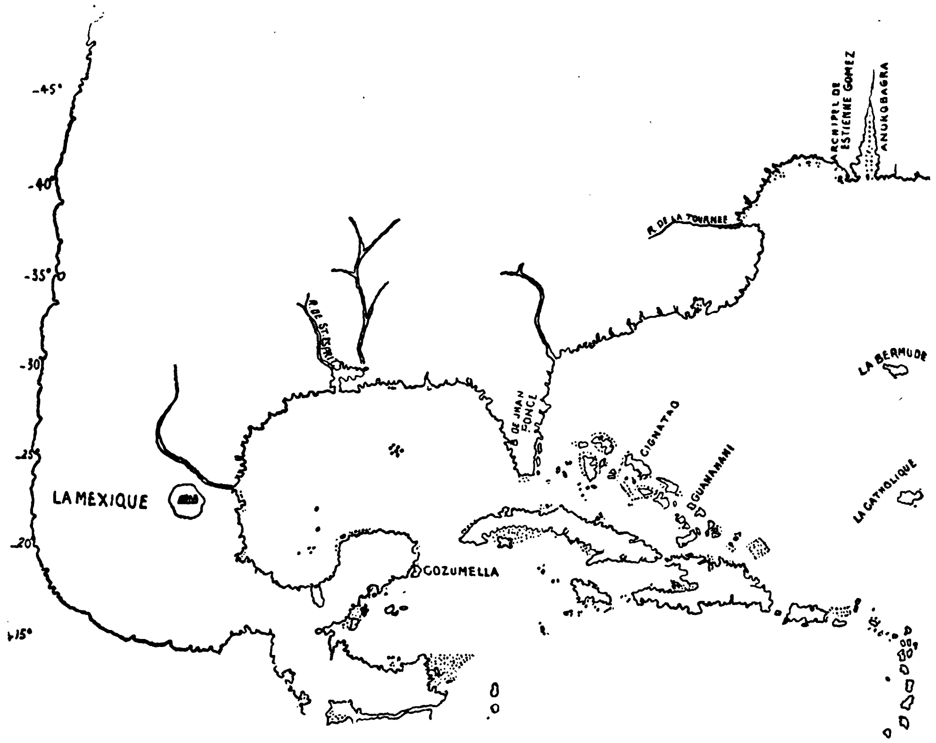

M. D. xxxiiii. Del
meſe di Dicembre.
La carta uniuerſale della terra ferma & Iſole delle Indie occidẽtali, cio è del mondo nuouo fatta per dichiaratione delli libri delle Indie, cauata da due carte da'nauicare fatte in Sibilla da li piloti della Maieſta Ceſarea.
Con gratia & priuilegio della Illuſtriſſima Signoria di Venetia p anni. XX.
TRAMONTANA
TRAMONTANA
LA ALTEZZA DE LA
TROPICO DE CANCRO
OCEANO OCCIDENTAL OVER MAR DEL NORT
LINEA DEL EQUINOTTIALE
PONITE
MARE DEL SUR
DEL NORT
CVBA
IVCATAN
SPAGNA TEMISTITAN
NVOVA
TVMBEZ
MON DO N VOVO
CASTIGLIA NVOVA OVER PERV
TROPICO DE CAPRICORNO
INCOGNITO
OCCIDENTALI
INDIE
TERRA FERMA DEL
OSTRO

This is a fac-simile after the one given by Stevens in his *Notes* (pl. ii.) and in the illustrated edition of his *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 2,955. It follows, I suppose, a fac-simile made by hand by Harris in 1850. Stevens sold the map in 1853 to Mr. Lenox for £18 18*s*. The present fac-simile is considerably reduced.

all the West Indies, together with a special map [Hispaniola] taken from two marine charts of the Spaniards, one of which belonged to Don Pietro Martire, councillor of the Royal Council of said Indies, and was made by the pilot and master of marine charts, Niño Garzia de Loreno [*sic*] in Seville; the other was made also by a pilot of his Majesty, the Emperor, in Seville." Quaritch[1] says that an advertisement at the end of the ***secundo libro*** of Xeres, ***Conquista del Peru*** (Venice, 1534), shows that the map in the first edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades* was made by Nuño Garcia de Toreno in Seville; but the statement is questionable. Harrisse refers to a map of Toreno preserved in the Royal Library at Turin, dated 1522, in which he is called "piloto y maestro de cartas de nauegar de su Magestad." The American part of this last chart is unfortunately missing.[2]

Harrisse calls this Lenox woodcut the earliest known chart of Spanish origin which is crossed by lines of latitude and longitude, and thinks it marks a type adopted by the Spanish cosmographers a little after the return of Del Cano from his voyage of circumnavigation and the coming of Andagoya from Panama in 1522, with additions based on the tidings which Gomez brought to Seville in December, 1525, from his voyage farther north.

It is not worth while to reproduce here various maps of this time, all showing more or less resemblance to the common type of this central portion of the New World. Such



AN EARLY FRENCH MAP.

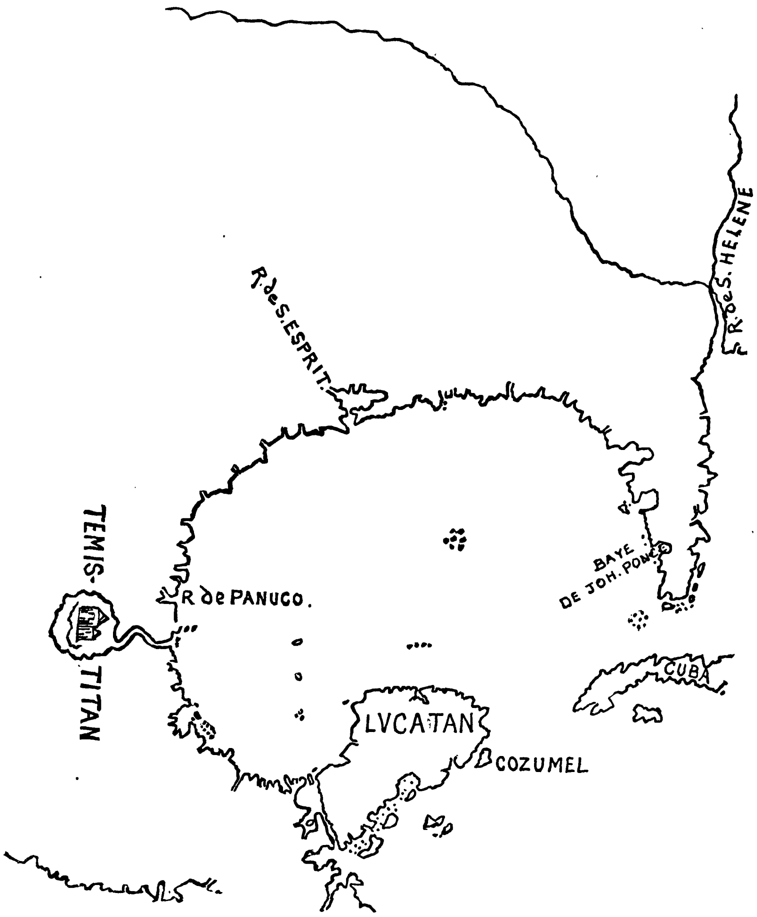
---

[1] *Catalogue*, no. 349, p. 1277.

[2] Cf. Vincenzo Promis, *Memoriale di Diego Colombo con nota sulla bolla di Alessandro VI.* (Torino, 1869), p. 11; Heinrich Wuttke, "Zur Geschichte der Erdkunde in der letzten Hälfte des Mittelalters," in the *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden* (1870), vol. vi. and vii. p. 61, etc.; Wieser, *Der Portulan*, etc., p. 15.

are the maps of Verrazano[1] and of Thorne,[2] the draft of the Sloane manuscript,[3] the cordiform map of Orontius Finæus,[4] one given by Kunstmann,[5] and the whole series of the Agnese type.[6]

There is a French map, which was found by Jomard in the possession of a noble family in France, which Kohl supposes to be drawn in part from Ribero. A sketch is annexed as of "An Early French Map." The absence of the Gulf of California and of all traces of De Soto's expedition leads Kohl to date it before 1533. Jomard placed the date later; but as the map has no record of the expeditions of Ribault and Laudonnière, it would appear to be earlier than 1554.[7]



GULF OF MEXICO, 1536.

---

[1] Vol. IV. p. 26.

[2] Vol. III. p. 17.

[3] See *post*, p. 432.

[4] Vol. III. p. 11.

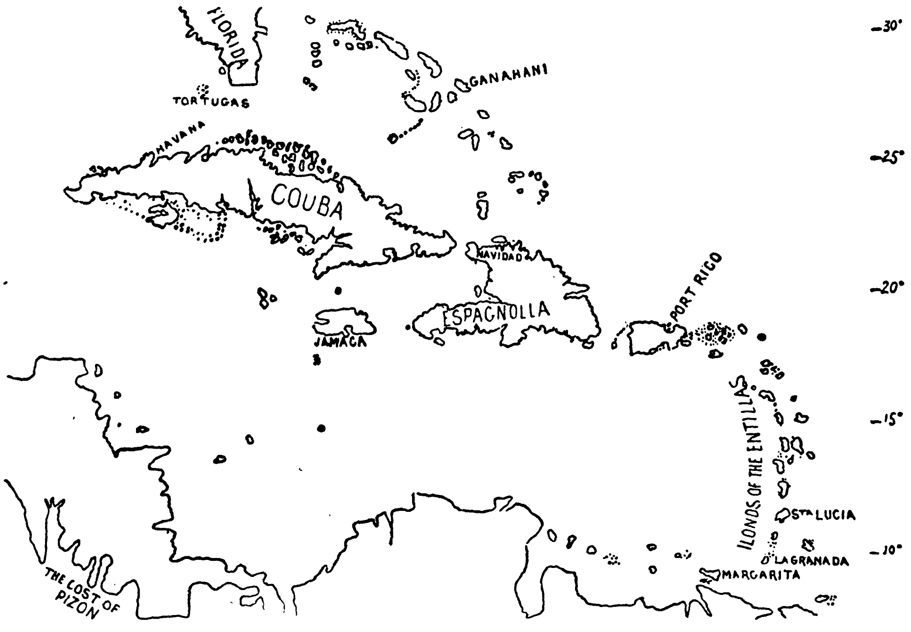
[5] Vol. IV. p. 46.

[6] Vol. IV. p. 40.

[7] Kohl, ignorant of the Peter Martyr map of 1511 (see p. 110), mistakes in considering that the map must be assigned to a date later than 1530, for the reason that the Bermudas are shown in it.

There is a large manuscript map in the British Museum which seems to have been made by a Frenchman from Spanish sources, judging from the mixture and corruption of the languages used in it. In one inscription there is mention of "the disembarkation of the Governor;" and this, together with the details of the harbors on the west coast of Florida, where Narvaez went, leads Kohl to suppose the map to have been drawn from that commander's reports. The sketch, which is annexed and marked "Gulf of Mexico, 1536," follows Kohl's delineation in his Washington collection.[1]

We can further trace the geographical history of the Antilles in the Münster map of 1540,[2] in the Mercator gores of 1541,[3] and in the Ulpius globe of 1542.[4] In this last year (1542) we find in the Rotz *Idrography*, preserved in the British Museum, a map which records the latitudes about three degrees too high for the larger islands, and about two degrees too low for the more southern ones, making the distance between Florida and Trinidad too great by five degrees. The map is marked "The Indis of Occident quhas the Spaniards doeth occupy." The sketch here given follows Kohl's copy.[5] Rotz seems to have worked from antecedent Portuguese charts; and in the well-known Cabot map of 1544, of which a section is annexed, as well as in the Medina map of 1545,[6] we doubtless have the results reached by the Spanish hydrographers. The "Carta marina" of the Italian Ptolemy of 1548,[7] as well as the manuscript atlas of Nicholas Vallard (1547), now in the Sir Thomas Phillipps Collection, may be traced ultimately to the same



ROTZ, 1542.

---

[1] This may be the map referred to by R. H. Schomburgk in his *Barbadoes* (London, 1848), as being in the British Museum, to which it was restored in 1790, after having been in the possession of Edward Harley and Sir Joseph Banks.

[2] See Vol. IV. p. 41.

[3] See *ante*, p. 177.

[4] See Vol. IV. p. 42.

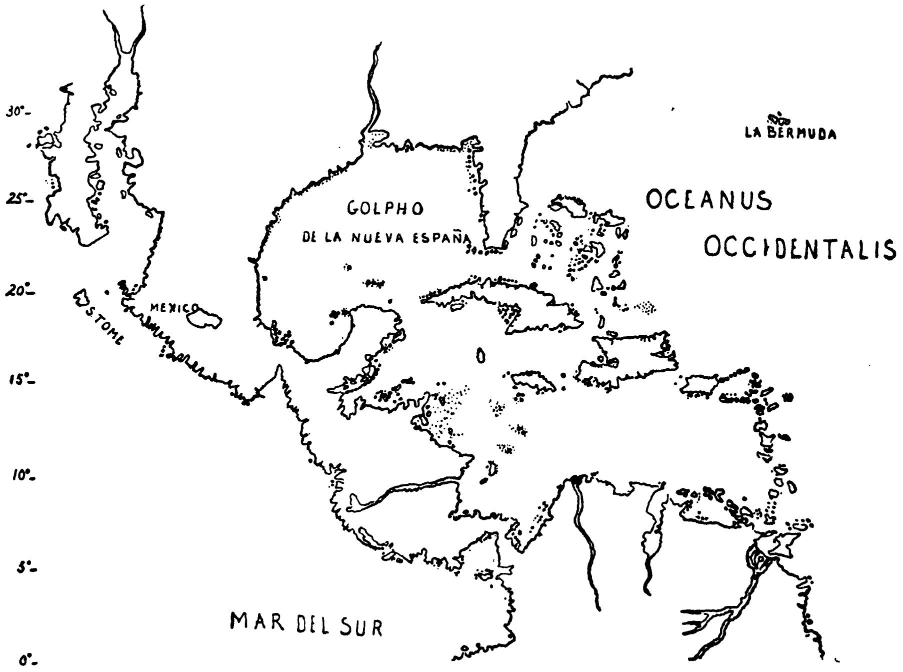
[5] Cf. Schomburgk's *Barbadoes*, p. 256.

[6] See "Hist. Chorography of S. America."

[7] See Vol. IV. p. 43, and fac-simile given in "Hist. Chorography of South America."

source; and the story goes respecting the latter that a Spanish bishop, Don Miguel de Silva, brought out of Spain and into France the originals upon which it was founded. These originals, it would appear, also served Homem in 1558 in the elaborate manuscript map, now preserved in the British Museum, of which a sketch (in part) is annexed (p. 229).

The maps of the middle of the century which did most to fix popularly the geography of the New World were probably the Bellero map of 1554,[1] which was so current in Antwerp publications of about that time, and the hemisphere of Ramusio (1556) which accompanied the third volume of his *Viaggi*, and of which a fac-simile is annexed. There is a variety of delineations to be traced out for the Antilles through the sequence of the better-known maps of the next following years, which the curious student may find in the maps of the Riccardi Palace,[3] the Nancy globe,[4] the Martines map of 155–,[5] that of Forlani in 1560,[6] the map of Ruscelli in the Ptolemy of 1561, besides those by Zalterius (1566),[7] Des Liens (1566),[8] Diegus (1568),[9] Mercator (1569),[10] Ortelius (1570),[11] and Porcacchi (1572).[12] Of the map of Martines, in 1578, which is in a manuscript atlas preserved in



CABOT, 1544.[2]

---

[1] See "Hist. Chorography of S. America."

[2] Sketch of a section of the so-called Sebastian Cabot Mappemonde in the National Library at Paris, following a photographic reproduction belonging to Harvard College Library. There is a rude draft of the Antilles by Allfonsce of this same year.

[3] Figured in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, 1870.

[4] See *post*, p. 433.

[5] See *post*, p. 450.

[6] See *post*, p. 438.

[7] See Vol. IV. p. 93.

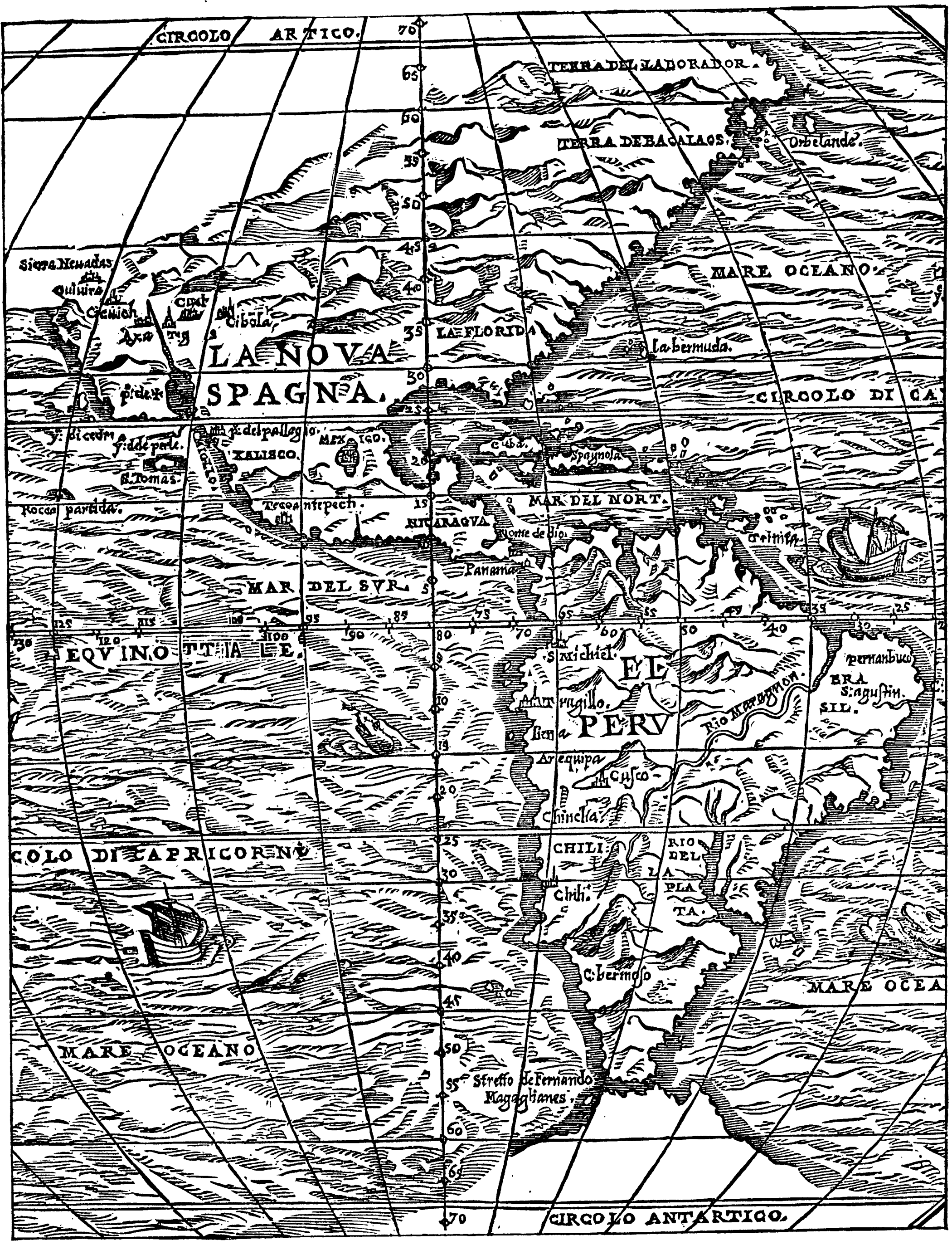
[8] See Vol. IV. p. 79.

[9] See *post*, p. 449.

[10] See Vol. IV. pp. 94, 373.

[11] See Vol. IV. p. 95.

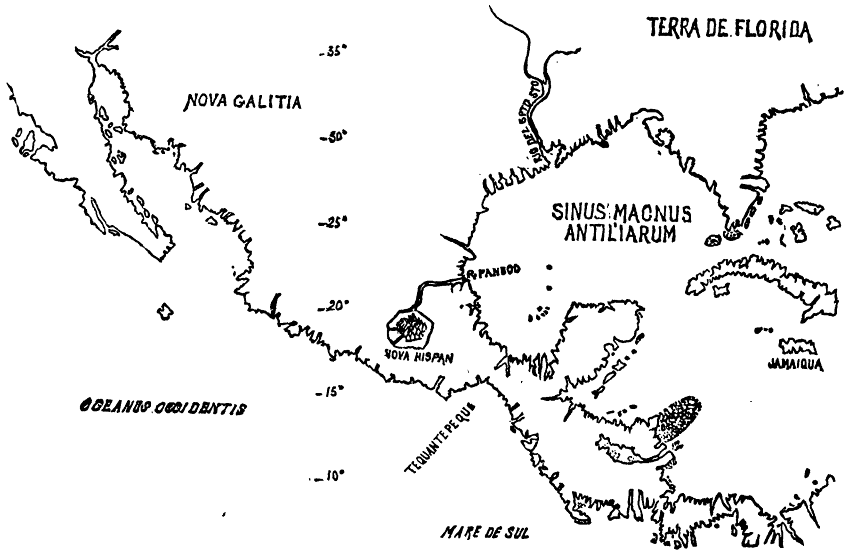
[12] See Vol. IV. p. 96.



RAMUSIO, 1556.[1]

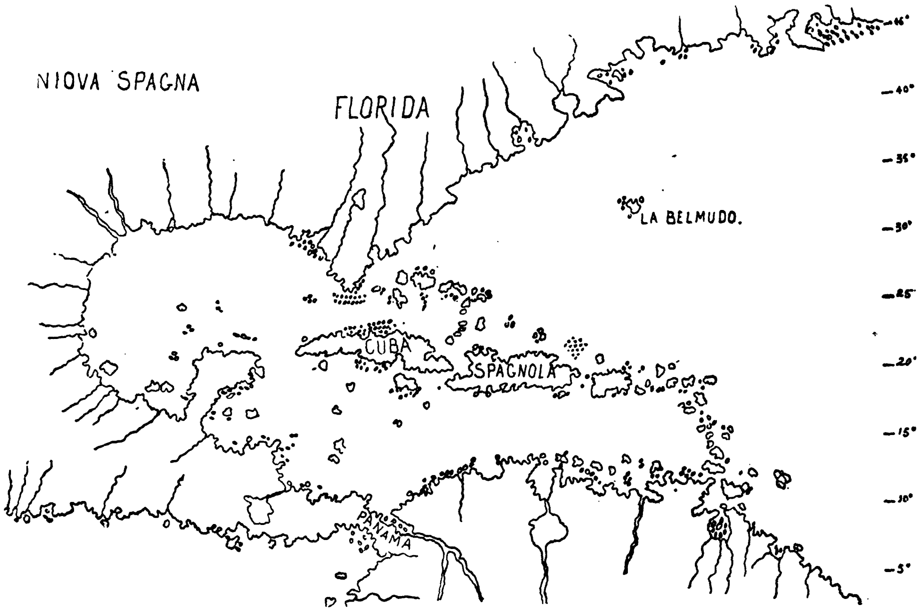
---

[1] H. H. Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, i. 49, sketches this map, but errs in saying the shape of the California peninsula was not copied in later maps. Cf. map in Best's *Frobisher* (1578).



HOMEM, 1558.

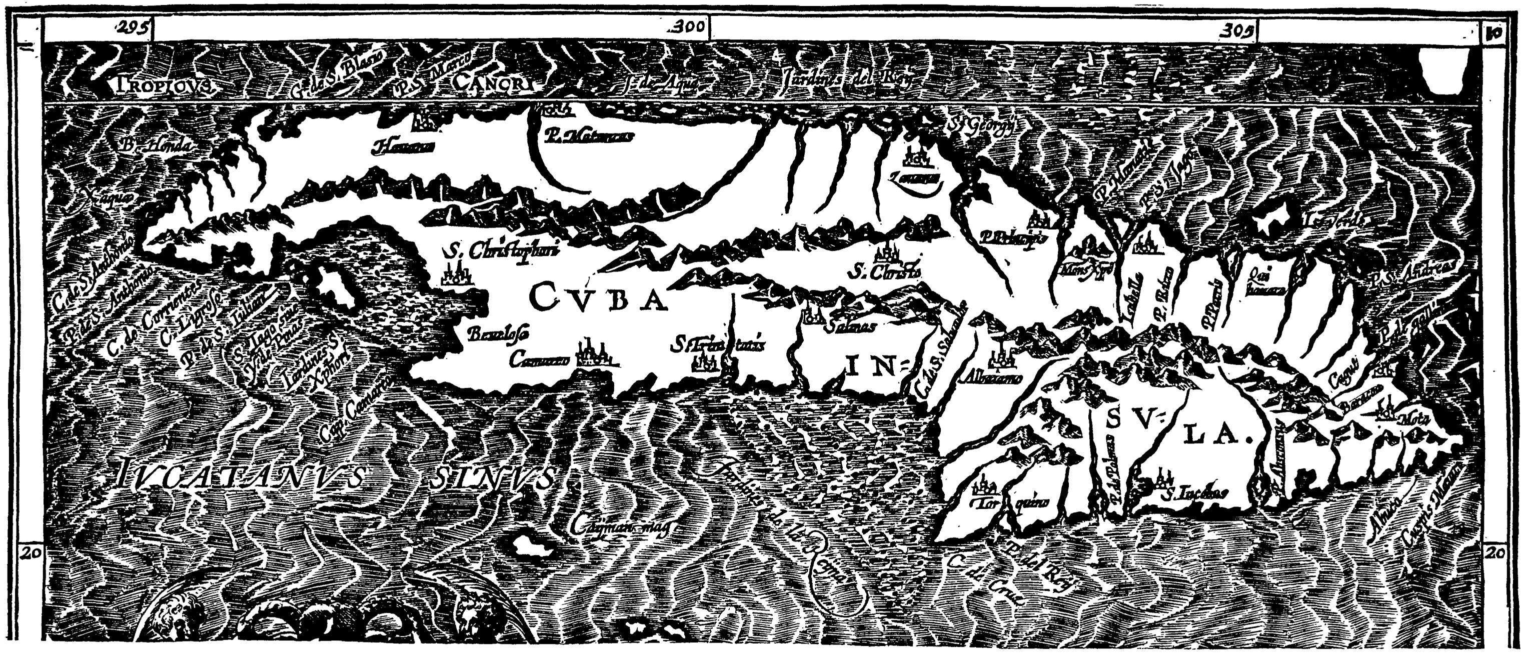
the British Museum, Kohl says its parallels of latitude are more nearly correct than on any earlier map, while its meridians of longitude are expanded far too much.[1]



MARTINES, 1578.

---

[1] Cf. Vol. IV. p. 97.



CUBA (*after Wytfliet*, 1597).[1]

---

[1] The earliest map of Cuba is that in the La Cosa Chart, which is reproduced, among other places, in Ramon de la Sagra's *Histoire physique et politique de l'ile de Cuba*, 1842-1843, which contains also the chart of Guillaure Testu. There are other early maps of Cuba — besides those in maps of the Antilles already mentioned in the present section — in Porcacchi, 1572 (pp. 81, 88), in the Ortelius of 1592, and in the Mercator atlases. The bibliography of Cuba is given in Bachiler's *Apuntes para la historia de la isla de Cuba*, Havana, 1861. For the cartography, cf. the *Mapoteca Columbiana* of Uricoechea, London, 1860, p. 53. Of the several maps of the Antilles toward the end of the century, it may be sufficient to name the detailed map of the West Indies in the Ortelius of 1584, the Hakluyt-Martyr map of 1587, the map of Thomas Hood in Kunstmann, the De Bry map of 1596, as well as the maps of the first distinctively American atlas, — that of Wytfliet in 1597.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT FLORIDA.

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D.

THE credit of being the first to explore our Atlantic coast has not yet been positively awarded by critical historians. Ramusio preserves the report of a person whom he does not name, which asserts that Sebastian Cabot claimed for his father and himself, in the summer of 1497, to have run down the whole coast, from Cape Breton to the latitude of Cuba; but the most recent and experienced writer on Cabot treats the claim as unfounded.[1]

The somewhat sceptical scholars of our day have shown little inclination to adopt the theory of Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, that Americus Vespucius on his first voyage reached Honduras in 1497, and during the ensuing year ran along the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, doubled the Florida cape, and then sailed northward along our Atlantic coast to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where he built a vessel and sailed to Cadiz.[2]

Although Columbus made his first landfall on one of the Bahamas, and Cuba was soon after occupied, no definite knowledge seems to have been obtained of the great mainland so near them. There is nothing in narrative or map to betray any suspicion of its existence prior to the year 1502, when a map executed in Lisbon at the order of Cantino, an Italian merchant, for Hercules d' Este, shows a mainland north of Cuba, terminating near that island in a peninsula resembling Florida. The tract of land thus shown has names of capes and rivers, but they can be referred to no known exploration. To some this has seemed to be but a confused idea of Cuba as mainland;[3] by others it is regarded as a vague idea of Yucatan. But Harrisse in his *Corte-Real*, where he reproduces the map, maintains that

---

[1] Harrisse, *Jean et Sebastien Cabot, leur origine et leurs voyages* (Paris, 1882), pp. 97–104. The Cabot claim appears in Peter Martyr, *Decades* (Basle, 1533), dec. iii. lib. 6, folio 55; Ramusio, *Viaggi* (1550–1553), tom. i. folio 414; Jacob Ziegler, *Opera varia* (Argentorati, 1532), folio xcii. [Cf. the present *History* Vol. III. chap. i., where it is shown that the person not named by Ramusio was Gian Giacomo Bardolo. — ED.]

[2] *Historical Magazine*, 1860, p. 98. Varnhagen ascribes the names of the Cantino and subsequent Ptolemy maps to Vespucius. The name Paria near Florida seems certainly to have come from this source. [The question of this disputed voyage is examined in chapter ii. of the present volume. — ED.]

[3] James Carson Brevoort, *Verrazano the Navigator*, p. 72.

"between the end of 1500 and the summer of 1502 navigators, whose name and nationality are unknown, but whom we presume to be Spaniards, discovered, explored, and named the part of the shore of the United States which from the vicinity of Pensacola Bay runs along the Gulf of Mexico to the Cape of Florida, and, turning it, runs northward along the Atlantic coast to about the mouth of the Chesapeake or Hudson."[1]

But leaving these three claims in the realm of conjecture and doubt, we come to a period of more certain knowledge.

The Lucayos of the Bahamas seem to have talked of a great land of Bimini not far from them. The Spaniards repeated the story; and in the edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades* published in 1511 is a map on which a large island appears, named "Illa de Beimeni, parte."[2]

Discovery had taken a more southerly route; no known Spanish vessel had passed through the Bahama channel or skirted the coast. But some ideas must have prevailed, picked up from natives of the islands, or adventurous pilots who had ventured farther than their instructions authorized. Stories of an island north of Hispaniola, with a fountain whose waters conferred perpetual youth, had reached Peter Martyr in Spain, for in the same edition of his *Decades* he alludes to the legends.

John Ponce de Leon, who had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, and had since played his part bravely amid the greatest vicissitudes, resolved to explore and conquer Bimini. He had friends at Court, and seems to have been a personal favorite of the King, who expressed a wish for his advancement.[3] The patent he solicited was based on that originally issued to Columbus; but the King laughingly said, that it was one thing to grant boundless power when nothing was expected to come of it, and very different to do so when success was almost certain. Yet on the 23d of February, 1512, a royal grant empowered John Ponce de Leon "to proceed to discover and settle the Island of Bimini."[4] The patent was subject to the condition that the island had not been already discovered. He was required to make the exploration within three years, liberty being granted to him to touch at any island or mainland not subject to the King of Portugal. If he succeeded in his expedition he was to be governor of Bimini for life, with the title of *adelantado*.[5]

The veteran immediately purchased a vessel, in order to go to Spain and make preparations for the conquest of Bimini. But the authorities in Porto Rico seized his vessel; and the King, finding his services necessary in controlling the Indians, sent orders to the Council of the Indies to defer the Bimini expedition, and gave Ponce de Leon command of the fort in Porto Rico.[1]

---

[1] Harrisse, *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau Monde*, pp. 111, 151. [The Cantino map is sketched on p. 108. — ED.]

[2] *P. Martyris Angli Mediolanensis opera. Hispali Corumberger*, 1511. [A fac-simile of this map in given on p. 110. — ED.]

[3] King to Ceron and Diaz, Aug. 12, 1512.

[4] Las Casas was certainly mistaken in saying that Ponce de Leon gave the name Bimini to Florida; the name was in print before it appears in connection with him, and is in his first patent before he discovered or named Florida (Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. ii. chap. xx., iii. p. 460.

[5] *Capitulacion que el Rey concedió á Joan Ponce de Leon para que vaya al descubrimiento de la ysla de Bemini. Fecha en Burgos a xxiij de hebrero de Dxij aº.*

Thus delayed in the royal service, Ponce de Leon was unable to obtain vessels or supplies till the following year. He at last set sail from the port of San German in Porto Rico in March, 1513,[2] with three caravels, taking as pilot Anton de Alaminos, a native of Palos who had as a boy accompanied Columbus, and who was long to associate his own name with explorations of the Gulf of Mexico. They first steered northeast by north, and soon made the Caicos, Yaguna, Amaguayo, and Manigua. After refitting at Guanahani, Ponce de Leon bore northwest; and on Easter Sunday (March 27) discovered the mainland, along which he ran till the 2d of April, when he anchored in 30° 8′ and landed. On the 8th he took possession in the name of the King of Spain, and named the country — which the Lucayos called Cancio — Florida, from Pascua Florida, the Spanish name for Easter Sunday.

The vessels then turned southward, following the coast till the 20th, when Ponce landed near Abayoa, a cluster of Indian huts. On attempting to sail again, he met such violent currents that his vessels could make no headway, and were forced to anchor, except one of the caravels, which was driven out of sight. On landing at this point Ponce found the Indians so hostile that he was obliged to repel their attacks by force. He named a river Rio de la Cruz; and, doubling Cape Corrientes on the 8th of May, sailed on till he reached a chain of islands, to which he gave the name of the Martyrs. On one of these he obtained wood and water, and careened a caravel. The Indians were very thievish, endeavoring to steal the anchors or cut the cables, so as to seize the ships. He next discovered and named the Tortugas. After doubling the cape, he ran up the western shore of Florida to a bay, in 27° 30′, which for centuries afterward bore the name of Juan Ponce. There are indications that before he turned back he may have followed the coast till it trended westward. After discovering Bahama he is said to have despatched one caravel from Guanima under John Perez de Ortubia, with Anton de Alaminos, to search for Bimini, while he himself returned to Porto Rico, which he reached September 21. He was soon followed by Ortubia, who, it is said, had been successful in his search for Bimini.

Although Ponce de Leon had thus explored the Florida coast, and added greatly to the knowledge of the Bahama group, his discoveries are not noted in the editions of Ptolemy which appeared in the next decade, and which retained the names of the Cantino map. The Ribeiro map (1529) gives the Martyrs and Tortugas, and on the mainland Canico, — apparently

---

[1] Letter of the King to Ceron and Diaz, Aug. 12, 1512; the King to Ponce de Leon, and letter of the King, Dec. 10, 1512, to the officials in the Indies.

[2] The King, writing to the authorities in Española July 4, 1513, says: "Alegrome de la ida de Juan Ponce á Biminy; tened cuidado de proveerle i avisadme de todo."

Cancio, the Lucayan name of Florida. In the so-called Leonardo da Vinci's Mappemonde, Florida appears as an island in a vast ocean that rolls on to Japan.[1]

Elated with his success, John Ponçe de Leon soon after sailed to Spain; and, obtaining an audience of the King,—it is said through the influence of his old master, Pero Nuñez de Guzman, Grand Comendador of Calatrava,—gave the monarch a description of the attractive land which he had discovered. He solicited a new patent for its conquest and settlement; and on the 27th of September, 1514, the King empowered him to go and settle "the Island of Brimini and the Island Florida" which he had discovered under the royal orders. He was to effect this in three years from the delivery of the *asiento;* but as he had been employed in His Majesty's service, it was extended so that this term was to date from the day he set sail for his new province. After reducing the Caribs, he was empowered to take of the vessels and men employed in that service whatever he chose in order to conquer and settle Florida. The natives were to be summoned to submit to the Catholic Faith and the authority of Spain, and they were not to be attacked or captured if they submitted. Provision was made as to the revenues of the new province, and orders were sent to the viceroy, Don Diego Columbus, to carry out the royal wishes.[2]

The Carib war was not, however, terminated as promptly as the King and his officers desired. Time passed, and adventurers in unauthorized expeditions to Florida rendered the Indians hostile.[3] It was not till 1521 that Ponce de Leon was able to give serious thought to a new expedition. His early hopes seem to have faded, and with them the energy and impulsiveness of his youth. He had settled his daughters in marriage, and, free from domestic cares, offered himself simply to continue to serve the King as he had done for years. Writing to Charles V. from Porto Rico on the 10th of February, 1521, he says:—

> "Among my services I discovered, at my own cost and charge, the Island Florida and others in its district, which are not mentioned as being small and useless; and now I return to that island, if it please God's will, to settle it, being enabled to carry a number of people with which I shall be able to do so, that the name of Christ may be praised there, and Your Majesty served with the fruit that land produces. And I also intend to explore the coast of said island further, and see whether it is an island, or

---

[1] *Memoir on a Mappemonde by Leonardo da Vinci* communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by R. H. Major, who makes its date between 1513 and 1519,—probably 1514. The *Ptolemy* printed at Basle 1552 lays down Terra Florida and Ins. Tortucarum, and the map in Girava's *Cosmography* shows Florida and Bacalaos; but the B. de Joan Ponce appears in *La geografia di Clavdio Ptolomeo Alessandrino*, Venice, 1548. [A fac-simile of the sketch accredited to Da Vinci is given on p. 126.—ED.]

[2] *Asiento y capitulacion que se hizo demas con Joan Ponce de Leon sobre la ysla Binini y la ysla Florida*, in the volume of *Asientos y capitulaciones* (1508–1574), Royal Archives at Seville, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, xxii. pp. 33–38.

[3] *Cédula* to the Jeronymite Fathers, July 22, 1517 (*Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, xi. 295–296). One of these surreptitious voyages was made by Anton de Alaminos as pilot (Ibid., pp. 435–438). [See *ante*, p. 201, for the voyage of Alaminos.—ED.]

El Adelantado IUAN PONCE Descubridor de la Florida.

PONCE DE LEON.[1]

whether it connects with the land where Diego Velasquez is, or any other; and I shall endeavor to learn all I can. I shall set out to pursue my voyage hence in five or six days."[2]

As he wrote to the Cardinal of Tortosa, he had expended all his substance in the King's service; and if he asked favors now it was "not to treasure up or to pass this miserable life, but to serve His Majesty with them and his person and all he had, and settle the land that he had discovered."[3]

---

[1] Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera, edition of 1728.

[2] Ponce de Leon to Charles V., Porto Rico, Feb. 10, 1521.

[3] Extracted from a letter of Ponce de Leon to the Cardinal of Tortosa (who was afterward Pope Adrian VI.), dated at Porto Rico, February 10, 1521.

He went prepared to settle, carrying clergymen for the colonists, friars to found Indian missions, and horses, cattle, sheep, and swine. Where precisely he made the Florida coast we do not know; but it is stated that on attempting to erect dwellings for his colonists he was attacked by the natives, who showed great hostility. Ponce himself, while leading his men against his assailants, received so dangerous an arrow wound, that, after losing many of his settlers by sickness and at the hands of the Indians, he abandoned the attempt to plant a colony in Florida, which had so long been the object of his hopes; and taking all on board his vessels, he sailed to Cuba. There he lingered in pain, and died of his wound.[1]

John Ponce de Leon closed his long and gallant career without solving the problem whether Florida was an island or part of the northern continent. Meanwhile others, following in the path he had opened, were contributing to a more definite knowledge. Thus Diego Miruelo, a pilot, sailed from Cuba in 1516 on a trading cruise; and running up the western shore of the Floridian peninsula, discovered a bay which long bore his name on Spanish maps, and was apparently Pensacola. Here he found the Indians friendly, and exchanged his store of glass and steel trinkets for silver and gold. Then, satisfied with his cruise, and without making any attempt to explore the coast, he returned to Cuba.[2]

The next year Francis Hernandez de Cordova[3] sent from Cuba on the 8th of February two ships and a brigantine, carrying one hundred and ten men, with a less humane motive than Miruelo's; for Oviedo assures us that his object was to capture on the Lucayos, or Bahama Islands, a cargo of Indians to sell as slaves. His object was defeated by storms; and the vessels, driven from their course, reached Yucatan, near Cape Catoche, which he named. The Indians here were as hostile as the elements; and Hernandez, after several sharp engagements with the natives, in which almost every man was wounded, was sailing back, when storms again drove his vessels from their course. Unable to make the Island of Cuba, Alaminos, the pilot of the expedition, ran into a bay on the Florida coast, where he had been with Ponce de Leon on his first expedition. While a party which had landed were procuring water, they were attacked with the utmost fury by the Indians, who, swarming down in crowds, assailed those still in the boats. In this engagement twenty-two of the Indians were killed, six of the Spaniards in the landing party were wounded, — including Bernal Diaz, who records the event in his History, — and four of those in the boats, among the number Anton de Alaminos, the pilot. The only man in the expedition who had come away from Yucatan unwounded, a soldier named Berrio, was acting as sentry on shore, and fell into the hands of the Indians. The commander himself, Hernandez de Cordova, reached Cuba only to die of his wounds.

---

[1] Herrera, dec. iii. book 1, chap. xiv.; Oviedo, lib. 36, chap. i. pp. 621–623; Barcia, *Ensaio cronologico*, pp. 5, 6.

[2] Oviedo (edition of Amador de los Rios, ii. 143), gives in his *Derrotero*, "la bahia que llaman de Miruelos" as west of Apalache Bay See Barcia's *Ensaio cronológico*, p. 2.

[3] [The Córdoba of chap. iii. *ante*. — Ed.]

This ill-starred expedition led to two other projects of settlement and conquest. Diego Velasquez, governor of Cuba, the friend and host of Hernandez, obtained a grant, which was referred to by Ponce de Leon in his final letter to the King, and which resulted in the conquest of Mexico;[1] and Francis de Garay, governor of Jamaica, persuaded by Alaminos to enter upon an exploration of the mainland, obtained permission in due form from the priors of the Order of St. Jerome, then governors of the Indies, and in 1519 despatched four caravels, well equipped, with a good number of men, and directed by good pilots, to discover some strait in the mainland, — then the great object of search.

Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda, the commander of the expedition, reached the coast within the limits of the grant of Ponce de Leon, and endeavored to sail eastward so as to pass beyond and continue the exploration. Unable, from headwinds, to turn the Cape of Florida, he sailed westward as far as the River Pánuco, which owes its name to him. Here he encountered Cortés and his forces, who claimed the country by actual possession.

The voyage lasted eight or nine months, and possession was duly taken for the King at various points on the coast. Sailing eastward again, Garay's lieutenant discovered a river of very great volume, evidently the Mississippi.[2] Here he found a considerable Indian town, and remained forty days trading with the natives and careening his vessels. He ran up the river, and found it so thickly inhabited that in a space of six leagues he counted no fewer than forty Indian hamlets on the two banks.

According to their report, the land abounded in gold, as the natives wore gold ornaments in their noses and ears and on other parts of the body. The adventurers told, too, of tribes of giants and of pigmies; but declared the natives to have been friendly, and well disposed to receive the Christian Faith.

Wild as these statements of Pineda's followers were, the voyage settled conclusively the geography of the northern shore of the Gulf, as it proved that there was no strait there by which ships could reach Asia. Florida was no longer to be regarded as an island, but part of a vast continent. The province discovered for Garay received the name of Amichel.

Garay applied for a patent authorizing him to conquer and settle the new territory, and one was issued at Burgos in 1521. By its tenor Christopher de Tapia, who had been appointed governor of the territory discovered by Velasquez, was commissioned to fix limits between Amichel and the discoveries of Velasquez on the west and those of Ponce de Leon on the east. On the map given in Navarrete,[3] Amichel extends apparently from Cape Roxo to Pensacola Bay.

---

[1] [See chap. vi. of the present volume. — ED.]

[2] The great river might be supposed to be the Rio Grande; but its volume is scarcely sufficient to justify the supposition, while the Mississippi is indicated on the map of his province with its name R. del Espiritu Santo, evidently given by Garay.

[3] [See *ante*, p. 218. — ED.]

After sending his report and application to the King, and without awaiting any further authority, Garay seems to have deemed it prudent to secure a footing in the territory; and in 1520 sent four caravels under Diego de Camargo to occupy some post near Pánuco. The expedition was ill managed. One of the vessels ran into a settlement established by Cortés and made a formal demand of Cortés himself for a line of demarcation, claiming the country for Garay. Cortés seized some of the men who landed, and learned all Camargo's plans. That commander, with the rest of his force, attempted to begin a settlement at Pánuco; but the territory afforded no food, and the party were soon in such straits that, unable to wait for two vessels which Garay was sending to their aid, Camargo despatched a caravel to Vera Cruz to beg for supplies.[1]

In 1523 Garay equipped a powerful fleet and force to conquer and settle Amichel. He sailed from Jamaica at the end of June with the famous John de Grijalva, discoverer of Yucatan, as his lieutenant. His force comprised thirteen vessels, bearing one hundred and thirty-six cavalry and eight hundred and forty infantry, with a supply of field-pieces. He reached Rio de las Palmas on the 25th of July, and prepared to begin a settlement; but his troops, alarmed at the unpromising nature of the country, insisted on proceeding southward. Garay yielded, and sailed to Pánuco, where he learned that Cortés had already founded the town of San Esteban del Puerto. Four of his vessels were lost on the coast, and one in the port. He himself, with the rest of his force, surrendered to Cortés. He died in Mexico, while still planning a settlement at Rio de las Palmas; but with his death the province of Amichel passed out of existence.

Thus the discoveries of Ponce de Leon and of Garay, with those of Miruelos, made known, by ten years' effort, the coast-line from the Rio Grande to the St. John's in Florida.

The next explorations were intended to ascertain the nature of our Atlantic coast north of the St. John's.

In 1520 Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, one of the auditors of the Island of St. Domingo, though possessed of wealth, honors, and domestic felicity, aspired to the glory of discovering some new land, and making it the seat of a prosperous colony. Having secured the necessary license, he despatched a caravel under the command of Francisco Gordillo, with directions to sail northward through the Bahamas, and thence strike the shore of the continent. Gordillo set out on his exploration, and near the Island of Lucayoneque, one of the Lucayuelos, descried another caravel. His pilot, Alonzo Fernandez Sotil, proceeded toward it in a boat, and soon recognized it as a caravel commanded by a kinsman of his, Pedro de Quexos, fitted out in part, though not avowedly, by Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, an auditor associated with Ayllon in the judiciary. This caravel was returning from an unsuccessful cruise among the Bahamas for Caribs, — the object of the expedition being to capture Indians in order to sell them as slaves. On ascertaining the object of Gordillo's voyage, Quexos proposed that they should continue the exploration together. After a sail of eight or nine days, in which they ran little more than a hundred leagues, they reached the coast of the continent at the mouth of a considerable river, to which they gave the name of St. John the Baptist, from the fact that they touched the coast on the day set apart to honor the Precursor of Christ. The year was 1521, and the point reached was, according to the estimate of the explorers, in latitude 33° 30′.[1]

---

[1] [See chapter vi. of the present volume. — ED.]

Boats put off from the caravels and landed some twenty men on the shore; and while the ships endeavored to enter the river, these men were surrounded by Indians, whose good-will they gained by presents.[2]

Some days later, Gordillo formally took possession of the country in the name of Ayllon, and of his associate Diego Caballero, and of the King, as Quexos did also in the name of his employers on Sunday, June 30, 1521. Crosses were cut on the trunks of trees to mark the Spanish occupancy.[3]

Although Ayllon had charged Gordillo to cultivate friendly relations with the Indians of any new land he might discover,[4] Gordillo joined with Quexos in seizing some seventy of the natives, with whom they sailed away, without any attempt to make an exploration of the coast.

On the return of the vessel to Santo Domingo, Ayllon condemned his captain's act; and the matter was brought before a commission, presided over by Diego Columbus, for the consideration of some important affairs. The Indians were declared free, and it was ordered that they should be restored to their native land at the earliest possible moment. Meanwhile they were to remain in the hands of Ayllon and Matienzo.

The latter made no attempt to pursue the discovery; but Ayllon, adhering to his original purpose, proceeded to Spain with Francisco, — one of the Indians, who told of a giant king and many provinces,[5] — and on the 12th of June, 1523, obtained a royal *cédula*.[6] Under this he was to send out vessels in 1524, to run eight hundred leagues along the coast, or till he reached lands already discovered; and if he discovered any strait leading to the west, he was to explore it. No one was to settle within the limits explored by him the first year, or within two hundred leagues beyond the extreme points reached by him north and south; the occupancy of the territory was to be effected within four years; and as the conversion of the natives was one of the main objects, their enslavement was forbidden, and Ayllon was required to take out religious men of some Order to instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity. He obtained a second *cédula* to demand from Matienzo the Indians in his hands in order to restore them to their native country.[7]

---

[1] Testimony of Pedro de Quexos; Act of taking possession by Quexos.

[2] Testimony of Pedro de Quexos.

[3] Act of possession; Testimony of Aldana.

[4] Answer of Ayllon to Matienzo.

[5] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 69.

[6] Ibid., p. 153.

[7] *Cédula*, June 12, 1523.

On his return to the West Indies, Ayllon was called on the King's service to Porto Rico; and finding it impossible to pursue his discovery, the time for carrying out the *asiento* was, by a *cédula* of March 23, 1524, extended to the year 1525.[1]

To secure his rights under the *asiento*, he despatched two caravels under Pedro de Quexos to the newly discovered land early in 1525. They regained the good-will of the natives and explored the coast for two hundred and fifty leagues, setting up stone crosses with the name of Charles V. and the date of the act of taking possession. They returned to Santo Domingo in July, 1525, bringing one or two Indians from each province, who might be trained to act as interpreters.[2]

Meanwhile Matienzo began legal proceedings to vacate the *asiento* granted by the King to Ayllon, on the ground that it was obtained surreptitiously, and in fraud of his own rights as joint discoverer. His witnesses failed to show that his caravel had any license to make a voyage of exploration, or that he took any steps to follow up the discovery made; but the suit embarrassed Ayllon, who was fitting out four vessels to sail in 1526, in order to colonize the territory granted to him. The armada from Spain was greatly delayed; and as he expected by it a store of artillery and muskets, as well as other requisites, he was at great loss. At last, however, he sailed from Puerto de la Plata with three large vessels, — a caravel, a breton, and a brigantine, — early in June, 1526.[3] As missionaries he took the famous Dominican, Antonio de Montesinos, the first to denounce Indian slavery, with Father Antonio de Cervantes and Brother Pedro de Estrada, of the same Order. The ships carried six hundred persons of both sexes, including clergymen and physicians, besides one hundred horses.

They reached the coast, not at the San Juan Bautista, but at another river, at 33° 40′, says Navarrete, to which they gave the name of Jordan.[4] Their first misfortune was the loss of the brigantine; but Ayllon immediately set to work to replace it, and built a small vessel such as was called a *gavarra*, — the first instance of ship-building on our coast. Francisco, his Indian guide, deserted him; and parties sent to explore the interior brought back such unfavorable accounts that Ayllon resolved to seek a more fertile district. That he sailed northward there can be little doubt; his original *asiento* required him to run eight hundred leagues along the coast, and he, as well as Gomez, was to seek a strait or estuary leading to the Spice Islands. The Chesapeake was a body of water which it would be imperative on him to explore, as possibly the passage sought. The soil of the country bordering on the bay, superior to that of the sandy region south of it, would seem better suited for purposes of a settlement. He at last reached Guandape, and began the settlement of San Miguel, where the English in the next century founded Jamestown.[1]

---

[1] *Cédula* given at Burgos.

[2] Interrogatories of Ayllon; Testimony of Quexos.

[3] Testimony of Alonzo Despinosa Cervantes and of Father Antonio de Cervantes, O.S.D., in 1561. The date is clearly fixed after May 26, and before June 9, as Ayllon testified on the former day, and on the latter his procurator appeared for him. Navarrete is wrong in making him sail about the middle of July (*Coleccion*, iii. 72).

[4] If Ayllon really reached the Jordan, this was the Wateree.

Here he found only a few scattered Indian dwellings of the communal system, long buildings, formed of pine posts at the side, and covered with branches, capable of holding, in their length of more than a hundred feet, a vast number of families. Ayllon selected the most favorable spot on the bank, though most of the land was low and swampy. Then the Spaniards began to erect houses for their shelter, the negro slaves — first introduced here — doing the heaviest portion of the toil. Before the colonists were housed, winter came on. Men perished of cold on the caravel "Catalina," and on one of the other vessels a man's legs were frozen so that the flesh fell off. Sickness broke out among the colonists, and many died. Ayllon himself had sunk under the pestilential fevers, and expired on St. Luke's Day, Oct. 18, 1526.

He made his nephew, John Ramirez, then in Porto Rico, his successor as head of the colony, committing the temporary administration to Francis Gomez. Troubles soon began. Gines Doncel and Pedro de Bazan, at the head of some malcontents, seized and confined Gomez and the *alcaldes*, and began a career of tyranny. The Indians were provoked to hostility, and killed several of the settlers; the negroes, cruelly oppressed, fired the house of Doncel. Then two settlers, Oliveros and Monasterio, demanded the release of the lawful authorities. Swords were drawn; Bazan was wounded and taken, Doncel fled, but was discovered near his blazing house. Gomez and his subordinates, restored to power, tried and convicted Bazan, who was put to death.

Such were the stormy beginnings of Spanish rule in Virginia. It is not to be wondered at that with one consent the colonists soon resolved to abandon San Miguel de Guandape. The body of Ayllon was placed on board a tender, and they set sail; but it was not destined to reach a port and receive the obsequies due his rank. The little craft foundered; and of the five hundred who sailed from Santo Domingo only one hundred and fifty returned to that island.

Contemporaneous with the explorations made by and under Ayllon was an expedition in a single vessel sent out by the Spanish Government in 1524 under Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese navigator who had sailed under Magallanes, but had returned in a somewhat mutinous manner. He took part in a congress of Spanish and Portuguese pilots held at Badajoz to consider the probability of finding a strait or channel north of Florida by which vessels might reach the Moluccas. To test the question practically, Charles V. ordered Gomez to sail to the coast of Bacallaos, or Newfoundland and Labrador, and examine the coast carefully, in order to ascertain whether any such channel existed. Gomez fitted out a caravel at Corunna, in northern Spain, apparently in the autumn of 1524, and sailed across.

---

[1] [See Vol. III. p. 130. — ED.]

After examining the Labrador coast, he turned southward and leisurely explored the whole coast from Cape Race to Florida, from which he steered to Santiago de Cuba, and thence to Corunna, entering that port after ten months' absence. He failed to discover the desired channel, and no account in detail of his voyage is known; but the map of Ribeiro,[1] drawn up in 1529, records his discoveries, and on its coast-line gives names which were undoubtedly bestowed by him, confirming the statement that he sailed southerly. From this map and the descriptions of the coast in Spanish writers soon after, in which descriptions mention is made of his discoveries, we can see that he noted and named in his own fashion what we now know as Massachusetts Bay, Cape Cod, Narragansett Bay, the Connecticut, Hudson, and Delaware rivers.

This voyage completed the exploration of our coast from the Rio Grande to the Bay of Fundy; yet Sebastian Cabot in 1536 declared that it was still uncertain whether a single continent stretched from the Mississippi to Newfoundland.[2]

The success of Cortés filled the Spanish mind with visions of empires in the north rivalling that of Mexico, which but awaited the courage of valiant men to conquer.

Panfilo de Narvaez, after being defeated by Cortés, whom he was sent to supersede,[3] solicited of Charles V. a patent under which he might conquer and colonize the country on the Gulf of Mexico, from Rio de Palmas to Florida. A grant was made, under which he was required to found two or more towns and erect two fortresses. He received the title of *adelantado*, and was empowered to enslave all Indians who, after being summoned in due form, would not submit to the Spanish King and the Christian Faith. In an official document he styles himself Governor of Florida, Rio de Palmas, and Espiritu Santo, — the Mississippi.[4]

Narvaez collected an armament suited to the project, and sailed from San Lucar de Barrameda, June 17, 1527, in a fleet of five ships carrying six hundred persons, with mechanics and laborers, as well as secular priests, and five Franciscan friars, the superior being Father Juan Xuarez. On the coast of Cuba his fleet was caught by a hurricane, and one vessel perished. After refitting and acquiring other vessels, Narvaez sailed from Cuba in March with four vessels and a brigantine, taking four hundred men and eighty horses, his pilot being Diego Miruelo, of a family which had acquired experience on that coast.

The destination was the Rio de Palmas; but his pilot proved incompetent, and his fleet moved slowly along the southern coast of Cuba, doubled Cape San Antonio, and was standing in for Havana when it was driven by a storm on the Florida coast at a bay which he called Bahia de la Cruz, and which the map of Sebastian Cabot identifies with Apalache Bay.[1] Here Narvaez landed a part of his force (April 15), sending his brigantine to look for a port or the way to Pánuco, — much vaunted by the pilots, — and if unsuccessful to return to Cuba for a vessel that had remained there. He was so misled by his pilots that though he was near or on the Florida peninsula, he supposed himself not far from the rivers Pánuco and Palmas. Under this impression he landed most of his men, and directed his vessels, with about one hundred souls remaining on them, to follow the coast while he marched inland. No steps were taken to insure their meeting at the harbor proposed as a rendezvous, or to enable the brigantine and the other ship to follow the party on land. On the 19th of April Narvaez struck inland in a northward or northeasterly direction; and having learned a little of the country, moved on with three hundred men, forty of them mounted. On the 15th of the following month they reached a river with a strong current, which they crossed some distance from the sea. Cabeza de Vaca, sent at his own urgent request to find a harbor, returned with no encouraging tidings; and the expedition plodded on till, on the 25th of June, they reached Apalache, — an Indian town of which they had heard magnificent accounts. It proved to be a mere hamlet of forty wretched cabins.

---

[1] See *ante*, p. 221; and references to reproductions, on p. 222.

[2] Duro, *Informe relativo a los pormenores de descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1883, p. 266, where Cabot's testimony in the Colon-Pinzon suit is given.

[3] [See chapter vi. of this volume — Ed.]

[4] *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, xii. 86.

The sufferings of Narvaez' men were great; the country was poverty-stricken; there was no wealthy province to conquer, no fertile lands for settlement. Aute (a harbor) was said to be nine days' march to the southward; and to this, after nearly a month spent at Apalache, the disheartened Spaniards turned their course, following the Magdalena River. On the 31st of July they reached the coast at a bay which Narvaez styled Bahia de Cavallos; and seeing no signs of his vessels, he set to work to build boats in which to escape from the country. The horses were killed for food; and making forges, the Spaniards wrought their stirrups, spurs, and other iron articles into saws, axes, and nails. Ropes were made of the manes and tails of the horses and such fibres as they could find; their shirts were used for sailcloth. By the 20th of September five boats, each twenty-two cubits long, were completed, and two days afterward the survivors embarked, forty-eight or nine being crowded into each frail structure. Not one of the whole number had any knowledge of navigation or of the coast.

Running between Santa Rosa Island and the mainland, they coasted along for thirty days, landing where possible to obtain food or water, but generally finding the natives fierce and hostile. On the 31st of October they came to a broad river pouring into the Gulf such a volume of water that it freshened the brine so that they were able to drink it; but the current was too much for their clumsy craft. The boat commanded by Narvaez was lost, and never heard of; that containing Father Xuarez and the other friars was driven ashore bottom upward; the three remaining boats were thrown on the coast of western Louisiana or eastern Texas. The crews barely escaped with life, and found themselves at the mercy of cruel and treacherous savages, who lived on or near Malhado Island, and drew a precarious living from shellfish and minor animals, prickly-pears and the like. They were consequently not as far west as the bison range, which reached the coast certainly at Matagorda Bay.[1] Here several of the wretched Spaniards fell victims to the cruelty of the Indians or to disease and starvation, till Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the treasurer of the expedition, escaping from six years' captivity among the Mariames, reached the Avavares, farther inland, with two companions, Castillo and Dorantes, and a negro slave. After spending eight months with them, he penetrated to the Arbadaos, where the mesquite is first found, near the Rio Grande; and skirting the San Saba Mountains, came to the bison plains and the hunter nations; then keeping westward through tribes that lived in houses of earth and knew the use of cotton and mined the turquoise, he finally came upon some Spanish explorers on the River Petatlan; and thus on the 1st of April, 1536, with hearts full of joy and gratitude, the four men entered the town of San Miguel in Sinaloa.

---

[1] "Aqui desembarco Panfilo de Narvaez." Mappemonde of Sebastian Cabot in Jomard. This map has always been supposed to be based on Spanish sources; but owing to the strict prohibition of publication in Spain, it was probably printed elsewhere, "in Brussels or Amsterdam, or some such place," as Gayangos thinks. It is seemingly engraved on wood (Smith's *Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca*, p. 56); or at least some have thought so.

The vessels of Narvaez, not finding the alleged port of the pilots, returned to the harbor where they had landed him, and were there joined by the two vessels from Cuba; but though they remained nearly a year, cruising along the coast of the Gulf, they never encountered the slightest trace of the unfortunate Narvaez or his wretched followers. They added nothing apparently to the knowledge of the coast already acquired; for no report is extant, and no map alludes to any discovery by them.

Thus ended an expedition undertaken with rashness and ignorance, and memorable only from the almost marvellous adventures of Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades, and the expeditions by land which were prompted by his narrative.

The wealth of Mexico and Peru had inflamed the imagination of Spanish adventurers; and though no tidings had been received of Narvaez, others were ready to risk all they had, and life itself, in the hope of finding some wealthy province in the heart of the northern continent. The next to try his fortune was one who had played his part in the conquest of Peru.

Hernando de Soto, the son of an esquire of Xerez de Badajoz, was eager to rival Cortês and Pizarro. In 1537 he solicited a grant of the province from Rio de las Palmas to Florida, as ceded to Narvaez, as well as of the province discovered by Ayllon; and the King at Valladolid, on the 20th of April, issued a concession to him, appointing him to the government of the Island of Cuba, and requiring him in person to conquer and occupy Florida within a year, erect fortresses, and carry over at least five hundred men as settlers to hold the country. The division of the gold, pearls, and other valuables of the conquered caciques was regulated, and provision made for the maintenance of the Christian religion and of an hospital in the territory.

---

[1] Compare Cabeza de Vaca's account, Oviedo, lib. 35, chap. i.–vii., pp. 582–618; and the French accounts of La Salle's expedition,— Joutel and Anastase Douay in Le Clercq, *Établissement de la Foi*, for the animals and plants of the district.

The air of mystery assumed by Cabeza de Vaca as to the countries that he had seen, served to inflame the imagination of men in Spain; and Soto found many ready to give their persons and their means to his expedition. Nobles of Castile in rich slashed silk dresses mingled with old warriors in well-tried coats of mail. He sailed from San Lucar in April, 1538, amid the fanfaron of trumpets and the roar of cannon, with six hundred as high-born and well-trained men as ever went forth from Spain to win fame and fortune in the New World. They reached Cuba safely, and Soto was received with all honor. More prudent than Narvaez, Soto twice despatched Juan de Añasco, in a caravel with two pinnaces, to seek a suitable harbor for the fleet, before trusting all the vessels on the coast.[1]

Encouraged by the reports of this reconnoitring, Soto, leaving his wife in Cuba, sailed from Havana in May, 1539, and made a bay on the Florida coast ten leagues west of the Bay of Juan Ponce. To this he gave the name of Espiritu Santo, because he reached it on the Feast of Pentecost, which fell that year on the 25th of May.[2] On the 30th he began to land his army near a town ruled by a chief named Uçita. Soto's whole force was composed of five hundred and seventy men, and two hundred and twenty-three horses, in five ships, two caravels, and two pinnaces. He took formal possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain on the 3d of June, and prepared to explore and subject the wealthy realms which he supposed to lie before him. Though the chief at his landing-place was friendly, he found that all the surrounding tribes were so hostile that they began to attack those who welcomed him.

Ortiz, a Spaniard belonging to Narvaez' expedition, who in his long years of captivity had become as naked and as savage as were the Indians, soon joined Soto.[3] He was joyfully received; though his knowledge of the country was limited, his services were of vital necessity, for the Indians secured by Añasco, and on whom Soto relied as guides and interpreters, deserted at the first opportunity.

Soto had been trained in a bad school; he had no respect for the lives or rights of the Indians. As Oviedo, a man of experience among the

---

[1] *Relaçam verdadeira* (Evora, 1557), chaps. i.–vi., continued in Smith's translation, pp. 1–21; in Hakluyt's Supplementary Volume (London, 1812), pp. 695–712; and in Force's *Tracts*. Rangel in Oviedo, book xvii. chap. xxii. p. 546.

[2] Biedma's *Relacion* in Smith's *Coleccion*, and his *Soto*, p. 231; *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, iii. 414–441.

[3] Cf. Buckingham Smith on "The Captivity of Ortis," in the appendix to his *Letter on De Soto*.

conquistadores, says: "This governor was very fond of this sport of killing Indians."[1]

The plan of his march showed his disregard of the rights of the natives. At each place he demanded of the cacique, or head chief, corn for his men and horses, and Indians of both sexes to carry his baggage and do the menial work in his camp. After obtaining these supplies, he compelled the chief to accompany his army till he reached another tribe whose chief he could treat in the same way; but though the first chief was then released, few of the people of the tribe which he ruled, and who had been carried off by Soto, were so fortunate as ever to be allowed to return to their homes.

On the 15th of July Soto, sending back his largest ships to Cuba, moved to the northeast to make his toilsome way amid the lakes and streams and everglades of Florida. Before long his soldiers began to suffer from hunger, and were glad to eat water-cresses, shoots of Indian corn, and palmetto, in order to sustain life; for native villages were few and scattered, and afforded little corn for the plunderers. The natives were met only as foemen, harassing his march. At Caliquen the Indians, to rescue their chief, whom Soto was carrying to the next town, made a furious onslaught on the Spaniards; but were driven to the swamps, and nearly all killed or taken. Their dauntless spirit was, however, unbroken. The survivors, though chained as slaves, rose on their masters; and seizing any weapon within their reach, fought desperately, one of them endeavoring to throttle Soto himself. Two hundred survived this gallant attempt, only to be slaughtered by the Indian allies of the Spanish commander. Soto fought his way westward step by step so slowly that at the end of three months, Oct. 30, 1539, he had only reached Agile, — a town in the province of Apalache. Añasco, sent out from this point to explore, discovered the port where Narvaez had embarked, — the remains of his forges and the bones of his horses attesting the fact. Soto despatched him to Tampa Bay. Añasco with a party marched the distance in ten days; and sending two caravels to Cuba, brought to Soto in the remaining vessels the detachment left at his landing-place. Before he reached his commander the Indians had burned the town of Anaica Apalache, of which Soto had taken possession.[2]

A good port, that of Pensacola, had been discovered to the westward; but Soto, crediting an Indian tale of the rich realm of Yupaha in the northeast, left his winter quarters March 3, 1540, and advanced in that direction through tribes showing greater civilization. A month later he reached the Altamaha, receiving from the more friendly natives corn and game. This was not sufficient to save the Spaniards from much suffering, and they treated the Indians with their wonted cruelty.[3]

---

[1] Oviedo, i. 547.

[2] *Relaçam verdadeira*, chap. xi.; Smith's *Soto*, pp. 43-44; Biedma, Ibid., 234.

[3] Oviedo, i. 554-557.

At last Soto, after a march of four hundred and thirty leagues, much of it through uninhabited land, reached the province ruled by the chieftainess of Cofitachiqui. On the 1st of May she went forth to meet the Spanish explorer in a palanquin or litter; and crossing the river in a canopied canoe, she approached Soto, and after presenting him the gifts of shawls and skins brought by her retinue, she took off her necklace of pearls and placed it around the neck of Soto. Yet her courtesy and generosity did not save her from soon being led about on foot as a prisoner. The country around her chief town, which Jones identifies with Silver Bluff, on the Savannah, below Augusta,[1] tempted the followers of Soto, who wished to settle there, as from it Cuba could be readily reached. But the commander would attempt no settlement till he had discovered some rich kingdom that would rival Peru; and chagrined at his failure, refused even to send tidings of his operations to Cuba. At Silver Bluff he came upon traces of an earlier Spanish march. A dirk and a rosary were brought to him, which were supposed, on good grounds, to have come from the expedition of Ayllon.

Poring over the cosmography of Alonzo de Chaves, Soto and the officers of his expedition concluded that a river, crossed on the 26th of May, was the Espiritu Santo, or Mississippi. A seven days' march, still in the chieftainess's realm, brought them to Chelaque, the country of the Cherokees, poor in maize; then, over mountain ridges, a northerly march brought them to Xualla, two hundred and fifty leagues from Silver Bluff. At the close of May they were in Guaxule, where the chieftainess regained her freedom. It was a town of three hundred houses, near the mountains, in a well-watered and pleasant land, probably at the site of Coosawattie Old Town. The chief gave Soto maize, and also three hundred dogs for the maintenance of his men.

Marching onward, Soto next came to Canasagua, in all probability on a river even now called the Connasauga, flowing through an attractive land of mulberries, persimmons, and walnuts. Here they found stores of bear oil and walnut oil and honey. Marching down this stream and the Oostanaula, into which it flows, to Chiaha, on an island opposite the mouth of the Etowa, in the district of the pearl-bearing mussel-streams, Soto was received in amity; and the cacique had some of the shellfish taken and pearls extracted in the presence of his guest. The Spaniards encamped under the trees near the town, leaving the inhabitants in quiet possession of their homes. Here, on the spot apparently now occupied by Rome, they rested for a month. A detachment sent to discover a reputed gold-producing province returned with no tidings to encourage the adventurers; and on the 28th of June Soto, with his men and steeds refreshed, resumed his march, having obtained men to bear his baggage, though his demand of thirty women as slaves was refused.[2]

---

[1] *Relaçam verdadeira*, chap. xii.-xv.; Biedma, *Relacion;* Smith's *Soto*, pp. 49-68, 236-241; Rangel in Oviedo, *Historia General*, i. 562.

[2] Oviedo, i. 563.

Chisca, to which he sent two men to explore for gold, proved to be in a rugged mountain land; and the buffalo robe which they brought back was more curious than encouraging. Soto therefore left the territory of the Cherokees, and took the direction of Coça, probably on the Coosa river. The cacique of that place, warned doubtless by the rumors which must have spread through all the land of the danger of thwarting the fierce strangers, furnished supplies at several points on the route to his town, and as Soto approached it, came out on a litter attired in a fur robe and plumed headpiece to make a full surrender. The Spaniards occupied the town and took possession of all the Indian stores of corn and beans, the neighboring woods adding persimmons and grapes. This town was one hundred and ninety leagues west of Xualla, and lay on the east bank of the Coosa, between the mouths of the Talladega and Tallasehatchee, as Pickett, the historian of Alabama, determines. Soto held the chief of Coça virtually as a prisoner; but when he demanded porters to bear the baggage of his men, most of the Indians fled. The Spanish commander then seized every Indian he could find, and put him in irons.

After remaining at Coça for twenty-five days, Soto marched to Ullibahali, a strongly palisaded town, situated, as we may conjecture, on Hatchet Creek. This place submitted, giving men as porters and women as slaves. Leaving this town on the 2d of September, he marched to Tallise, in a land teeming with corn, whose people proved equally docile.[1] This submission was perhaps only to gain time, and draw the invaders into a disadvantageous position.

Actahachi, the gigantic chief of Tastaluza, sixty leagues south of Coça, which was Soto's next station, received him with a pomp such as the Spaniards had not yet witnessed. The cacique was seated on cushions on a raised platform, with his chiefs in a circle around him; an umbrella of buckskin, stained red and white, was held over him. The curveting steeds and the armor of the Spaniards raised no look of curiosity on his stern countenance, and he calmly awaited Soto's approach. Not till he found himself detained as a prisoner would he promise to furnish the Spaniards with porters and supplies of provisions at Mauila[2] to enable Soto to continue his march. He then sent orders to his vassal, the chief of Mauila, to have them in readiness.

As the Spaniards, accompanied by Actahachi, descended the Alabama, passing by the strong town of Piache, the cacique of Mauila came to meet them with friendly greetings, attended by a number of his subjects playing upon their native musical instruments, and proffering fur robes and service; but the demeanor of the people was so haughty that Luis de Moscoso urged Soto not to enter the town. The *adelantado* persisted; and riding in with seven or eight of his guard and four horsemen, sat down with the cacique and the chief of Tastaluza, whom, according to custom, he had brought to this place. The latter asked leave to return to his own town; when Soto refused, he rose, pretending a wish to confer with some chiefs, and entered a house where some armed Indians were concealed. He refused to come out when summoned; and a chief who was ordered to carry a message to the cacique, but refused, was cut down by Gallego with a sword. Then the Indians, pouring out from the houses, sent volleys of arrows at Soto and his party. Soto ran toward his men, but fell two or three times; and though he reached his main force, five of his men were killed, and he himself, as well as all the rest, was severely wounded. The chained Indian porters, who bore the baggage and treasures of Soto's force, had set down their loads just outside the palisade. When the party of Soto had been driven out, the men of Mauila sent all these into the town, took off their fetters, and gave them weapons. Some of the military equipments of the Spaniards fell into the hands of the Indians, and several of Soto's followers, who had like him entered the town, among them a friar and an ecclesiastic, remained as prisoners.

---

[1] *Relaçam verdadeira*, chap. xv.–xvi.; Biedma, *Relacion;* Smith's *Soto*, pp. 66–77, 240–242; Rangel in Oviedo, i. 563–566.

[2] It is variously written also *Mavila* and *Mavilla*.

The Indians, sending off their caciques, and apparently their women, prepared to defend the town; but Soto, arranging his military array into four detachments, surrounded it, and made an assault on the gates, where the natives gathered to withstand them. By feigning flight Soto drew them out; and by a sudden charge routed them, and gaining an entrance for his men, set fire to the houses. This was not effected without loss, as the Spaniards were several times repulsed by the Indians. When they at last fought their way into the town, the Indians endeavored to escape. Finding that impossible, as the gates were held, the men of Mauila fought desperately, and died by the sword, or plunged into the blazing houses to perish there.

The battle of Mauila was one of the bloodiest ever fought on our soil between white and red men in the earlier days. The *Adelantado* had twenty of his men killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded; of his horses twelve were killed and seventy wounded. The Indian loss was estimated by the Portuguese chronicler of the expedition at twenty-five hundred, and by Rangel at three thousand. At nightfall Biedma tells us that only three Indians remained alive, two of whom were killed fighting; the last hung himself from a tree in the palisade with his bowstring.[1] The Gentleman of Elvas states Soto's whole loss up to his leaving Mauila to have been one hundred and two by disease, accident, and Indian fighting. Divine worship had been apparently offered in the camp regularly up to this time; but in the flames of Mauila perished all the chalices and vestments of the clergy, as well as the bread-irons and their store of wheat-flour and wine, so that Mass ceased from this time.[2]

---

[1] *Relaçam verdadeira*, chs. xvii.–xix.; Biedma, *Relacion;* Smith's *Soto*, pp. 80–90, 242–245.

[2] See Smith's *Soto*, p. 90; Rangel in Oviedo, i. 569. The requiems said years afterward to have been chanted over Soto's body are therefore imaginary. No Mass, whether of requiem or other, could have been said or sung after the battle of Mauila.

Soto here ascertained that Francisco Maldonado was with vessels at the port of Ichuse (or Ochuse) only six days' march from him, awaiting his orders. He was too proud to return to Cuba with his force reduced in numbers, without their baggage, or any trophy from the lands he had visited. He would not even send any tidings to Cuba, but concealed from his men the knowledge which had been brought to him by Ortiz, the rescued follower of Narvaez.

Stubborn in his pride, Soto, on the 14th of November, marched northward; and traversing the land of Pafallaya (now Clarke, Marengo, and Greene counties), passed the town of Taliepatua and reached Cabusto, identified by Pickett with the site of the modern town of Erie, on the Black Warrior. Here a series of battles with the natives occurred; but Soto fought his way through hostile tribes to the little town of Chicaça, with its two hundred houses clustered on a hill, probably on the western bank of the Yazoo, which he reached in a snow-storm on the 17th of December. The cacique Miculasa received Soto graciously, and the Spanish commander won him by sending part of his force to attack Sacchuma, a hostile town. Having thus propitiated this powerful chief, Soto remained here till March; when, being ready to advance on his expedition in search of some wealthy province, he demanded porters of the cacique. The wily chief amused the invader with promises for several days, and then suddenly attacked the town from four sides, at a very early hour in the morning, dashing into the place and setting fire to the houses. The Spaniards, taken by surprise, were assailed as they came out to put on their armor and mount their horses. Soto and one other alone succeeded in getting into the saddle; but Soto himself, after killing one Indian with his spear, was thrown, his girths giving way.

The Indians drew off with the loss of this one man, having killed eleven Spaniards, many of their horses, and having greatly reduced their herd of swine. In the conflagration of the town, Soto's force lost most of their remaining clothing, with many of their weapons and saddles. They at once set to work to supply the loss. The woods gave ash to make saddles and lances; forges were set up to temper the swords and make such arms as they could; while the tall grass was woven into mats to serve as blankets or cloaks.

They needed their arms indeed; for on the 15th of March the enemy, in three divisions, advanced to attack the camp. Soto met them with as many squadrons, and routed them with loss.

When Soto at last took up his march on the 25th of April, the sturdy Alibamo, or Alimamu, or Limamu, barred his way with a palisade manned by the painted warriors of the tribe. Soto carried it at the cost of the lives of seven or eight of his men, and twenty-five or six wounded; only to find that the Indians had made the palisade not to protect any stores, but simply to cope with the invaders.[1]

---

[1] *Relaçam verdadeira*, chap. xx.–xxi.; Biedma, *Relacion;* Smith's *Soto*, pp. 91–100, 246–248; Rangel in Oviedo, *Historia General*, chap. xxviii, pp. 571–573.

At Quizquiz, or Quizqui, near the banks of the Mississippi, Soto surprised the place and captured all the women; but released them to obtain canoes to cross the river. As the Indians failed to keep their promise, Soto encamped in a plain and spent nearly a month building four large boats, each capable of carrying sixty or seventy men and five or six horses. The opposite shore was held by hostile Indians; and bands of finely formed warriors constantly came down in canoes, as if ready to engage them, but always drawing off.

The Spaniards finally crossed the river at the lowest Chickasaw Bluff, all wondering at the mighty turbid stream, with its fish, strange to their eyes, and the trees, uprooted on the banks far above, that came floating down.[1] Soto marched northward to Little Prairie in quest of Pacaha and Chisca, provinces reported to abound in gold. After planting a cross on St. John's Day[2] at Casqui, where the bisons' heads above the entrances to the huts reminded them of Spain, he entered Pacaha June 29, as Oviedo says. These towns were the best they had seen since they left Cofitachiqui. Pacaha furnished them with a booty which they prized highly,—a fine store of skins of animals, and native blankets woven probably of bark. These enabled the men to make clothing, of which many had long been in sore want. The people gradually returned, and the cacique received Soto in friendly guise, giving him his two sisters as wives.

While the army rested here nearly a month, expeditions were sent in various directions. One, marching eight days to the northwest through a land of swamps and ponds, reached the prairies, the land of Caluça, where Indians lived in portable houses of mats, with frames so light that a man could easily carry them.[3]

Despairing of finding his long-sought El Dorado in that direction, Soto marched south and then southwest, in all a hundred and ten leagues, to Quiguate, a town on a branch of the Mississippi. It was the largest they had yet seen. The Indians abandoned it; but one half the houses were sufficient to shelter the whole of Soto's force.

On the first of September the expedition reached Coligua, — a populous town in a valley among the mountains, near which vast herds of bison roamed. Then crossing the river again,[4] Soto's jaded and decreasing force marched onward. Cayas, with its salt river and fertile maize-lands, was reached; and then the Spaniards came to Tulla, where the Indians attacked them, fighting from their housetops to the last. The cacique at last yielded, and came weeping with great sobs to make his submission.

Marching southeast, Soto reached Quipana; and crossing the mountains eastward, wintered in the province of Viranque, or Autiamque, or Utianque,

---

[1] *Relaçam verdadeira*, chap. xxii.; Biedma, *Relacion*, in Smith, *Soto*, pp. 101–105, 249–250; Hakluyt; Rangel in Oviedo.

[2] Oviedo, p. 573.

[3] *Relaçam verdadeira*, chap. xxiii., xxiv.; Biedma, *Relacion*, in Smith's *Soto*, pp. 106–117, 250–252; Hakluyt; Rangel in Oviedo. Compare *Relacion* of Coronado's expedition in Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 153.

[4] Rangel in Oviedo, i. 576.

El Adelantado Hernando de Soto,

SOTO.[1]

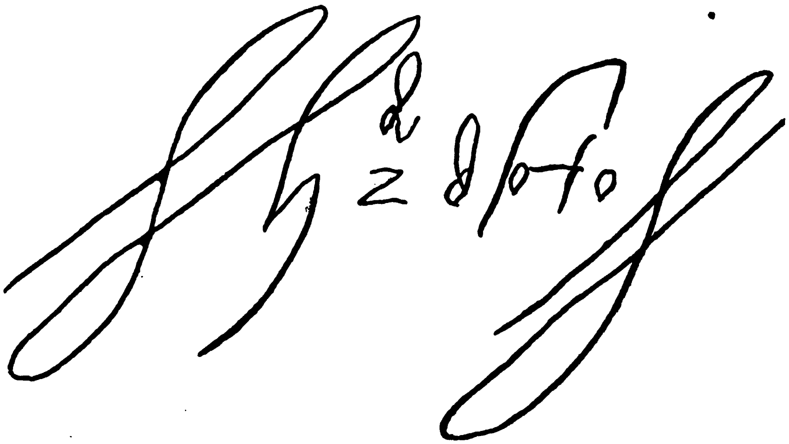
on a branch of the Mississippi, apparently the Washita.[2] The sufferings of the Spaniards during a long and severe winter were terrible, and Ortiz, their interpreter, succumbed to his hardships and died. Even the proud spirit of Soto yielded to his disappointments and toil. Two hundred and fifty of his splendid force had left their bones to whiten along the path which he had followed. He determined at last to push to the shores of the Gulf, and there build two brigantines, in order to send to Cuba and to New Spain for aid.

---

[1] Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera (1728), iv. 21.

[2] Oviedo, p. 577. Here, unfortunately, his abridgment of Rangel ends. The contents of two subsequent chapters are given, but not the text.

Passing through Ayays and the well-peopled land of Nilco, Soto went with the cacique of Guachoyanque to his well-palisaded town on the banks of the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Red River, arriving there on Sunday, April 17, 1542. Here he fell ill of the fever; difficulties beset him on every side, and he sank under the strain. Appointing Luis de Moscoço as his successor in command, he died on the 21st of May. The *Adelantado* of Cuba and Florida, who had hoped to gather the wealth of nations, left as his property five Indian slaves, three horses, and a herd of swine. His body, kept for some days in a house, was interred in the town; but as fears were entertained that the Indians might dig up the corpse, it was taken, wrapped in blankets loaded with sand, and sunk in the Mississippi.[1]



AUTOGRAPH OF SOTO.

Muscoço's first plan was to march westward to Mexico. But after advancing to the province of Xacatin, the survivors of the expedition lost all hope; and returning to the Mississippi, wintered on its banks. There building two large boats, they embarked in them and in canoes. Hostile Indians pursued them, and twelve men were drowned, their canoes being run down by the enemy's *periaguas*. The survivors reached the Gulf and coasted along to Pánuco.[2]

The expedition of Soto added very little to the knowledge of the continent, as no steps were taken to note the topography of the country or the language of the various tribes. Diego Maldonado and Gomez Arias, seeking Soto, explored the coast from the vicinity of the Mississippi nearly to Newfoundland; but their reports are unknown.

Notwithstanding the disastrous result of Soto's expedition, and the conclusive proof it afforded that the country bordering on the Gulf of

---

[1] *Relaçam verdad.*, chaps. xxv.–xxx.; Biedma, *Relacion*, in Smith's *Soto*, pp. 118–149, 252–257.

[2] *Relaçam verdad.*, chaps. xxxi.–xlii.; Biedma, *Relacion*, in Smith's *Soto*, pp. 150–196, 257–261.

Mexico contained no rich kingdom and afforded little inducement for settlements, other commanders were ready to undertake the conquest of Florida. Among these was Don Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain, who sought, by offers of rank and honors, to enlist some of the survivors of Soto's march in a new campaign. In a more mercantile spirit, Julian de Samano and Pedro de Ahumada applied to the Spanish monarch for a patent, promising to make a good use of the privileges granted them, and to treat the Indians well. They hoped to buy furs and pearls, and carry on a trade in them till mines of gold and silver were found. The Court, however, refused to permit the grant.[1]

Don antonyo demendoça

ANTONIO DE MENDOZA,
Viceroy of New Spain.

Yet as a matter of policy it became necessary for Spain to occupy Florida. This the Court felt; and when Cartier was preparing for his voyage to the northern part of the continent,[2] Spanish spies followed his movements and reported all to their Government. In Spain it was decided that Cartier's occupation of the frozen land, for which he was equipping his vessels, could not in any way militate against the interests of the Catholic monarch; but it was decided that any settlement attempted in Florida must on some pretext be crushed out.[3] Florida from its position afforded a basis for assailing the fleets which bore from Vera Cruz the treasures of the Indies; and the hurricanes of the tropics had already strewn the Florida coast with the fragments of Spanish wrecks. In 1545 a vessel laden with silver and precious commodities perished on that coast, and two hundred persons reached land, only to fall by the hands of the Indians.[4]

The next Spanish attempt to occupy Florida was not unmixed with romance; and its tragic close invests it with peculiar interest. The Dominicans, led by Father Antonio de Montesinos and Las Casas, — who had by this time become Bishop of Chiapa, — were active in condemning the cruelties of their countrymen to the natives of the New World; and the atrocities perpetrated by Soto in his disastrous march gave new themes for their indignant denunciations.[5]

One Dominican went further. Father Luis Cancer de Barbastro, when the Indians of a province had so steadily defied the Spaniards and prevented their entrance that it was styled "Tierra de Guerra," succeeded by mild and gentle means in winning the whole Indian population, so that the province obtained the name of "Vera Paz," or True Peace. In 1546 this energetic man conceived the idea of attempting the peaceful conquest of Florida. Father Gregory de Beteta and other influential members of his Order seconded his views. The next year he went to Spain and laid his project before the Court, where it was favorably received. He returned to Mexico with a royal order that all Floridians held in slavery, carried thither by the survivors of Soto's expedition, should be confided to Father Cancer to be taken back to their own land. The order proved ineffectual. Father Cancer then sailed from Vera Cruz in 1549 in the "Santa Maria del Enzina," without arms or soldiers, taking Father Beteta, Father Diego de Tolosa, Father John Garcia, and others to conduct the mission. At Havana he obtained Magdalen, a woman who had been brought from Florida, and who had become a Christian. The vessel then steered for Florida, and reaching the coast, at about 28°, on the eve of Ascension Day, ran northward, but soon sailed back. The missionaries and their interpreter landed, and found some of the Indians fishing, who proved friendly. Father Diego, a mission coadjutor, and a sailor, resolved to remain with the natives, and went off to their cabins. Cancer and his companions awaited their return; but they never appeared again. For some days the Spaniards on the ship endeavored to enter into friendly relations with the Indians, and on Corpus Christi Fathers Cancer and Garcia landed and said Mass on shore. At last a Spaniard named John Muñoz, who had been a prisoner among the Indians, managed to reach the ship; and from him they learned that the missionary and his companions had been killed by the treacherous natives almost immediately after reaching their cabins. He had not witnessed their murder, but declared that he had seen the missionary's scalp. Magdalen, however, came to the shore and assured the missionaries that their comrade was alive and well.

---

[1] Barcia, *Ensaio cronològico*, p. 24; Gomara, *Hist. gen.*, lib. i. c. 45.

[2] Cf. Vol. IV. chap. 2.

[3] Documents printed in Smith's *Coleccion*, pp. 103–118.

[4] Barcia, *Ensaio cronològico*, p. 24.

[5] Las Casas, *Destruccion de las Indias. De las provincias de la Tierra-Firme por la parte que se llama la Florida*, — a chapter written partly before and partly after Moscoço's arrival in Mexico. [See the chapter on Las Casas, following the present one. — ED.]

It had thus become a serious matter what course to pursue. The vessel was too heavy to enter the shallow bays, the provisions were nearly exhausted, water could not be had, and the ship's people were clamoring to return to Mexico. The missionaries, all except Father Cancer, desired to abandon the projected settlement, but he still believed that by presents and kindness to the Indians he could safely remain. His companions in vain endeavored to dissuade him. On Tuesday, June 25, he was pulled in a boat near the shore. He leaped into the water and waded towards the land. Though urged to return, he persevered. Kneeling for a few minutes on the beach, he advanced till he met the Indians. The sailors in the boat saw one Indian pull off his hat, and another strike him down with a club. One cry escaped his lips. A crowd of Indians streamed down to the shore and with arrows drove off the boat. Lingering for awhile, the vessel sailed back to Vera Cruz, after five lives had thus rashly been sacrificed.[1]

---

[1] The best account of this affair is a "Relacion de la Florida para el Ill^{mo} Señor Visorrei de la N^{a} España la qual trajo Fray Greg^{o} de Beteta," in Smith's *Coleccion*, pp. 190–202. The first part is by Cancer himself, the conclusion by Beteta. There are also extant "Requirimentos y respuestas que pasaron en la Nao S^{a} Maria de la Encina," and the Minutes of dis-

On the arrival of the tidings of this tragic close of Cancer's mission a congress was convened by Maximilian, King of Bohemia, then regent in Spain; and the advocates of the peace policy in regard to the Indians lost much of the influence which they had obtained in the royal councils.[1]

The wreck of the fleet, with rich cargoes of silver, gold, and other precious commodities, on the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico in 1553, when several hundred persons perished, and the sufferings of the surviving passengers, among whom were several Dominicans, in their attempt to reach the settlements; and the wreck of Farfan's fleet on the Atlantic coast near Santa Elena in December, 1554, — showed the necessity of having posts on that dangerous coast of Florida, in order to save life and treasure.[2]

The Council of the Indies advised Philip II. to confide the conquest and settlement of Florida to Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, who was anxious to undertake the task. The Catholic monarch had previously rejected the projects of Zurita and Samano; but the high character of Velasco induced him to confide the task to the viceroy of Mexico. The step was a gain for the humanitarian party; and the King, on giving his approval, directed that Dominican friars should be selected to accompany the colonists, in order to minister to them and convert the Indians. Don Luis de Velasco had directed the government in Mexico since November, 1550, with remarkable prudence and ability. The natives found in him such an earnest, capable, and unwavering protector that he is styled in history the Father of the Indians.

The plans adopted by this excellent governor for the occupation of Florida were in full harmony with the Dominican views. In the treatment of the Indians he anticipated the just and equitable methods which give Calvert, Williams, and Penn so enviable a place in American annals.[3]

The occupation was not to be one of conquest, and all intercourse with the Indians was to be on the basis of natural equity. His first step was prompted by his characteristic prudence.[4] In September, 1558, he despatched Guido de Labazares, with three vessels and a sufficient force, to explore the whole Florida coast, and select the best port he found for the projected settlement. Labazares, on his return after an investigation of

---

cussions between the missionaries, and the Captain's order to his pilot and sailors. There is a somewhat detailed sketch of Cancer's life in Davila Padilla's *Historia de la fundacion de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, 1596, chapters liv.–lvii., and a brief notice in Touron, *Histoire de l'Amérique*, vi. 81. Cf. Herrera, dec. viii. lib. 5, p. 112; Gomara, c. xlv.; Barcia, *Ensaio cronológico*, pp. 25–26.

[1] Barcia, *Ensaio cronológico*, p. 26.

[2] Barcia, *Ensaio cronológico*, pp. 28–29. "Don Luis Velasco a los officiales de Sevilla," Mexico, November, 1554. Farfan to same, Jan. 3, 1555. The vessels were wrecked at Cape Santa Elena, 9° N. Villafañe was sent to rescue the survivors. Davila Padilla gives details in his sketches of Fathers Diego de la Cruz, Juan de Mena, Juan Ferrer, and Marcos de Mena.

[3] "The Viceroy has treated this matter in a most Christian way, with much wisdom and counsel, insisting strenuously on their understanding that they do not go to conquer those nations, nor do what has been done in the discovery of the Indies, but to settle, and by good example, with good works and with presents, to bring them to a knowledge of our holy Faith and Catholic truth." — FATHER PEDRO DE FERIA, *Letter of March* 3, 1559.

[4] Alaman, *Disertaciones históricas*, vol. iii., apendice, p. 11.

several months, reported in favor of Pensacola Bay, which he named Felipina; and he describes its entrance between a long island and a point of land. The country was well wooded, game and fish abounded, and the Indian fields showed that Indian corn and vegetables could be raised successfully.[1] On the return of Labazares in December, preparations were made for the expedition, which was placed under the command of Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano. The force consisted of fifteen hundred soldiers and settlers, under six captains of cavalry and six of infantry, some of whom had been at Coça, and were consequently well acquainted with the country where it was intended to form the settlement. The Dominicans selected were Fathers Pedro de Feria, as vicar-provincial of Florida, Dominic of the Annunciation, Dominic de Salazar, John Maçuelas, Dominic of Saint Dominic, and a lay brother. The object being to settle, provisions for a whole year were prepared, and ammunition to meet all their wants.

The colonists, thus well fitted for their undertaking, sailed from Vera Cruz on the 11th of June, 1559; and by the first of the following month were off the bay in Florida to which Miruelo had given his name. Although Labazares had recommended Pensacola Bay, Tristan de Luna seems to have been induced by his pilots to give the preference to the Bay of Ichuse; and he sailed west in search of it, but passed it, and entered Pensacola Bay. Finding that he had gone too far, Luna sailed back ten leagues east to Ichuse, which must have been Santa Rosa Bay. Here he anchored his fleet, and despatched the factor Luis Daza, with a galleon, to Vera Cruz to announce his safe arrival. He fitted two other vessels to proceed to Spain, awaiting the return of two exploring parties; he then prepared to land his colonists and stores.[2] Meanwhile he sent a detachment of one hundred men under captains Alvaro Nyeto and Gonzalo Sanchez, accompanied by one of the missionaries, to explore the country and ascertain the disposition of the Indians. The exploring parties returned after three weeks, having found only one hamlet, in the midst of an uninhabited country.[3] Before Luna had unloaded his vessels, they were struck, during the night of September 19,[4] by a terrible hurricane, which lasted twenty-four hours, destroying five ships, a galleon and a bark, and carrying one caravel and its cargo into a grove some distance on land. Many of the people perished, and most of the stores intended for the maintenance of the colony were ruined or lost.

The river, entering the Bay of Ichuse, proved to be very difficult of navigation, and it watered a sparsely-peopled country. Another detachment,[1] sent apparently to the northwest, after a forty days' march through uncultivated country, reached a large river, apparently the Escambia, and followed its banks to Nanipacna, a deserted town of eighty houses. Explorations in various directions found no other signs of Indian occupation. The natives at last returned and became friendly.

---

[1] *Declaracion de Guido de Bazares de la Jornada que hizo á descubrir las puertos y vaias qe hai en la costa de la Florida*, Feb. 1, 1559. A poor translation of this document is given in French in Ternaux' *Voyages*, vol. x., and a still worse one in English in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, etc., new series, ii. 236.

[2] *Relacion de Dn Luis de Velasco a S. M. Mexico*, Sept. 24, 1559. This was written after receiving, on the 9th, the letters sent by Tristan de Luna on the galleon. It is given in B. Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 10. See Davila Padilla, *Historia de la fundacion de la Provincia de Santiago de México* (Madrid, 1596), chaps. lviii.–lix., pp. 231–234. Ichuse in some documents is written Ochuse.

[3] *Testimony of Cristóval Velasquez.*

[4] Davila Padilla (p. 236) says August 20; but it was evidently September.

Finding his original site unfavorable, Tristan de Luna, after exhausting the relief-supplies sent him, and being himself prostrated by a fever in which he became delirious, left Juan de Jaramillo at the port with fifty men and negro slaves, and proceeded[2] with the rest of his company, nearly a thousand souls, to Nanipacna, some by land, and some ascending the river in their lighter craft. To this town he gave the name of Santa Cruz. The stores of Indian corn, beans, and other vegetables left by the Indians were soon consumed by the Spaniards, who were forced to live on acorns or any herbs they could gather.

The Viceroy, on hearing of their sufferings, sent two vessels to their relief in November, promising more ample aid in the spring. The provisions they obtained saved them from starvation during the winter, but in the spring their condition became as desperate as ever. No attempt seems to have been made to cultivate the Indian fields, or to raise anything for their own support.[3]

In hope of obtaining provisions from Coça, Jaramillo sent his sergeant-major with six captains and two hundred soldiers, accompanied by Father Dominic de Salazar and Dominic of the Annunciation, to that province. On the march the men were forced to eat straps, harnesses, and the leather coverings of their shields; some died of starvation, while others were poisoned by herbs which they ate. A chestnut wood proved a godsend, and a fifty days' march brought them to Olibahali (Hatchet Creek), where the friendly natives ministered to their wants.[4]

About the beginning of July they reached Coça, on the Coosa River, then a town of thirty houses, near which were seven other towns of the same tribe. Entering into friendly intercourse with these Indians, the Spaniards obtained food for themselves and their jaded horses. After resting here for three months, the Spaniards, to gain the good-will of the Coosas, agreed to aid them in a campaign against the Napochies, — a nation near the Ochechiton,[5] the Espiritu Santo, or Mississippi. These were in all probability the Natchez. The Coosas and their Spanish allies defeated this tribe, and compelled them to pay tribute, as of old, to the Coosas. Their town, saved with difficulty from the flames, gave the Spaniards a supply of corn. On their return to Coça, the sergeant-major sent to report to Tristan de Luna; but his messengers found no Spaniard at Nanipacna, save one hanging from a tree. Tristan de Luna, supposing his men lost, had gone down to Ochuse Bay, leaving directions on a tree, and a buried letter.[1] Father Feria and some others had sailed for Havana, and all were eager to leave the country.[2] Tristan de Luna was reluctant to abandon the projected settlement, and wished to proceed to Coça with all the survivors of his force. His sickness had left him so capricious and severe, that he seemed actually insane. The supplies promised in the spring had not arrived in September, though four ships left Vera Cruz toward the end of June. Parties sent out by land and water found the fields on the Escambia and Mobile[3] forsaken by the Indians, who had laid waste their towns and removed their provisions. In this desperate state George Ceron, the *maestro de campo*, opposed the Governor's plan,[4] and a large part of the force rallied around him. When Tristan de Luna issued a proclamation ordering the march, there was an open mutiny, and the Governor condemned the whole of the insurgents to death. Of course he could not attempt to execute so many, but he did hang one who deserted. The mutineers secretly sent word to Coça, and in November the party from that province with the two missionaries arrived at Pensacola Bay.[5] Don Tristan's detachment was also recalled from the original landing, and the whole force united. The dissensions continued till the missionaries, amid the solemnities of Holy Week, by appealing to the religious feelings of the commander and Ceron, effected a reconciliation.[6]

---

[1] *Letter of Velasco*, Oct. 25, 1559, citing a letter of Tristan de Luna. Said by Montalvan and Velasquez to have been one hundred and fifty men, horse and foot, under Mateo de Sauce, the sergeant-major, and Captain Christopher de Arellano, accompanied by Fathers Annunciation and Salazar (*Testimony of Miguel Sanchez Serrano*). He remained three months at Ichuse before he heard from Ypacana; and though urged to go there, lingered five or six months more.

[2] *Letter of Tristan de Luna to the King*, Sept. 24, 1559, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, xii. 280–283.

[3] *Letter of Velasco to Luna*, Oct. 25, 1559; Davila Padilla, book i. chap. lxi. pp. 242–244.

[4] Barcia, *Ensaio cronológico*, pp. 33–34; Davila Padilla, book i. chap. lxii., pp. 245–246.

[5] Ochechiton, like Mississippi, means great river, — from *okhina*, river; *chito*, great (Byington's *Choctaw Definer*, pp. 79, 97).

At this juncture Angel de Villafañe's fleet entered the harbor of Ichuse. He announced to the people that he was on his way to Santa Elena, which Tristan de Luna had made an ineffectual effort to reach. All who chose were at liberty to accompany him. The desire to evacuate the country where they had suffered so severely was universal. None expressed a wish to remain; and Tristan de Luna, seeing himself utterly abandoned, embarked for Havana with a few servants. Villafañe then took on board all except a detachment of fifty or sixty men who were left at Ichuse under Captain Biedma, with orders to remain five or six months; at the expiration of which time they were to sail away also, in case no instructions came.

Villafañe, with the "San Juan" and three other vessels and about two hundred men, put into Havana; but there many of the men deserted, and several officers refused to proceed.[7]

---

[1] Testimony of soldiers.

[2] Davila Padilla, book i. chap. lxiii.–lxvi. pp. 247–265.

[3] These I take to be the Rio Manipacna and Rio Tome.

[4] Ceron, *Respuesta*, Sept. 16, 1560. Velasco, *Letter*, *Aug.* 20–*Sept.* 3, 1560; Davila Padilla, book i. p. 268.

[5] Davila Padilla, p. 270. The labors of Cancer and of Feria and his companions are treated briefly in the *Relacion de la fundacion de la Provincia de Santiago*, 1567. Cf. *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, v. 447.

[6] Barcia, *Ensaio cronológico*, pp. 34–41; Davila Padilla, pp. 271–277.

[7] *Testimony of Velasquez and Miguel Sanchez Serrano.* The expedition sent out by Tristan de Luna to occupy Santa Elena was composed of three vessels, bearing one hundred men. The vessels were scattered in a storm, and ran

With Gonzalo Gayon as pilot, Villafañe reached Santa Elena — now Port Royal Sound — May 27, 1561, and took possession in the name of the King of Spain. Finding no soil adapted for cultivation, and no port suitable for planting a settlement, he kept along the coast, doubled Cape Roman, and landing on the 2d of June, went inland till he reached the Santee, where he again took formal possession. On the 8th he was near the Jordan or Pedee; but a storm drove off one of his vessels. With the rest he continued his survey of the coast till he doubled Cape Hatteras. There, on the 14th of June, his caravel well-nigh foundered, and his two smaller vessels undoubtedly perished. He is said to have abandoned the exploration of the coast here, although apparently it was his vessel, with the Dominican Fathers, which about this time visited Axacan, on the Chesapeake, and took off a brother of the chief.[1]

Villafañe then sailed to Santo Domingo, and Florida was abandoned. In fact, on the 23d of September the King declared that no further attempt was to be made to colonize that country, either in the Gulf or at Santa Elena, alleging that there was no ground to fear that the French would set foot in that land or take possession of it; and the royal order cites the opinion of Pedro Menendez against any attempt to form settlements on either coast.[2]

As if to show the fallacy of their judgment and their forecast, the French (and what was worse, from the Spanish point of view, French Calvinists) in the next year, under Ribault, took possession of Port Royal, — the very Santa Elena which Villafañe considered unfitted for colonization. Here they founded Charlesfort and a settlement, entering Port Royal less than three months after the Spanish officers convened in Mexico had united in condemning the country.

Pedro Menendez de Aviles had, as we have seen, been general of the fleet to New Spain in 1560, and on his return received instructions to examine the Atlantic coast north of the very spot where the French thus soon after settled. In 1561 he again commanded the fleet; but on his homeward voyage a terrible storm scattered the vessels near the Bermudas, and one vessel, on which his only son and many of his kinsmen had embarked, disappeared. With the rest of his ships he reached Spain,

---

to Mexico and Cuba. After that Pedro Menendez, who was in command of a fleet sailing from Vera Cruz, was ordered to run along the Atlantic coast for a hundred leagues above Santa Elena. *Letter of Velasco, Sept.* 3, 1560; *Testimony of Montalvan.*

[1] *Testimonio de Francisco de Aguilar, escrivano que fue en la jornada á la Florida con Angel de Villafañe Relacion del reconocimiento que hizo el Capitan General Angel de Villafañe de la costa de la Florida, y posesion que tomó . . . desde* 33° *hasta* 35°. Testimony of Montalvan, Velasquez, Serrano, etc. The Indian, however, may have been found among a still more southerly tribe.

[2] A council held in Mexico of persons who had been in Florida agreed that the royal order was based on accurate information (*Parecer que da S. M. el conséjo de la Nueva España*, March 12, 1562). Tristan de Luna sailed to Spain, and in a brief, manly letter solicited of the King an investigation into his conduct, professing his readiness to submit to any punishment if he was deemed deserving of it (*Memorial que dió al Rey Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano dandole cuenta del suceso de la jornada de la Florida*).

filled with anxiety, eager only to fit out vessels to seek his son, who, he believed, had been driven on the Florida coast, and was probably a prisoner in the hands of the Indians. At this critical moment, however, charges were brought against him; and he, with his brother, was arrested and detained in prison for two years, unable to bring the case to trial, or to obtain his release on bail.

When Menendez at last succeeded in obtaining an audience of the King, he solicited, in 1564, permission to proceed with two vessels to Bermuda and Florida to seek his son, and then retire to his home, which he had not seen for eighteen years. Philip II. at last consented; but required him to make a thorough coast-survey of Florida, so as to prepare charts that would prevent the wrecks which had arisen from ignorance of the real character of the sea-line. Menendez replied that his Majesty could confer no higher boon upon him for his long and successful services on the seas than to authorize him to conquer and settle Florida.

Nothing could be in greater accordance with the royal views than to commit to the energy of Menendez [1] the task which so many others had undertaken in vain. A patent, or *asiento*, was issued March 20, 1565, by the provisions of which Menendez was required to sail in May with ten vessels, carrying arms and supplies, and five hundred men, one hundred to be capable of cultivating the soil. He was to take provisions to maintain the whole force for a year, and was to conquer and settle Florida within three years; explore and map the coast, transport settlers, a certain number of whom were to be married; maintain twelve members of religious Orders as missionaries, besides four of the Society of Jesus; and to introduce horses, black cattle, sheep, and swine for the two or three distinct settlements he was required to found at his own expense.[2] The King gave only the use of the galleon "San Pelayo," and bestowed upon Menendez the title of *Adelantado* of Florida, a personal grant of twenty-five leagues square, with the title of Marquis, and the office of Governor and Captain-General of Florida.

While Menendez was gathering, among his kindred in Asturias and Biscay, men and means to fulfil his part of the undertaking, the Court of Spain became aware for the first time that the Protestants of France had quietly planted a colony on that very Florida coast. Menendez was immediately summoned in haste to Court; and orders were issued to furnish him in America three vessels fully equipped, and an expeditionary force of two hundred cavalry and four hundred infantry. Menendez urged, on the contrary, that he should be sent on at once with some light vessels to attack the French; or, if that was not feasible, to occupy a neighboring port and fortify it, while awaiting reinforcements. The Government, by successive orders, increased the Florida armament, so that Menendez finally sailed from Cadiz, June 29, with the galleon "San Pelayo" and other vessels to the number of nineteen, carrying more than fifteen hundred persons, including farmers and mechanics of all kinds.

---

[1] There is a copperplate engraving of "Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Natural de Avilés en Asturias, Comendador de la orden de Santiago, Conquistador de la Florida, nombrado Gral de la Armada contra Jnglaterra. Murió en Santander A° 1574, á los 55, de edad." Drawn by Josef Camaron, engraved by Franco de Paula Marte, 1791 (7⅛ × 11⅜ inches). Mr. Parkman engraved the head for his *France in the New World*, and Dr. Shea used the plate in his *Charlevoix*.

[2] *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, xxii. 242.

The light in which Spaniards, especially those connected with commerce and colonies, regarded the Protestants of France was simply that of pirates. French cruisers, often making their Protestantism a pretext for their actions, scoured the seas, capturing Spanish and Portuguese vessels, and committing the greatest atrocities. In 1555 Jacques Sorie surprised Havana, plundered it, and gave it to the flames, butchering the prisoners who fell into his hands. In 1559 Megander pillaged Porto Rico, and John de la Roche plundered the ships and settlements near Carthagena.[1]

It seems strange, however, that neither in Spain nor in America was it known that this dreaded and hated community, the Huguenots of France, had actually, in 1562, begun a settlement at the very harbor of Santa Elena where Villafañe had taken possession in the name of the Spanish monarch a year before. Some of the French settlers revolted, and very naturally went off to cruise against the Spaniards, and with success; but the ill-managed colony of Charlesfort on Port Royal Sound had terminated its brief existence without drawing down the vengeance of Spain.

When the tidings of a French occupancy of Florida startled the Spanish Court, a second attempt of the Huguenots at settlement had been made,— this time at the mouth of St. John's River, where Fort Caroline was a direct menace to the rich Spanish fleets, offering a safe refuge to cruisers, which in the name of a pure gospel could sally out to plunder and to slay. Yet that settlement, thus provoking the fiercest hostility of Spain, was ill-managed. It was, in fact, sinking, like its predecessor, from the unfitness of its members to make the teeming earth yield them its fruits for their maintenance. René Laudonnière, the commandant, after receiving some temporary relief from the English corsair Hawkins,[2] and learning that the Spaniards meditated hostilities, was about to burn his fort and abandon the country, when John Ribault arrived as commandant, with supplies and colonists, as well as orders to maintain the post. His instructions from Coligny clearly intended that he should attack the Spaniards.[3]

---

[1] "They burned it [Havana], with all the town and church, and put to death all the inhabitants they found, and the rest fled to the mountains; so that nothing remained in the town that was not burned, and there was not an inhabitant left alive or dwelling there" (*Memorial de Pedro Menendez de Aviles á S.M. sobre los agravios . . . que recivio de los oficiales de la casa de contratacion*, 1564). Menendez was personally cognizant, as he sent a vessel and men from his fleet to help restore the place.

[2] [Laudonnière's account of this relief is translated in the *Hawkins' Voyages* (p. 65), published by the Hakluyt Society. A project of the English for a settlement on the Florida coast (1563), under Stukely, came to nought. Cf. Doyle's *English in America*, p. 55. — Ed.]

[3] "En fermant ceste lettre i'ay eu certain aduis, comme dom Petro Melandes se part d'Espagne, pour aller à la coste de la Nouvelle Frãce; vous regarderez n'endurer qu'il n'entrepreine sur nous non plus qu'il veut que nous n'entreprenions sur eux." As Mr. Parkman remarks, "Ribault interpreted this into a command to attack the Spaniards." — *Pioneers of France in the New World.*

The two bitter antagonists, each stimulated by his superiors, were thus racing across the Atlantic, each endeavoring to outstrip the other, so as to be able first to assume the offensive. The struggle was to be a deadly one, for on neither side were there any of the ordinary restraints; it was to be a warfare without mercy.

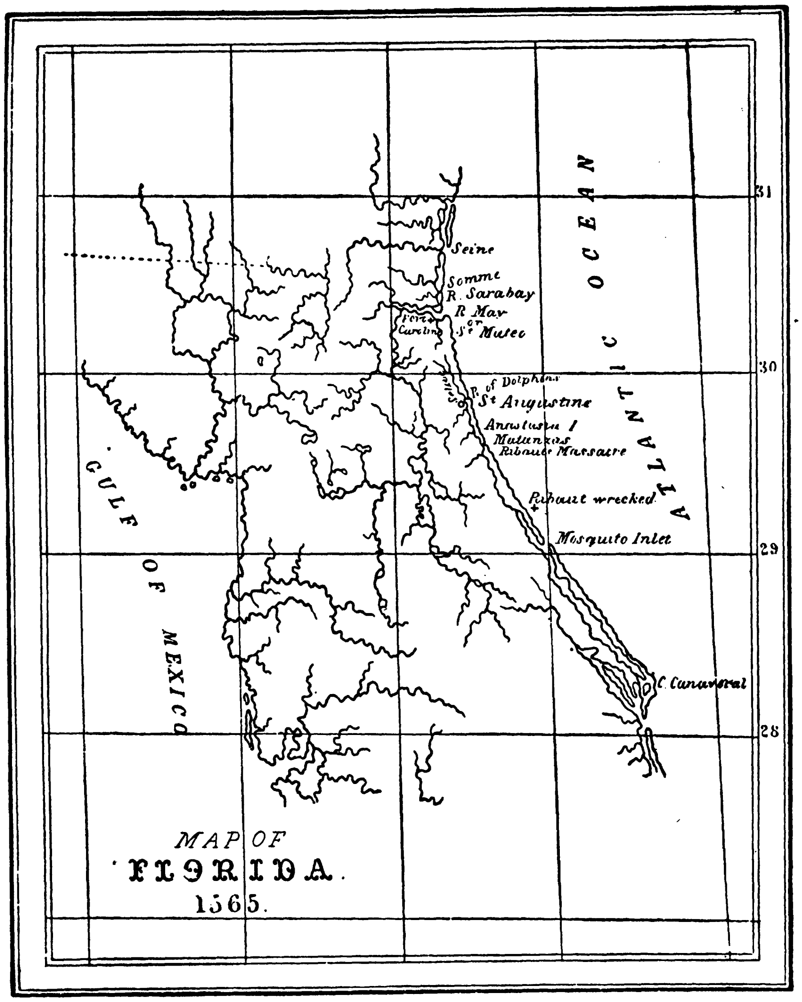
After leaving the Canaries, Menendez' fleet was scattered by storms. One vessel put back; the flagship and another were driven in one direction, five vessels in another. These, after encountering another storm, finally reached Porto Rico on the 9th of August, and found the flagship and its tender there.[1]

The other ships from Biscay and Asturias had not arrived; but Menendez, fearing that Ribault might outstrip him, resolved to proceed, though his vessels needed repairs from the injuries sustained in the storm. If he was to crush Fort Caroline, he felt that it must be done before the French post was reinforced; if not, all the force at his disposal would be insufficient to assume the offensive. He made the coast of Florida near Cape Cañaveral on the 25th of August; and soon after, by landing a party, ascertained from the natives that the French post was to the northward. Following the coast in that direction, he discovered, on the 28th, a harbor which seemed to possess advantages, and to which he gave the name of the great Bishop of Hippo, Augustine, who is honored on that day. Sailing on cautiously, he came in sight of the mouth of the St. John's River about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of September. The ten days he had lost creeping along the coast were fatal to his project, for there lay the four vessels of Ribault, the flagship and its consort flinging to the breeze the colors of France.

Menendez' officers in council were in favor of running back to Santo Domingo till the whole force was united and ready to assume the offensive; but Menendez inspired them with his own intrepidity, and resolved to attack at once. A tremendous thunderstorm prevented operations till ten at night, when he bore down on the French, and ran his ship, the "Pelayo," between the two larger vessels of Ribault. To his hail who they were and what they were doing there, the reply was that John Ribault was their captain-general, and that they came to the country by order of the King of France; and the French in return asked what ships they were, and who commanded them. To quote his own words, "I replied to them that I was Peter Menendez, that I came by command of the King of Spain to this coast and land to burn and hang the French Lutherans found in it, and that in the morning I would board his ships to know whether he belonged to that sect; because if he did, I could not avoid executing on them the justice which his Majesty commanded. They replied that this was not right, and that I might go without awaiting the morning."

---

[1] *Relacion de Mazauegos. Relacion de lo subcedido en la Habana cerca de la entrada de los Franceses.* Smith, *Coleccion*, p. 202. *Relacion de los robos que corsarios franceses han hecho* 1559–1571. *Relacion de los navios que robaron franceses los años de* 1559 *y* 1560.



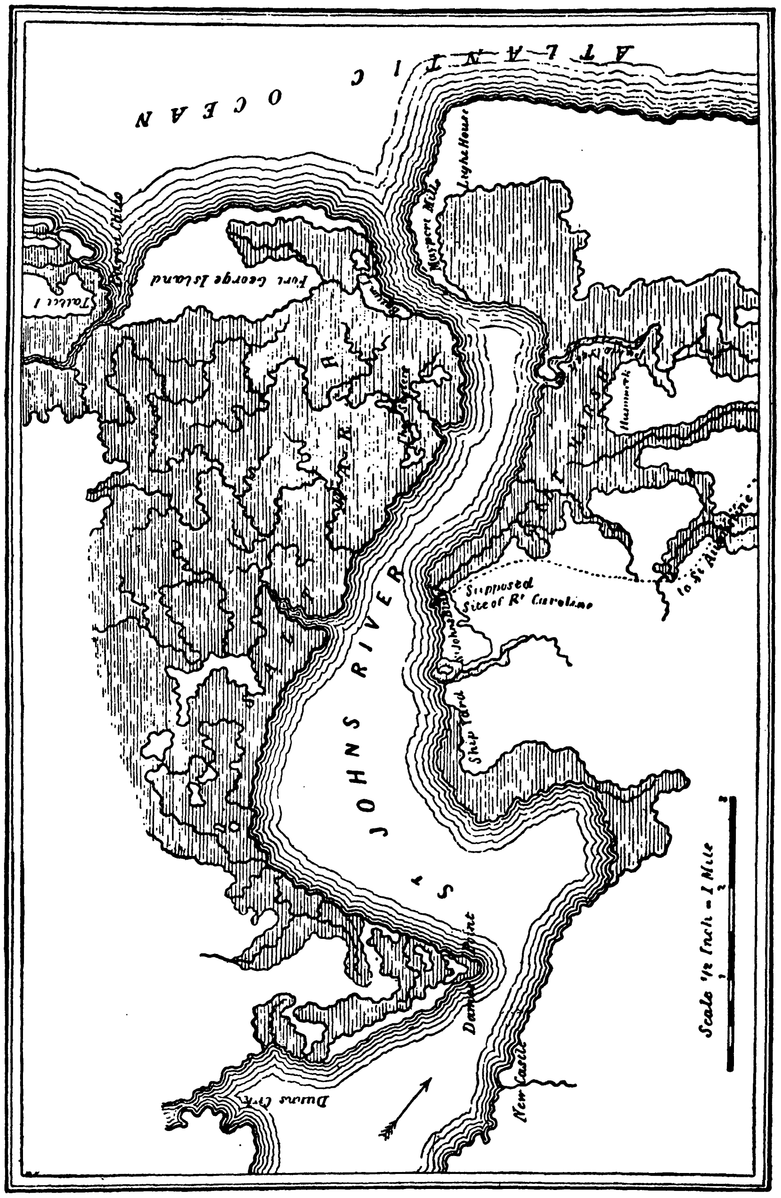
FLORIDA.[1]

As Menendez manœuvred to get a favorable position, the French vessels cut their cables and stood out to sea. The Spaniards gave chase, rapidly firing five cannon at Ribault's flagship, — which Menendez supposed that he injured badly, as boats put off to the other vessels. Finding that the French outsailed him, Menendez put back, intending to land soldiers on an island at the mouth of the river and fortify a position which would command the entrance; but as he reached the St. John's he saw three French vessels coming out, ready for action.

---

[1] [This sketch-map of the scene of the operations of the Spanish and the French follows one given by Fairbanks in his *History of St. Augustine.* Other modern maps, giving the old localities, are found in Parkman, Gaffarel, etc. — ED.]

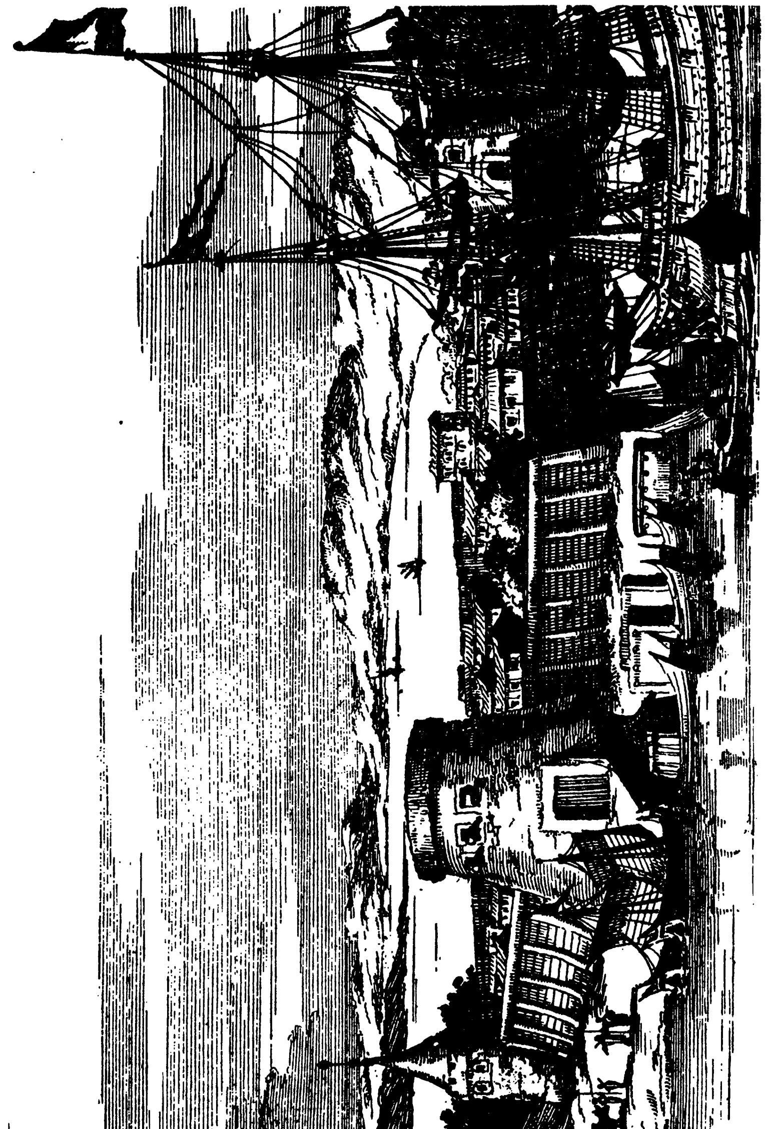
His project was thus defeated; and too wily to be caught at a disadvantage by the returning French vessels, Menendez bore away to the harbor of St. Augustine, which he estimated at eight leagues from the French by sea, and six by land. Here he proceeded to found the oldest city in the present territory of the United States. Two hundred mail-clad soldiers, commanded by Captain John de San Vicente and



SITE OF FORT CAROLINE.[1]

---

[1] [After a map in Fairbanks's *History of St. Augustine*; but his view of the site is open to question. — Ed.]



ST. AUGUSTINE.[1]

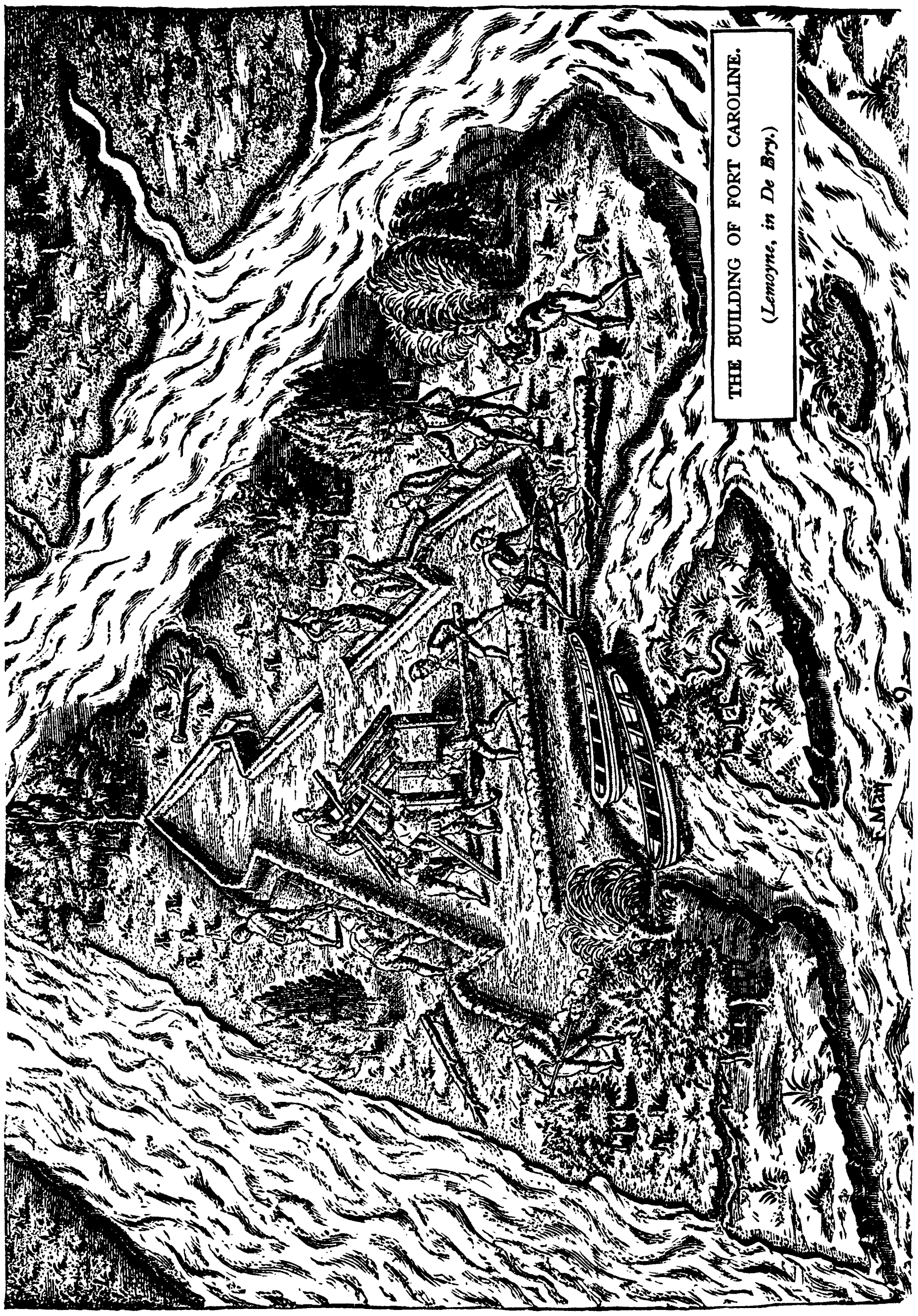
---

[1] [This view of Pagus Hispanorum, as given in Montanus and Ogilby, represents the town founded by Menendez at a somewhat later period, if it is wholly truthful of any period The same view was better engraved at Leide by Vander Aa. — Ed.]

SPANISH VESSELS.
(*From the* PAGUS HISPANORUM *in Montanus.*)

Captain Patiño, landed on the 6th of September, 1565. The Indians were friendly, and readily gave the settlers the large house of one of the caciques which stood near the shore of the river. Around this an intrenchment was traced; and a ditch was soon dug, and earthworks thrown up, with such implements as they had at hand, for the vessel bearing their tools had not yet arrived.

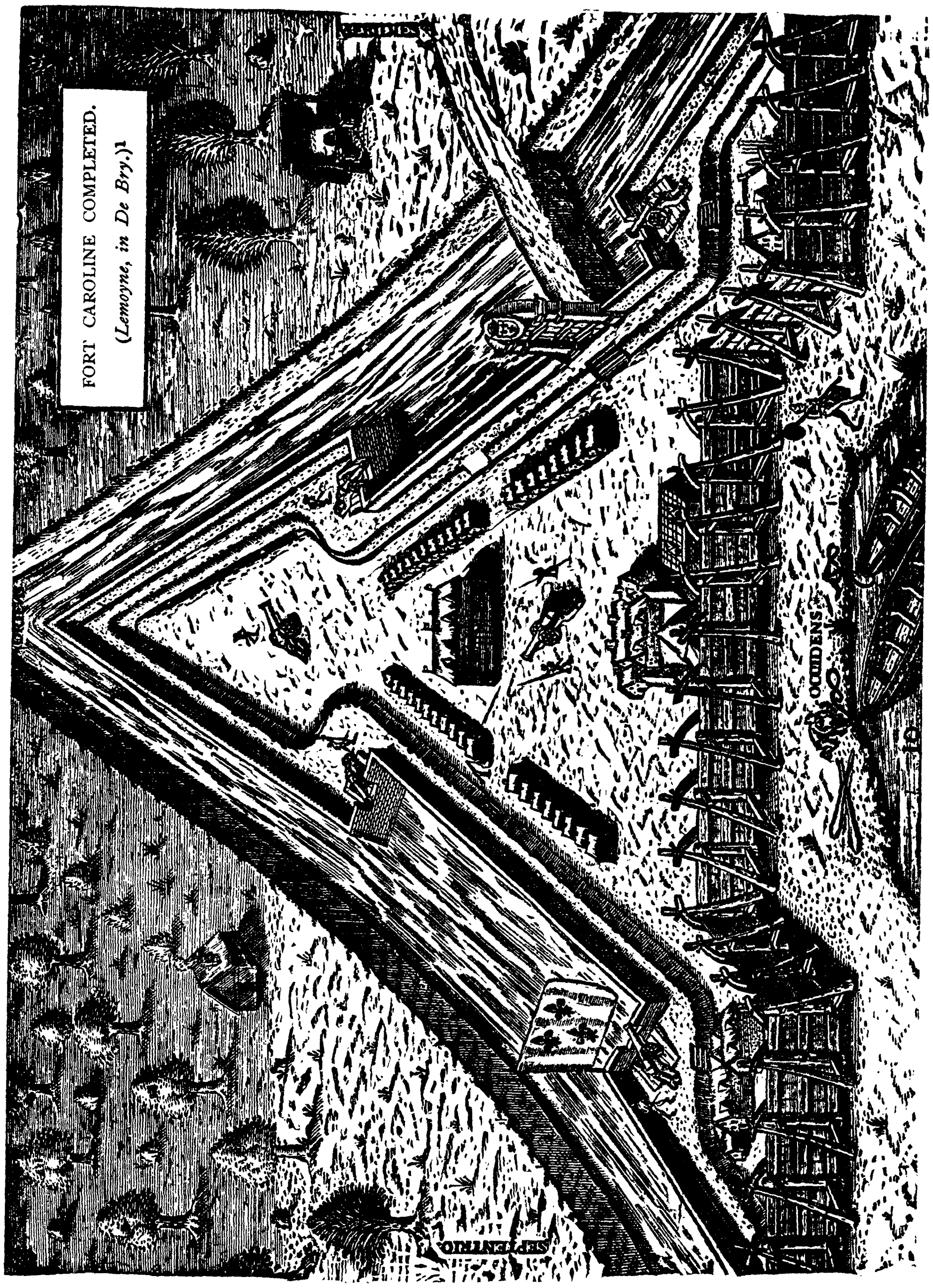
The next day three of the smaller vessels ran into the harbor, and from them three hundred more of the soldiers disembarked, as well as those who had come to settle in the country, — men, women, and children. Artillery and munitions for the fort were also landed. The eighth being a holiday in the Catholic Church, — the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, — was celebrated with due solemnity. Mass was offered for the first time at a spot ever after held in veneration, and where in time arose the primitive shrine of Nuestra Señora de la Leche. Then the work of debarkation was resumed; one hundred more persons landed; and great guns, precious



THE BUILDING OF FORT CAROLINE.

(*Lemoyne, in De Bry.*)

stores of provisions, and munitions were brought to the new fort. Amid all this bustle and activity the Spaniards were startled by the appearance



FORT CAROLINE COMPLETED.

(*Lemoyne, in De Bry.*)[1]

---

[1] [Two pictures of Fort Caroline accompany the *Brevis narratio* of Lemoyne, — one the beginning of work upon it, and the other the completed structure, "a more finished fortification than could possibly have been constructed, but to be taken as a correct outline," as Fairbanks (p. 54) presumes. The engraving of the completed fort is reproduced in Fairbanks's *St. Augustine*, Stevens's *Georgia*, etc. Another and better view of it, called "Arx Carolina—Charles-

of two large French vessels[1] in the offing, evidently ready for action. It was no part of Menendez' plan to engage them, and he waited till, about three in the afternoon, they bore away for the St. John's. Then he prepared to land in person. As his boat left the vessel with banners unfurled, amid the thunder of cannon and the sounds of warlike music, Mendoza Grajales, the first priest of St. Augustine, bearing a cross, went down at the head of those on shore to meet the *adelantado*, all chanting the Te Deum. Menendez proceeded at once with his attendants to the cross, which he kissed on bended knee.

Formal possession of the land was then taken in the name of Philip II., King of Spain. The captains of the troops and the officers of the new colony came forward to take the oath to Peter Menendez de Aviles as governor, captain-general, and *adelantado* of Florida and its coasts under the patents of the Spanish King. Crowds of friendly Indians, with their chieftains, gathered around.

From them the Spanish commander learned that his position was admirably taken, as he could, at a short distance, strike the river on which the French lay, and descend it to assail them. Here then he resolved to make his position as strong as possible, till the rest of his armament arrived. His galleon "San Pelayo," too large to enter the port, rode without, in danger from the sudden storms that visit the coast, and from the French. Putting on board some French prisoners whom he had captured in a boat, he despatched her and another vessel to Santo Domingo. He organized his force by appointing officers, — a lieutenant and a sergeant-major, and ten captains. The necessity of horses to operate rapidly induced him to send two of his lighter vessels to Havana to seek them there; and by this conveyance he addressed to Philip II. his first letter from Florida.[2]

The masts of his vessels could scarcely have vanished from the eyes of the Spanish force, when the French vessels appeared once more, and nearly captured Menendez himself in the harbor, where he was carrying to the shore, in the smaller vessels that he had retained, some artillery and munitions from the galleons. He escaped, however, though the French were so near that they called on him to surrender. And he ascribed his deliverance rather to prayer than to human skill; for, fierce seaman as he was, he was a man of deep and practical religious feeling, which influenced all his actions.

Menendez' position was now one of danger. The force at his command was not large, and the French evidently felt strong enough, and were determined to attack him. He had acknowledged his inability to cope with them

---

fort sur Floride," was engraved at Leide by Vander Aa, but it is a question if it be truthful. No traces of the fort have ever been recorded by subsequent observers, but Fairbanks places it near a place called St. John's Bluff, as shown in the accompanying map. Others have placed it on the Bell River (an estuary of the St. Mary's River), at a place called Battle Bluff. Cf. Carroll's *Hist. Coll.*, i. p. xxxvi. — ED.]

[1] One was commanded by Captain Cossette (*Basanier*, p. 105).

[2] Letter of Menendez to the King, dated Province of Florida, Sept. 11, 1565. Mendoza Grajales, *Relacion de la jornada de Pº Menendez*, 1565.

on the ocean, and could not have felt very sanguine of being able to defend the slight breastworks that had been thrown up at St. Augustine.

Fortune favored him. Ribault, after so earnestly determining to assume the offensive, fatally hesitated. Within two days a tremendous hurricane, which the practised eye of Menendez had anticipated, burst on the coast. The French were, he believed, still hovering near, on the look-out for his larger vessels, and he knew that with such a norther their peril was extreme. It was, moreover, certain that they could not, for a time at least, make the St. John's, even if they rode out the storm.

This gave him a temporary superiority, and he resolved to seize his opportunity. Summoning his officers to a council of war, he laid before them his plan of marching at once to attack Fort Caroline, from which the French had evidently drawn a part of their force, and probably their most effective men. The officers generally, as well as the two clergymen in the settlement, opposed his project as rash; but Menendez was determined. Five hundred men — three hundred armed with arquebuses, the rest with pikes and targets — were ordered to march, each one carrying rations of biscuit and wine. Menendez, at their head, bore his load like the rest. They marched out of the fort on the 16th of September, guided by two caciques who had been hostile to the French, and by a Frenchman who had been two years in the fort. The route proved one of great difficulty; the rain poured in torrents, swelling the streams and flooding the lowlands, so that the men were most of the time knee-deep in water. Many loitered, and, falling back, made their way to St. Augustine. Others showed a mutinous disposition, and loudly expressed their contempt for their sailor-general.

On the 29th, at the close of the day, he was within a short distance of the French fort, and halted to rest so as to storm it in the morning. At daybreak the Spaniards knelt in prayer; then, bearing twenty scaling-ladders, Menendez advanced, his sturdy Asturians and Biscayans in the van. Day broke as, in a heavy rain, they reached a height from which their French guide told them they could see the fort, washed by the river. Menendez advanced, and saw some houses and the St. John's; but from his position could not discover the fort. He would have gone farther; but the Maese de Campo and Captain Ochoa pushed on till they reached the houses, and reconnoitred the fort, where not a soul seemed astir. As they returned they were hailed by a French sentinel, who took them for countrymen. Ochoa sprang upon him, striking him on the head with his sheathed sword, while the Maese de Campo stabbed him. He uttered a cry; but was threatened with death, bound, and taken back. The cry had excited Menendez, who, supposing that his officers had been killed, called out: "Santiago! at them! God helps us! Victory! The French are slaughtered! Don Pedro de Valdes, the Maese de Campo, is in the fort, and has taken it!"

The men, supposing that the officers were in advance with part of the force, rushed on till they came up with the returning officers, who, taking in the situation, despatched the sentry and led the men to the attack. Two Frenchmen, who rushed out in their shirts, were cut down. Others outside the fort seeing the danger, gave the alarm; and a man at the principal gate threw it open to ascertain what the trouble was. Valdes, ready to scale the fort, saw the advantage, sprang on the man and cut him down, then rushed into the fort, followed by the fleetest of the Spanish detachment. In a moment two captains had simultaneously planted their colors on the walls, and the trumpets sounded for victory.

The French, taken utterly by surprise, made no defence; about fifty, dashing over the walls of the fort, took to the woods, almost naked, and unarmed, or endeavored in boats and by swimming to reach the vessels in the stream. When Menendez came up with the main body, his men were slaughtering the French as they ran shrieking through the fort, or came forward declaring that they surrendered. The women, and children under the age of fifteen, were, by orders of the commander, spared. Laudonnière, the younger Ribault, Lemoyne, and the carpenter Le Challeux, whose accounts have reached us, were among those who escaped.

Menendez had carried the fort without one of his men being killed or wounded. The number of the French thus unsparingly put to the sword is stated by Menendez himself as one hundred and thirty-two, with ten of the fugitives who were butchered the next day. Mendoza Grajales corroborates this estimate. Fifty were spared, and about as many escaped to the vessels; and some, doubtless, perished in the woods.

The slaughter was too terrible to need depicting in darker colors; but in time it was declared that Menendez hung many, with an insulting label: "I do not this to Frenchmen, but to Heretics." The Spanish accounts, written with too strong a conviction of the propriety of their course to seek any subterfuge, make no allusion to any such act; and the earliest French accounts are silent in regard to it. The charge first occurs in a statement written with an evident design to rouse public indignation in France, and not, therefore, to be deemed absolutely accurate.

No quarter was given, for the French were regarded as pirates; and as the French cruisers gave none, these, who were considered as of the same class, received none.

The booty acquired was great. A brigantine and a galiot fell into the hands of the Spaniards, with a vessel that had grounded. Another vessel lay near the fort, and Spanish accounts claim to have sunk it with the cannon of the fort, while the French declare they scuttled it. Two other vessels lay at the mouth of the river, watching for the Spaniards, whose attack was expected from the sea, and not from the land side. Besides these vessels and their contents, the Spaniards gained in the fort artillery and small-arms, supplies of flour and bread, horses, asses, sheep, and hogs.[1]

---

[1] Letter of Menendez to the King, Oct. 15, 1565; Mendoza Grajales, *Relacion* in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos* (edited by Pacheco, etc.), iii. 441–479.

Such was the first struggle on our soil between civilized men; it was brief, sanguinary, merciless.

Menendez named the captured fort San Mateo, from its capture on the feast of St. Matthew (September 21). He set up the arms of Spain, and selected a site for a church, which he ordered to be built at once. Then, leaving Gonçalo de Villaroel in command, with a garrison of three hundred men, he prepared to march back to St. Augustine with about one hundred, who composed the rest of the force which had remained with him till he reached Caroline. But of them all he found only thirty-five able or willing to undertake the march; and with these he set out, deeming his presence necessary at St. Augustine. Before long, one of the party pushed on to announce his coming.

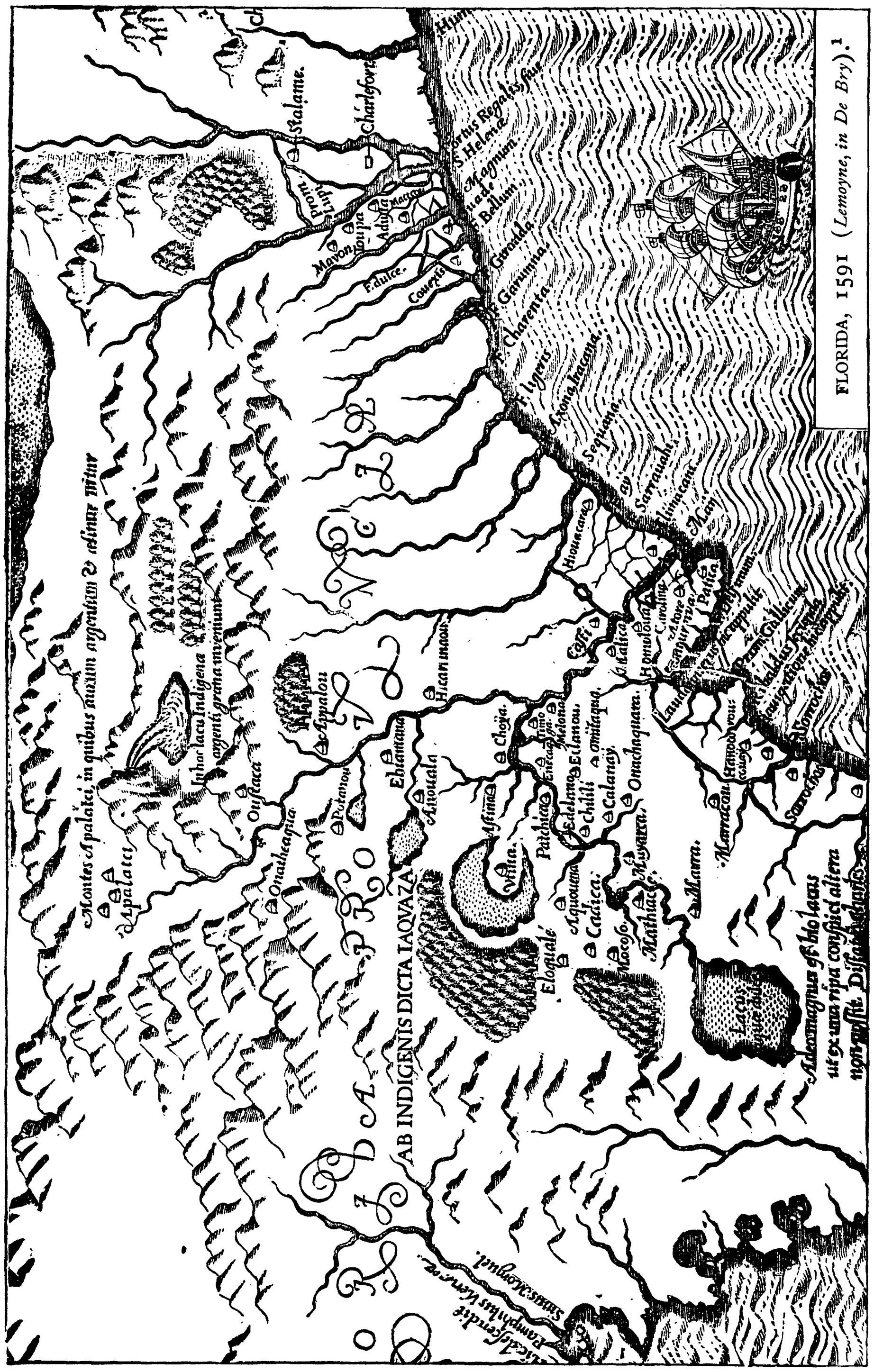
The Spaniards there had learned of the disaster which had befallen Ribault's fleet from a Frenchman who was the sole survivor of one small vessel that had been driven ashore, its crew escaping a watery death only to perish by the hands of the Indians. The vessel was secured and brought to St. Augustine. The same day, September 23, a man was seen running toward the fort, uttering loud shouts. The priest, Mendoza Grajales, ran out to learn the tidings he bore. The soldier threw his arms around him, crying: "Victory! Victory! the French fort is ours!" He was soon recounting to his countrymen the story of the storming of Caroline. Toward nightfall the *adelantado* himself, with his little party, was seen approaching. Mendoza in surplice, bearing a crucifix, went forth to meet him. Menendez knelt to kiss the cross, and his men imitated his example; then they entered the fort in procession, chanting the Te Deum.[1]

Menendez despatched some light boats with supplies to San Mateo; but the fort there took fire a few days after its capture, and was almost entirely destroyed, with much of the booty. He sent other light craft to Santo Domingo with prisoners, and others still to patrol the coast and seek any signs of the galleon "San Pelayo," or of the French. Then he turned his whole attention to work on his fort and town, so as to be in readiness to withstand any attack from Ribault if the French commander should return and prove to be in a condition to assail him while his forces were divided. He also cultivated friendly intercourse with the neighboring chiefs whom he found hostile to the French and their allies.

On the 28th, some of the Indians came to report by signs that the French were six leagues distant, that they had lost their ships, and that they had reached the shore by swimming. They had halted at a stream which they could not cross, — evidently Matanzas inlet. Menendez sent out a boat, and followed in another with some of his officers and Mendoza, one of the clergymen. He overtook his party, and they encamped near the inlet, but out of sight. On the opposite side, the light of the camp-fires marked the spot occupied by the French. The next day, seeing Menendez, a sailor swam over, and stated that he had been sent to say that they were survivors

---

[1] Mendoza Grajales, *Relacion.*



FLORIDA, 1591 (*Lemoyne, in De Bry*).[1]

---

[1] [This is the only cartographical result of the French occupation. It is also reproduced in Gaffarel's *Floride Française*, and in Shipp's *De Soto and Florida*. It was literally copied

of some of Ribault's vessels which had been wrecked; that many of their people had been drowned, others killed or captured by the Indians; and that the rest, to the number of one hundred and forty, asked permission and aid to reach their fort, some distance up the coast. Menendez told him that he had captured the fort and put all to the sword. Then, after asking whether they were Catholics or Lutherans, and receiving the reply, the Spaniard sent the sailor to his companions, to say that if they did not give up their arms and surrender, he would put them all to the sword. On this an officer came over to endeavor to secure better terms, or to be allowed to remain till vessels could be obtained to take them to France; but Menendez was inexorable. The officer pleaded that the lives of the French should be spared; but Menendez, according to Mendoza, replied, "that he would not give them such a pledge, but that they should bring their arms and their persons, and that he should do with them according to his will; because if he spared their lives he wished them to be grateful to him for it, and if he put them to death they should not complain that he had broken his word." Solis de Meras, another clergyman, brother-in-law of Menendez, and in St. Augustine at the time, in his account states that Menendez said, "That if they wished to lay down their colors and their arms, and throw themselves on his mercy, they could do so, that he might do with them what God should give him the grace to do; or that they could do as they chose: for other truce or friendship could not be made with him;" and that he rejected an offer of ransom which they made.

Menendez himself more briefly writes: "I replied that they might surrender me their arms and put themselves under my pleasure, that I might do with them what our Lord might ordain; and from this resolution I do not and will not depart, unless our Lord God inspired me otherwise." The words held out hopes that were delusive; but the French, hemmed in by the sea and by savages, saw no alternative. They crossed, laid down their arms, and were bound, by order of Menendez, — ostensibly to conduct them to the fort. Sixteen, chiefly Breton sailors, who professed to be Catholics, were spared; the rest, one hundred and eleven in all, were put to death in cold blood, — as ruthlessly as the French, ten years before, had despatched their prisoners amid the smoking ruins of Havana, and, like them, in the name of religion.[1]

---

by Hondius in 1607, and not so well in the Mercator-Hondius *Atlas* of 1633. Lescarbot followed it; but in his 1618 edition altered for the worse the course of the St. John's River; and so did De Laet. Cf. Kohl, *Maps in Hakluyt*, p. 48, and Brinton, *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 80, who says (p. 86) that De Laet was the first to confine the name Florida to the peninsula; but Thevet seems nearly to do so in the map in his *Cosmographia*, which he based on Ortelius, a part of which is given in fac-simile in Weise's *Discoveries of America*, p. 304; and it seems also to be the case in the earlier Mercator gores of 1541. The map accompanying Charlevoix' narrative will be found in his *Nouvelle France*, i. 24, and in Shea's translation of it, i. 133. — Ed.]

[1] Jacques de Sorie, in 1555, at Havana, after pledging his word to spare the lives of the Spaniards who surrendered, put them and his Portuguese prisoners to death; negroes he hung up and shot while still alive (*Relacion de Diego de Mazauegos, MS.*; Letter of Bishop Sarmiento in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, v. 555).

Ribault himself, who was advancing by the same fatal route, was ignorant alike of the fall of Caroline and of the slaughter of the survivors of the advanced party; he too hoped to reach Laudonnière. Some days after the cruel treatment of the first band he reached the inlet, whose name to this day is a monument of the bloody work, — Matanzas.

The news of the appearance of this second French party reached Menendez on the 10th of October, — at the same time almost as that of the destruction of Fort San Mateo and its contents by fire, and while writing a despatch to the King, unfolding his plan for colonizing and holding Florida, by means of a series of forts at the Chesapeake, Port Royal, the Martyrs, and the Bay of Juan Ponce de Leon. He marched to the inlet with one hundred and fifty men. The French were on the opposite side, some making a rude raft. Both parties sounded drum and trumpet, and flung their standards to the breeze, drawing up in line of battle. Menendez then ordered his men to sit down and breakfast. Upon this, Ribault raised a white flag, and one of his men was soon swimming across. He returned with an Indian canoe that lay at the shore, and took over La Caille, an officer. Approaching Menendez, the French officer announced that the force was that of John Ribault, viceroy for the French king, three hundred and fifty men in all, who had been wrecked on the coast, and was now endeavoring to reach Fort Caroline. He soon learned how vain was the attempt. The fate of the fort and of its garrison, and the stark bodies of the preceding party, convinced him that those whom he represented must prepare to meet a similar fate. He requested Menendez to send an officer to Ribault to arrange terms of surrender; but the reply was that the French commander was free to cross with a few of his men, if he wished a conference.

When this was reported to him, the unfortunate Ribault made an effort in person to save his men. He was courteously received by Menendez, but, like his lieutenant, saw that the case was hopeless. According to Solis de Meras, Ribault offered a ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats for himself and one part of his men; another part, embracing many wealthy nobles, preferring to treat separately. Menendez declined the offer, expressing his regret at being compelled to forego the money, which he needed. His terms were as enigmatical as before. He declared, so he himself tells us, "that they must lay down their arms and colors and put themselves under my pleasure; that I should do with their persons as I chose, and that there was nothing else to be done or concluded with me."

Priests, especially those of religious Orders, met no mercy at the hands of the French cruisers at this period, the most atrocious case being that of the Portuguese Jesuit Father Ignatius Azevedo, captured by the French on his way to Brazil with thirty-nine missionary companions, all of whom were put to death, in 1570. In all my reading, I find no case where the French in Spanish waters then gave quarter to Spaniards, except in hope of large ransom. Two of the vessels found at Caroline were Spanish, loaded with sugar and hides, captured near Yaguana by the French, who threw all the crew overboard; and Gourgues, on reaching Florida, had two barks, evidently captured from the Spaniards, as to the fate of whose occupants his eulogists observe a discreet silence.

Ribault returned to his camp and held a council with his officers. Some were inclined to throw themselves on the mercy of Menendez; but the majority refused to surrender. The next morning Ribault came over with seventy officers and men, who decided to surrender and trust to the mercy of the merciless. The rest had turned southward, preferring to face new perils rather than be butchered.

The French commander gave up the banner of France and that of Coligny, with the colors of his force, his own fine set of armor, and his seal of office. As he and his comrades were bound, he intoned one of the Psalms; and after its concluding words added: "We are of earth, and to earth we must return; twenty years more or less is all but as a tale that is told." Then he bade Menendez do his will. Two young nobles, and a few men whom Menendez could make useful, he spared; the rest were at once despatched.[1]

The French who declined to surrender retreated unpursued to Cañaveral, where they threw up a log fort and began to build a vessel in order to escape from Florida. Menendez, recalling some of the men who remained at San Mateo, set out against them with one hundred and fifty men, three vessels following the shore with one hundred men to support his force. On the 8th of November apparently, he reached the fort. The French abandoned it and fled; but on promise that their lives should be spared, one hundred and fifty surrendered. Menendez kept his word. He destroyed their fort and vessel; and leaving a detachment of two hundred under Captain Juan Velez de Medrano to build Fort Santa Lucia de Cañaveral in a more favorable spot, he sailed to Havana. Finding some of his vessels there, he cruised in search of corsairs — chiefly French and English — who were said to be in great force off the coast of Santo Domingo, and who had actually captured one of his caravels; he was afraid that young Ribault might have joined them, and that he would attack the Spanish posts in Florida.[2] But encountering a vessel, Menendez learned that the King had sent him reinforcements, which he resolved to await, obtaining supplies from Campechy for his forts, as the Governor of Havana refused to furnish any.

The Spaniards in the three Florida posts were ill-prepared for even a Florida winter, and one hundred died for want of proper clothing and food. Captain San Vicente and other malcontents excited disaffection, so that mutinies broke out, and the insurgents seized vessels and deserted. Fort San Mateo was left with only twenty-one persons in it.

---

[1] This is the Spanish account of Solis de Meras. Lemoyne, who escaped from Caroline, gives an account based on the statement of a Dieppe sailor who made his way to the Indians, and though taken by the Spaniards, fell at last into French hands. Challeux, the carpenter of Caroline, and another account derived from Christophe le Breton, one of those spared by Menendez, maintain that Menendez promised La Caille, under oath and in writing, to spare their lives if they surrendered. This seems utterly improbable; for Menendez from first to last held to his original declaration, "*el que fuere herege morira.*" Lemoyne is so incorrect as to make this last slaughter take place at Caroline.

[2] Menendez to the King, — writing from Matanzas, Dec. 5, 1565; and again from Havana, Dec. 12, 1565. Barcia, *Ensaio cronológico*, p. 91.

In February, 1566, Menendez explored the Tortugas and the adjacent coast, seeking some trace of the vessel in which his son had been lost. His search was fruitless; but he established friendly relations with the cacique Carlos, and rescued several Spanish prisoners from that cruel chief, who annually sacrificed one of them.

Meanwhile the French fugitives excited the Indians who were friendly to them to attack the Spanish posts; and it was no longer safe for the settlers to stir beyond the works at San Mateo and St. Augustine. Captain Martin de Ochoa, one of the bravest and most faithful officers, was slain at San Mateo; and Captain Diego de Hevia and several others were cut off at St. Augustine. Emboldened by success, the Indians invested the latter fort, and not only sent showers of arrows into it, but by means of blazing arrows set fire to the palmetto thatching of the storehouses. The Spaniards in vain endeavored to extinguish the flames; the building was consumed, with all their munitions, cloth, linen, and even the colors of the *adelantado* and the troops. This encouraged the Indians, who despatched every Spaniard they could reach.

Menendez reached St. Augustine, March 20, to find it on the brink of ruin. Even his presence and the force at his command could not bring the mutineers to obedience. He was obliged to allow Captain San Vicente and many others to embark in a vessel. Of the men whom at great labor and expense he had brought to Florida, full five hundred deserted. After their departure he restored order; and, proceeding to San Mateo, relieved that place. His next step was to enter into friendly relations with the chief of Guale, and to begin a fort of stockades, earth, and fascines at Port Royal which he called San Felipe. Here he left one hundred and ten men under Stephen de las Alas. From this point the adventurous Captain Pardo, in 1566 and the following year, explored the country, penetrating to the silver region of the Cherokees, and visiting towns reached by De Soto from Cofitachiqui to Tascaluza.[1]

Returning to St. Augustine, Menendez transferred the fort to its present position, to be nearer the ship landing and less exposed to the Indians. All the posts suffered from want of food; and even for the soldiers in the King's pay the *adelantado* could obtain no rations from Havana, although he went there in person. He obtained means to purchase the necessary provisions only by pledging his own personal effects.

Before his return there came a fleet of seventeen vessels, bearing fifteen hundred men, with arms, munitions, and supplies, under Sancho de Arciniega. Relief was immediately sent to San Mateo and to Santa Elena, where most of the soldiers had mutinied, and had put Stephen de las Alas in irons, and sailed away. Menendez divided part of his reinforcements among his three posts, and then with light vessels ascended the St. John's. He endeavored to enter into negotiations with the caciques Otina and Macoya; but those chiefs, fearing that he had come to demand reparation for the attacks on the Spaniards, fled at his approach. He ascended the river till he found the stream narrow, and hostile Indians lining the banks. On his downward voyage Otina, after making conditions, received the *adelantado*, who came ashore with only a few attendants. The chief was surrounded by three hundred warriors; but showed no hostility, and agreed to become friendly to the Spaniards.

---

[1] Juan de la Vandera, *Memoir*, — in English in *Historical Magazine*, 1860, pp. 230–232, with notes by J. G. Shea, from the original in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, iv. 560–566, and in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion*. There is also a version in B. F. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (1875), p. 289.

On his return Menendez despatched a captain with thirty soldiers and two Dominican friars to establish a post on Chesapeake Bay; they were accompanied by Don Luis Velasco, brother of the chief of Axacan, who had been taken from that country apparently by Villafañe, and who had been baptized in Mexico. Instead, however, of carrying out his plans, the party persuaded the captain of the vessel to sail to Spain.

Two Jesuit Fathers also came to found missions among the Indians; but one of them, Father Martinez, landing on the coast, was killed by the Indians; and the survivor, Father Rogel, with a lay brother, by the direction of Menendez began to study the language of the chief Carlos, in order to found a mission in his tribe. To facilitate this, Menendez sent Captain Reynoso to establish a post in that part of Florida.[1]

News having arrived that the French were preparing to attack Florida, and their depredations in the Antilles having increased, Menendez sailed to Porto Rico, and cruised about for a time, endeavoring to meet some of the corsairs. But he was unable to come up with any; and after visiting Carlos and Tequeste, where missions were now established, he returned to St. Augustine. His efforts, individually and through his lieutenants, to gain the native chiefs had been to some extent successful; Saturiba was the only cacique who held aloof. He finally agreed to meet Menendez at the mouth of the St. John's; but, as the Spanish commander soon learned, the cacique had a large force in ambush, with the object of cutting him and his men off when they landed. Finding war necessary, Menendez then sent four detachments, each of seventy men, against Saturiba; but he fled, and the Spaniards returned after skirmishes with small bands, in which they killed thirty Indians.

Leaving his posts well defended and supplied, Menendez sailed to Spain; and landing near Coruña, visited his home at Aviles to see his wife and family, from whom he had been separated twenty years. He then proceeded to Valladolid, where, on the 20th of July, he was received with honor by the King.

---

[1] Letter of Menendez, October 15, 1566, in Alcazar, *Chrono. historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia de Toledo* (Madrid, 1710), vol. ii. dec. iii. año vi. cap. iii., translated by Dr. D. G. Brinton in the *Historical Magazine*, 1861, p. 292.

During his absence a French attack, such as he had expected, was made on Florida. Fearing this, he had endeavored to obtain forces and supplies for his colony; but was detained, fretting and chafing at the delays and formalities of the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville.[1]

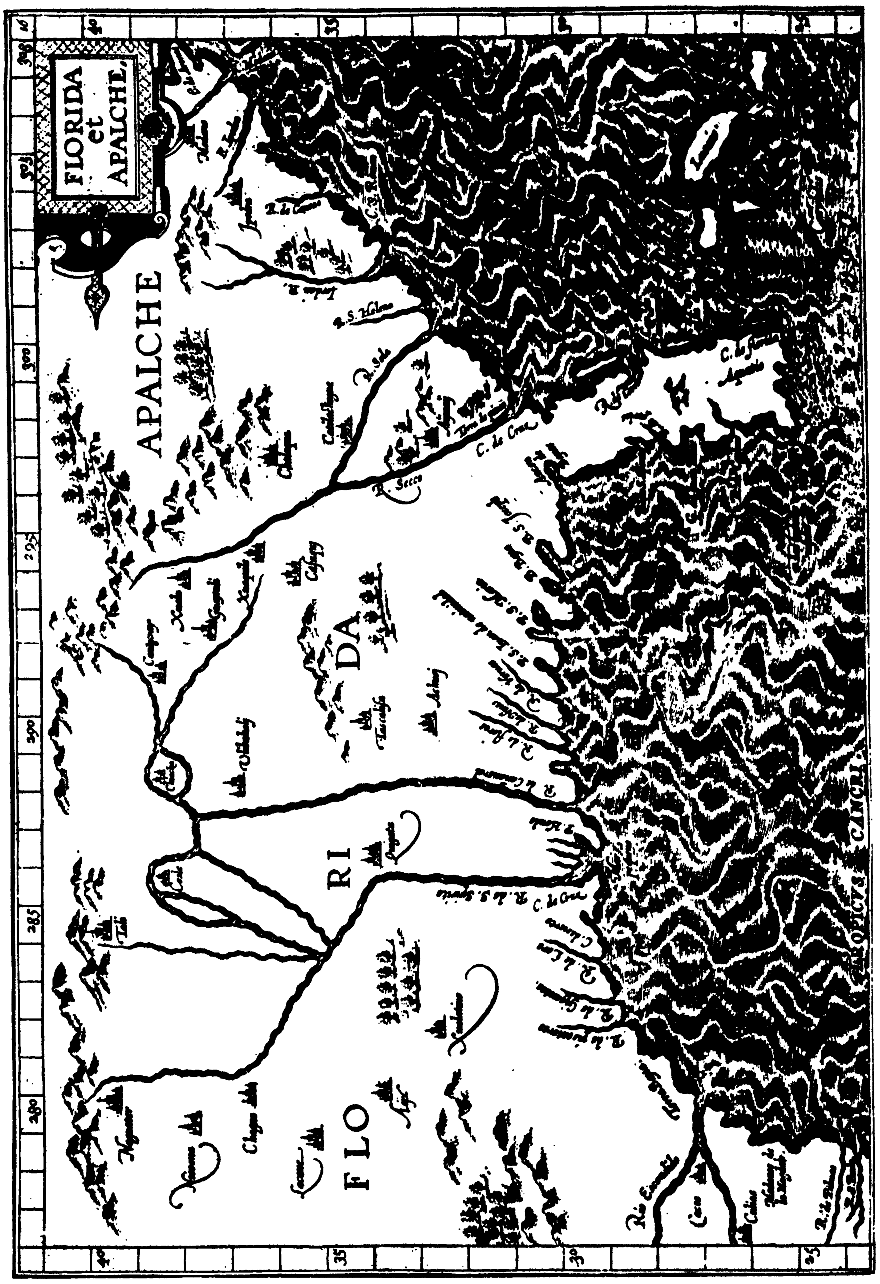
An expedition, comprising one small and two large vessels, was fitted out at Bordeaux by Dominic de Gourgues, with a commission to capture slaves at Benin. De Gourgues sailed Aug. 22, 1567, and at Cape Blanco had a skirmish with some negro chiefs, secured the harbor, and sailed off with a cargo of slaves. With these he ran to the Spanish West Indies, and disposed of them at Dominica, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo, finding Spaniards ready to treat with him. At Puerto de la Plata, in the last island, he met a ready confederate in Zaballos, who was accustomed to trade with the French pirates. Zaballos bought slaves and goods from him, and furnished him a pilot for the Florida coast. Puerto de la Plata had been a refuge for some of the deserters from Florida, and could afford definite information. Here probably the idea of Gourgues' Florida expedition originated; though, according to the bombastic French account, it was only off the Island of Cuba that De Gourgues revealed his design. He reached the mouth of the St. John's, where the French narratives place two forts that are utterly unknown in Spanish documents, and which were probably only batteries to cover the entrance. Saluted here as Spanish, the French vessels passed on, and anchored off the mouth of the St. Mary's, — the Tacatacuru of the Indians. By means of a Frenchman, a refugee among the Indians, Gourgues easily induced Saturiba, smarting under the recent Spanish attack, to join him in a campaign against San Mateo. The first redoubt was quickly taken; and the French, crossing in boats, their allies swimming, captured the second, and then moved on Fort San Mateo itself. The French account makes sixty men issue from each of what it calls forts, each party to be cut off by the French, and then makes all of each party of sixty to fall by the hands of the French and Indians, except fifteen or thereabout kept for an ignominious death.

Gourgues carried off the artillery of the fort and redoubts; but before he could transport the rest of his booty to the vessels, a train left by the Spaniards in the fort was accidentally fired by an Indian who was cooking fish; the magazine blew up, with all in it. Gourgues hanged the prisoners who fell into his hands at San Mateo, and descending the river, hanged thirty more at the mouth, setting up an inscription: "Not as to Spaniards, but as to Traitors, Robbers, and Murderers." Returning to his vessels, he hoisted sail on the 3d of May, and early in June entered the harbor of La Rochelle. His loss, which is not explained, is said to have been his smallest vessel, five gentlemen and some soldiers killed.[2]

---

[1] Barcia, *Ensaio cronológico*, p. 133.

[2] *La Reprise de la Floride*, etc. Garibay says briefly that they went to Florida and destroyed and carried off the artillery of San Mateo, and then menaced Havana (*Sucesos de la Isla de Santo Domingo*).



WYTFLIET, 1597.[1]

When Gourgues made his descent, Menendez was already at sea, having sailed from San Lucar on the 13th of March, with abundant supplies and reinforcements, as well as additional missionaries for the Indians, under Father John Baptist Segura as vice-provincial. After relieving his posts in Florida and placing a hundred and fifty men at San Mateo, he proceeded to Cuba, of which he had been appointed governor. To strengthen his colony, he solicited permission to colonize the Rio Pánuco; but the authorities in Mexico opposed his project, and it failed. The Mississippi, then known as the Espiritu Santo, was supposed to flow from the neighborhood of Santa Elena, and was depended on as a means of communication.[1] The next year the *adelantado* sent a hundred and ninety-three persons to San Felipe, and eighty to St. Augustine. Father Rogel then began missions among the Indians around Port Royal; Father Sedeño and Brother Baez began similar labors on Guale (now Amelia) Island, the latter soon compiling a grammar and catechism in the language of the Indians. Others attempted to bring the intractable chief Carlos and his tribe within the Christian fold. Rogel drew Indians to his mission at Orista; he put up houses and a church, and endeavored to induce them to cultivate the ground. But their natural fickleness would not submit to control; they soon abandoned the place, and the missionary returned to Fort San Felipe. A school for Indian boys was opened in Havana, and youths from the tribes of the coast were sent there in the hope of making them the nucleus of an Indian civilization. In 1570 Menendez, carrying out his project of occupying Chesapeake Bay, sent Father Segura with several other Jesuits to establish a mission at Axacan, the country of the Indian known as Don Luis Velasco, who accompanied missionaries, promising to do all in his power to secure for them a welcome from his tribe. The vessel evidently ascended the Potomac and landed the mission party, who then crossed to the shores of the Rappahannock. They were received with seeming friendship, and erected a rude chapel; but the Indians soon showed a hostile spirit, and ultimately massacred all the party except an Indian boy. When Menendez returned to Florida from Spain in 1572, he sailed to the Chesapeake, and endeavored to secure Don Luis and his brother; but they fled. He captured eight Indians known to have taken part in the murder of the missionaries, and hanged them at the yard-arm of his vessel.[2]

---

[1] [Cf. the "Florida et Apalche" in Acosta, German edition, Cologne, 1598 (also in 1605); that of Hieronymus Chaves, given in Ortelius, 1592; and later the maps of the French cartographer Sanson, showing the coast from Texas to Carolina. — ED.]

---

[1] *Parecer que da á S. M. la Audiencia de Nueva España*, Jan. 19, 1569. The fort at San Mateo was not immediately restored; a new fort, San Pedro, was established at Tacatacuru (*Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, xii. 307–308). Stephen de las Alas in 1570 withdrew the garrisons, except fifty men in each fort, — a step which led to official investigation (Ibid., xii. 309, etc.).

[2] Barcia, *Ensaio cronológico*, pp. 137–146. For the Jesuit mission in Florida, see Alegambe, *Mortes illustres*, pp. 44, etc.; Tanner, *Societas militans*, pp. 447–451; Letter of Rogel, Dec. 9, 1570, in the *Chrono. historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la Provincia de Toledo*, by Alcazar (Madrid, 1710), ii. 145, translated by Dr. D. G. Brinton in the *Historical Magazine*, 1861, p. 327, and chap. v. of his *Floridian Peninsula;* Letter of Rogel, Dec. 2, 1569, MS.; one of Dec. 11, 1569, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, xii. 301; one of Quiros and Segura from Axacan, Sept. 12, 1570; Sacchini, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, part iii., pp. 86, etc.

[Dr. Shea, in 1846, published a paper in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, v. 604 (translated into German in *Die Katolische Kirche in den V. S. von Nordamerika*, Regensburg, 1864, pp. 202–209), on the Segura mission; and another in 1859 in the *Historical Magazine*, iii. 268, on the Spanish in the Chesapeake from 1566 to 1573; and his account of a temporary Spanish

From this time Menendez gave little personal attention to the affairs of Florida, being elsewhere engaged by the King; and he died at Santander, in Spain, Sept. 17, 1574, when about to take command of an immense fleet which Philip II. was preparing. With his death Florida, where his nephew Pedro Menendez Marquez[1] had acted as governor, languished. Indian hostilities increased, San Felipe was invested, abandoned, and burned, and soon after the Governor himself was slain.[2] St. Augustine was finally burned by Drake.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

OUR account of the voyages of Ponce de Leon is mainly from the *cédulas* to him and official correspondence, correcting Herrera,[3] who is supposed by some to have had the explorer's diary, now lost. Oviedo[4] mentions Bimini[5] as forty leagues from Guanahani. The modern edition[6] of Oviedo is vague and incorrect; and gives Ponce de Leon two caravels, but has no details. Gomara[7] is no less vague. Girava records the discovery, but dates it in 1512.[8] As early as 1519 the statement is found that the Bay of Juan Ponce had been visited by Alaminos, while accompanying Ponce de Leon,[9] — which must refer to this expedition of 1513. The "Traza de las costas" given by Navarrete (and reproduced by Buckingham Smith),[10] with the Garay patent of 1521, would seem to make Apalache Bay the western limit of the discoveries of Ponce de Leon, of whose expedition and of Alaminos's no report is known. Peter Martyr[11] alludes to it, but only incidentally, when treating of Diego Velasquez. Barcia, in his *Ensayo cronológico*,[12] writing specially on Florida, seems to have had neither of the patents of

---

settlement on the Rappahannock in 1570 is given in Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, or the "Log Chapel on the Rappahannock" in the *Catholic World*, March, 1875. Cf. present *History*, Vol. III. p. 167, and a paper on the "Early Indian History of the Susquehanna," by A. L. Guss, in the *Historical Register; Notes and Queries relating to the Interior of Pennsylvania*, 1883, p. 115 *et seq.* De Witt Clinton, in a Memoir on the Antiquities of the Western Parts of New York, published at Albany in 1820, expressed an opinion that traces of Spanish penetration as far as Onondaga County, N. Y., were discoverable; but he omitted this statement in his second edition. Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 13,718. — Ed.]

[1] This officer, Fairbanks, in his misunderstanding of Spanish and Spanish authorities, transforms into Marquis of Menendez!

[2] Barcia, *Ensayo cronológico*, pp. 146–151.

[3] *Historia general de las Indias* (ed. 1601), dec. i. lib. ix. cap. 10–12, p. 303 (313).

[4] *Historia general* (1535), part i. lib. xix. cap. 15, p. clxii.

[5] [The Peter-Martyr map (1511) represents a land called Bimini ("illa de Beimeni" — see *ante* p. 110) in the relative position of Florida. The fountain of perpetual youth, the search for which was a part of the motive of many of these early expeditions, was often supposed to exist in Bimini; but official documents make no allusion to the idle story. Dr. D. G. Brinton (*Floridian Peninsula*, p. 99) has collected the varying statements as to the position of this fountain. — Ed.]

[6] Oviedo, Madrid (1850), lib. xvi. cap. 11, vol. i. p. 482.

[7] *Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias* (1553), cap. 45, folio xxiii.

[8] *Dos libros de cosmografia* (Milan, 1556), p. 192.

[9] Bernal Diaz, *Historia verdadera* (1632).

[10] *Cabeça de Vaca*, Washington, 1851. [It is also sketched *ante*, p. 218. — Ed.]

[11] *De insulis nuper inventis* (Cologne, 1574), p. 349.

[12] *Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de la Florida, por Don Gabriel de Cardenas y Cano* [anagram for Don Andres Gonzales Barcia], Madrid, 1723. [He includes under the word "Florida" the adjacent islands as well as the main. Joseph de Salazars' *Crisis del ensayo cronológico* (1725) is merely a literary review of Barcia's rhetorical defects. Cf. Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 51. — Ed.]

Ponce de Leon, and no reports; and he places the discovery in 1512 instead of 1513.[1] Navarrete[2] simply follows Herrera.

In the unfortunate expedition of Cordova Bernal Diaz was an actor, and gives us a witness's testimony;[3] and it is made the subject of evidence in the suit in 1536 between the Pinzon and Colon families.[4] The general historians treat it in course.[5]

The main authority for the first voyage of Garay is the royal letters patent,[6] the documents which are given by Navarrete[7] and in the *Documentos inéditos*,[8] as well as the accounts given in Peter Martyr,[9] Gomara,[10] and Herrera.[11]

Of the pioneer expedition which Camargo conducted for Garay to make settlement of Amichel, and of its encounter with Cortés, we have the effect which the first tidings of it produced on the mind of the Conqueror of Mexico in his second letter of Oct. 30, 1520; while in his third letter he made representations of the wrongs done to the Indians by Garay's people, and of his own determination to protect the chiefs who had submitted to him.[12] For the untoward ending of Garay's main expedition, Cortés is still a principal dependence in his fourth letter;[13] and the official records of his proceedings against Garay in October, 1523, with a letter of Garay dated November 8, and evidently addressed to Cortés, are to be found in the *Documentos inéditos*,[14] while Peter Martyr,[15] Oviedo,[16] and Herrera[17] are the chief general authorities. Garay's renewed effort under his personal leadership is marked out in three several petitions which he made for authority to colonize the new country.[18]

---

[1] Barcia, in the *Introduccion a el Ensayo cronológico*, pp. 26, 27, discusses the date of Ponce de Leon's discovery. He refutes Remesal, Ayeta, and Moreri, who gave 1510, and adopts the date 1512 as given by the "safest historians," declaring that Ponce de Leon went to Spain in 1513. The date 1512 was adopted by Hakluyt, George Bancroft, and Irving; but after Peschel in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* called attention to the fact that Easter Sunday in 1512 did not fall on March 27, the date given by Herrera, without mentioning the year, but that it did fall on that day in 1513, Kohl (*Discovery of Maine*, p. 240), George Bancroft, in later editions, and others adopted 1513, without any positive evidence. But 1512 is nevertheless clung to by Gravier in his "Route du Mississippi" (*Congrès des Américanistes*, 1878, i. 238), by Shipp in his *De Soto and Florida*, and by H. H. Bancroft in his *Central America* (vol. i. p. 128). Mr. Deane, in a note to Hakluyt's use of 1512 in the *Westerne Planting* (p. 230), says the mistake probably occurred "by not noting the variation which prevailed in the mode of reckoning time." The documents cited in chapter iv. settle the point. The *Capitulacion* under which Ponce de Leon sailed, was issued at Burgos, Feb. 23, 1512. He could not possibly by March 27 have returned to Porto Rico, equipped a vessel, and reached Florida. The letters of the King to Ceron and Diaz, in August and December 1512, show that Ponce de Leon, after returning to Porto Rico, was prevented from sailing, and was otherwise employed. The letter written by the King to the authorities in Españiola, July 4, 1513, shows that he had received from them information that Ponce de Leon had sailed in that year.

[2] *Coleccion* (*Viages minores*), iii. 50–53.

[3] *Historia verdadera* (1632), cap. vi. p. 4, *verso.*

[4] Duro, *Colon y Pinzon*, p. 268.

[5] Oviedo (ed. Amador de los Rios), lib. xxi. cap. 7, vol. ii. p. 139; Herrera, *Historia general*, dec. ii. p. 63; Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 53; Barcia, *Ensayo cronológico*, p. 3; Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. 1; Torquemada, i. 350; Gomara, folio 9; Icazbalceta, *Coleccion*, i. 338.

[6] *Real cédula dando facultád á Francisco de Garay para poblar la provincia de Amichel en la costa firme*, Burgos, 1521.

[7] *Coleccion*, iii. 147–153.

[8] *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, ii. 558–567.

[9] *Decades*, dec. v. cap. 1.

[10] In his *Historia*.

[11] *Historia*, dec. ii. lib. x, cap. 18.

[12] [Cf. the bibliography of these letters in chap. vi. The notes in Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula* are a good guide to the study of the various Indian tribes of the peninsula at this time. — Ed.]

[13] [Cf. chap. vi. of the present volume. — Ed.]

[14] Vol. xxvi. pp. 77–135.

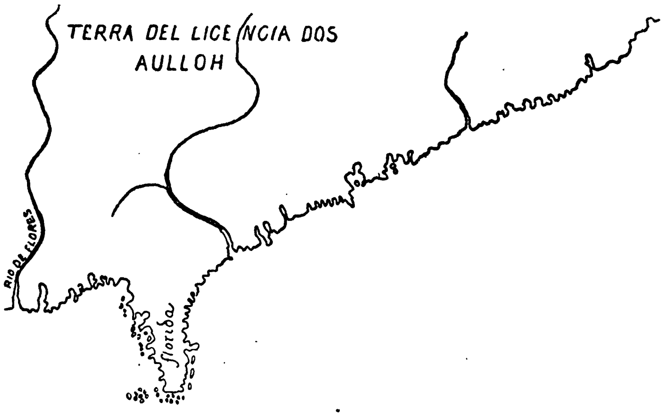
[15] Epis. June 20, 1524, in *Opus epistolarum*, pp. 471–476.

[16] *Historia*, lib. xxxiii. cap. 2, p. 263.

[17] *Historia*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. 5. Cf. also Barcia, *Ensayo cronológico*, p. 8, and Galvano (Hakluyt Society's ed.), pp. 133, 153.

[18] *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, x. 40–47; and the "testimonio de la capitulacion" in vol. xiv. pp. 503–516.

Of the preliminary expedition on the Atlantic coast of Gordillo and the subsequent attempt of his chief, Ayllon, to settle in Virginia, there is a fund of testimony in the papers of the suit which Matienzo instituted against Ayllon, and of which the greater part is still unprinted; but a few papers, like the complaint of Matienzo and some testimony taken by Ayllon when about to sail himself, can be found in the *Documentos inéditos*.[1] As regards the joint explorations of the vessels of Gordillo and Quexos, the testimony of the latter helps us, as well as his act of taking possession, which puts the proceeding in 1521; though some of Ayllon's witnesses give 1520 as the date. Both parties unite in calling the river which they reached the San Juan Bautista, and the *cédula* to Ayllon places it in thirty-five degrees. Navarrete in saying they touched at Chicora and Gualdape confounds the first and third voyages; and was clearly ignorant of the three distinct expeditions;[3] and Herrera is wrong in calling the river the Jordan,[4] — named, as he says, after the captain or pilot of one of the vessels, — since no such person was on either vessel, and no such name appears in the testimony: the true Jordan was the Wateree (Guatari).[5] That it was the intention of Ayllon to make the expedition one of slave-catching, would seem to be abundantly disproved by his condemnation of the commander's act.[6]



AYLLON'S EXPLORATIONS.[2]

Ayllon, according to Spanish writers, after reaching the coast in his own voyage, in 1526, took a northerly course. Herrera[7] says he attempted to colonize north of Cape Trafalgar (Hatteras); and the *piloto mayor* of Florida, Ecija, who at a later day, in 1609, was sent to find out what the English were doing, says positively that Ayllon had fixed his settlement at Guandape. Since by his office Ecija must have had in his possession the early charts of his people, and must have made the locality a matter of special study, his assertion has far greater weight than that of any historian writing in Spain merely from documents.[1] It is also the opinion of Navarrete[2] that Aylon's course must have been north.

---

[1] Vol. xxxiv. pp. 563–567; xxxv. 547–562.

[2] [This sketch follows Dr. Kohl's copy of a map in a manuscript atlas in the British Museum (no. 9,814), without date; but it seems to be a record of the explorations (1520) of Ayllon, whose name is corrupted on the map. The map bears near the main inscription the figure of a Chinaman and an elephant, — tokens of the current belief in the Asiatic connections of North America. Cf. Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 82, 99, on the "Traza de costas de Tierra Ferme y de las Tierras Nuevas," accompanying the royal grant to Garay in 1521, being the chart of Cristóbal de Tobia, given in the third volume of Navarrete's *Coleccion*, and sketched on another page of the present volume (*ante*, p. 218) in a section on "The Early Cartography of the Gulf of Mexico and adjacent Parts," where some light is thrown on contemporary knowledge of the Florida coast. — Ed.]

[3] Vol. iii. p. 69. His conjectures and those of modern writers (Stevens, *Notes*, p. 48), accordingly require no examination. As the documents of the first voyage name both 33° 30′ and 35° as the landfall, conjecture is idle.

[4] Dec. ii. lib. xi. cap. 6. This statement is adopted by many writers since.

[5] Pedro M. Marquez to the King, Dec. 12, 1586.

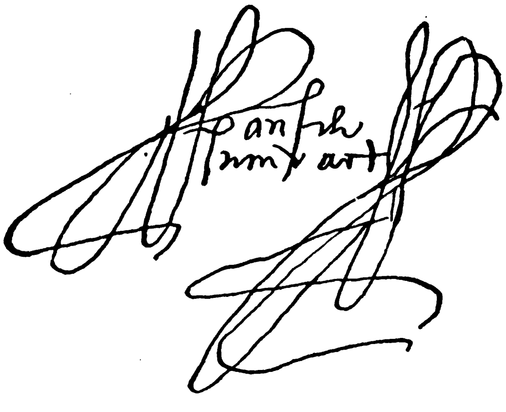
[6] Gomara, *Historia*, cap. xlii.; Herrera, *Historia*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. 5.

[7] Vol. ii. lib xxi. cap. 8 and 9.

Oviedo[3] does not define the region of this settlement more closely than to say that it was under thirty-three degrees, adding that it is not laid down on any map. The Oydores of Santo Domingo, in a letter to the King in 1528,[4] only briefly report the expedition, and refer for particulars to Father Antonio Montesinos.[5]

The authorities for the voyage of Gomez are set forth in another volume.[6]

Upon the expedition of Narvaez, and particularly upon the part taken in it by Cabeza de Vaca, the principal authority is the narrative of the latter published at Zamora in 1542 as *La relacion que dio Aluar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca de lo acaescido en las Indias en la armada donde yua por gouernador Pãphilo de narbaez.*[7] It was reprinted at Valladolid in 1555, in an edition usually quoted as *La relacion y comentarios*[8] *del governador Aluar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca de lo acaescido en las dos jornadas que hizo á los Indios.*[9] This edition was reprinted under the title of *Navfragios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, by Barcia (1749) in his *Historiadores primitivos*,[10] accompanied by an "exámen apologético de la historia" by Antonio Ardoino, which is a defence of Cabeza de Vaca against the aspersions of Honorius Philoponus,[11] who charges Cabeza de Vaca with claiming to have performed miracles.



AUTOGRAPH OF NARVAEZ
(*From Buckingham Smith*).

The *Relacion*, translated into Italian from the first edition, was included by Ramusio in his *Collection*[1] in 1556. A French version was given by Ternaux in 1837.[2] The earliest English rendering, or rather paraphrase, is that in Purchas;[3] but a more important version was made by the late Buckingham Smith, and printed (100 copies) at the expense of Mr. George W. Riggs, of Washington, in 1851, for private circulation.[4] A second edition was undertaken by Mr. Smith, embodying the results of investigations in Spain, with a revision of the translation and considerable additional annotation; but the completion of the work of carrying it through the press, owing to Mr. Smith's death,[5] devolved upon others, who found his mass of undigested notes not very intelligible. It appeared in an edition of one hundred copies in 1871.[6] In these successive editions Mr. Smith gave different theories regarding the route pursued by Cabeza de Vaca in his nine years journey.[7]

---

[1] Ecija, *Relacion del viage* (June–September, 1609).

[2] Vol. iii. pp. 72–73. Recent American writers have taken another view. Cf. Brevoort, *Verrazano*, p. 70; Murphy, *Verrazzano*, p. 123.

[3] *Historia*, lib. xxxvii. cap. 1–4, in vol. iii. pp. 624–633.

[4] *Documentos inéditos*, iii. 347.

[5] Galvano (Hakluyt Society's ed., p. 144) gives the current account of his day.

[6] Cf. Vol. IV. p. 28. The *capitulacion* is given in the *Documentos inéditos*, xxii. 74.

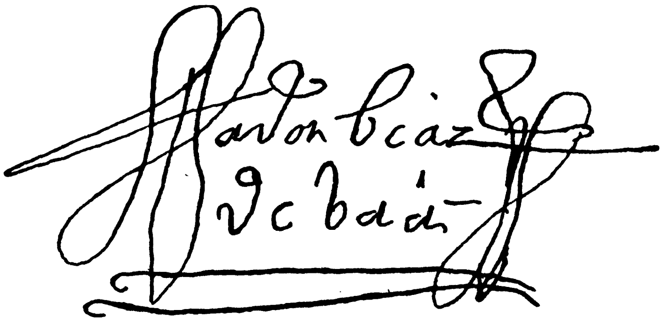
[7] [Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 239; Sabin, vol. iii. no. 9,767. There is a copy in the Lenox Library. Cf. the *Relacion* as given in the *Documentos inéditos*, vol. xiv. pp. 265–279, and the "Capitulacion que se tomó con Panfilo de Narvaez" in vol. xxii. p. 224. There is some diversity of opinion as to the trustworthiness of this narrative; cf. Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, iv. 397, and Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 17. "Cabeça has left an artless account of his recollections of the journey; but his memory sometimes called up incidents out of their place, so that his narrative is confused." — BANCROFT: *History of the United States*, revised edition, vol. i. p. 31. — ED.]

[8] The *Comentarios* added to this edition were by Pero Hernandez, and relate to Cabeza de Vaca's career in South America.

[9] [There are copies of this edition in the Carter-Brown (*Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 197) and Harvard College libraries; cf. Sabin, vol. iii. no. 9,768. Copies were sold in the Murphy (no. 441), Brinley (no. 4,360 at $34), and Beckford (*Catalogue*, vol. iii. no. 183) sales. Rich (no. 28) priced a copy in 1832 at £4 4*s*. Leclerc (no. 2,487) in 1878 prices a copy at 1,500 francs; and sales have been reported at £21. £25, £39 10*s*., and £42. — ED.]

[10] [Vol. i. no. 6. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. 893; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 79. — ED.]

[11] [*Nova typis transacta navigatio Novi Orbis*, 1621. Ardoino's *Exámen apologético* was first published separately in 1736 (*Carter-Brown*, iii. 545). — ED.]



AUTOGRAPH OF CABEZA DE VACA
(*From Buckingham Smith*).

The documents[8] which Mr. Smith adds to this new edition convey but little information beyond what can be gathered from Cabeza de Vaca himself. He adds, however, engravings of Father Juan Xuarez and Brother Juan Palos, after portraits preserved in Mexico of the twelve Franciscans who were first sent to that country.[9]

---

[1] Vol. iii. pp. 310–330.

[2] Following the 1555 edition, and published in his *Voyages*, at Paris.

[3] Vol. iv. pp. 1499–1556.

[4] [*Menzies Catalogue*, no. 315; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, nos. 227–229. — ED.]

[5] [Cf. Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 364., — ED.]

[6] Printed by Munsell at Albany, at the charge of the late Henry C. Murphy. [Dr. Shea added to it a memoir of Mr. Smith, and Mr. T. W. Field a memoir of Cabeza de Vaca. — ED.]

[7] [The writing of his narrative, not during but after the completion of his journey, does not conduce to making the statements of the wanderer very explicit, and different interpretations of his itinerary can easily be made. In 1851 Mr. Smith made him cross the Mississippi within the southern boundary of Tennessee, and so to pass along the Arkansas and Canadian rivers to New Mexico, crossing the Rio Grande in the neighborhood of thirty-two degrees. In his second edition he tracks the traveller nearer the Gulf of Mexico, and makes him cross the Rio Grande near the mouth of the Conchos River in Texas, which he follows to the great mountain chain, and then crosses it. Mr. Bartlett, the editor of the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (see vol. i. p. 188), who has himself tracked both routes, is not able to decide between them. Davis, in his *Conquest of New Mexico*, also follows Cabeza de Vaca's route. H. H. Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, i. 63) finds no ground for the northern route, and gives (p. 67) a map of what he supposes to be the route. There is also a map in Paul Chaix' *Bassin du Mississipi au seizième siècle*. Cf. also L. Bradford Prince's *New Mexico* (1883), p. 89. — ED.] The buffalo and mesquite afford a tangible means of fixing the limits of his route.

[8] Including the petition of Narvaez to the King and the royal memoranda from the originals at Seville (p. 207), the instructions to the factor (p. 211), the instructions to Cabeza de Vaca (p. 218), and the summons to be made by Narvaez (p. 215). Cf. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, second series, ii. 153; *Historical Magazine*, April, 1862, and January and August, 1867.

[9] Smith's *Cabeça de Vaca*, p. 100; Torquemada (*Monarquia Indiana*, 1723, iii. 437–447) gives Lives of these friars. Barcia says Xuarez was made a bishop; but Cabeza de Vaca never calls him bishop, but simply commissary, and the portrait at Vera Cruz has no episcopal emblems. Torquemada in his sketch of Xuarez makes no allusion to his being made a bishop,

Some additional facts respecting this expedition are derived at second hand from a letter which Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes wrote after their arrival in Mexico to the *Audiencia* of Hispaniola, which is not now known, but of which the substance is professedly given by Oviedo.[1]

The Bahia de la Cruz of Narvaez' landing, made identical with Apalache Bay by Cabot, is likely to have been by him correctly identified, as the point could be fixed by the pilots who returned with the ships to Cuba, and would naturally be recorded on the charts.[2] Smith[3] believed it to be Tampa Bay. The *Relacion* describes the bay as one whose head could be seen from the mouth; though its author seems in another place to make it seven or eight leagues deep.[4] Narvaez and his party evidently thought they were nearer Panuco, and had no idea they were so near Havana. Had they been at Tampa Bay, or on a coast running north and south, they can scarcely be supposed to have been so egregiously mistaken.[5] If Tampa was his landing place, it is necessary to consider the bay where he subsequently built his boats as Apalache Bay.[6] Charlevoix[7] identifies it with Apalache Bay, and Siguenza y Gongora finds it in Pensacola.[8]

Of the expedition of Soto we have good and on the whole satisfactory records. The Concession made by the Spanish King of the government of Cuba and of the conquest of Florida is preserved to us.[9] There are three contemporary narratives of the progress of the march. The first and best was printed in 1557 at Evora as the *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q̃ ho gouernador dõ Fernãdo de Souto e certos fidalgos portugueses passarom no descobrimẽto da provincia da Frolida. Agora nouamente feita per hũ fidalgo Deluas.*[10] It is usually cited in English as the "Narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas,"

---

and the name is not found in any list of bishops. We owe to Mr. Smith another contribution to the history of this region and this time, in a *Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida y tierras adyacentes,* — only vol. i. of the contemplated work appearing at Madrid in 1857. It contained thirty-three important papers from 1516 to 1569, and five from 1618 to 1794; they are for the most part from the Simancas Archives. This volume has a portrait of Ferdinand V., which is reproduced *ante*, p. 85. Various manuscripts of Mr. Smith are now in the cabinet of the New York Historical Society.

[1] Oviedo's account is translated in the *Historical Magazine*, xii. 141, 204, 267, 347. [H. H. Bancroft (*No. Mexican States*, i. 62) says that the collation of this account in Oviedo (vol. iii. pp. 582–618) with the other is very imperfectly done by Smith. He refers also to careful notes on it given by Davis in his *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, pp. 20–108. Bancroft (pp. 62, 63) gives various other references to accounts, at second hand, of this expedition. Cf. also L. P. Fisher's paper in the *Overland Monthly*, x. 514. Galvano's summarized account will be found in the Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 170. — ED.]

[2] Bancroft, *United States*, i. 27.

[3] *Cabeça de Vaca*, p. 58; cf. Fairbanks's *Florida*, chap. ii.

[4] *Cabeça de Vaca*, pp. 20, 204.

[5] [Tampa is the point selected by H. H. Bancroft (*No. Mexican States*, i. 60); cf. Brinton's note on the varying names of Tampa (*Floridian Peninsula*, p. 113). — ED.]

[6] B. Smith's *De Soto*, pp. 47, 234.

[7] *Nouvelle France*, iii. 473.

[8] Barcia, p. 308. The Magdalena may be the Apalachicola, on which in the last century Spanish maps laid down Echete; cf. Leroz, *Geographia de la America* (1758).

[9] The manuscript is in the Hydrographic Bureau at Madrid. The Lisbon Academy printed it in their (1844) edition of the Elvas narrative. Cf. Smith's *Soto*, pp. 266–272; *Historical Magazine*, v. 42; *Documentos inéditos*, xxii. 534. [It is dated April 20, 1537. In the following August Cabeza de Vaca reached Spain, to find that Soto had already secured the government of Florida; and was thence turned to seek the government of La Plata. It was probably before the tidings of Narvaez' expedition reached Spain that Soto wrote the letter regarding a grant he wished in Peru, which country he had left on the outbreak of the civil broils. This letter was communicated to the *Historical Magazine* (July, 1858, vol. ii. pp. 193–223) by Buckingham Smith, with a facsimile of the signature, given on an earlier page (*ante*, p. 253). — ED.]

[10] [Rich in 1832 (no. 34) cited a copy at £31 10*s*., which at that time he believed to be unique, and the identical one referred to by Pinelo as being in the library of the Duque de Sessa. There is a copy in the Grenville Collection, British Museum, and another is in the Lenox Library (B. Smith's *Letter of De Soto*, p. 66). It was reprinted at Lisbon in 1844 by the Royal Academy at Lisbon (Murphy, no. 1,004; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 596). Sparks says of it: "There is much show of exactness in regard to dates; but the account was evidently drawn up

since Hakluyt first translated it, and reprinted it in 1609 at London as *Virginia richly valued by the Description of the Mainland of Florida, her next Neighbor.*[1] It appeared again in 1611 as *The worthye and famous Historie of the Travailles, Discovery, and Conquest of Terra Florida*, and was included in the supplement to the 1809 edition of the Collection of Hakluyt. It was also reprinted from the 1611 edition in 1851 by the Hakluyt Society as *Discovery and Conquest of Florida*,[2] edited by William B. Rye, and is included in Force's *Tracts* (vol. iv.) and in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (vol. ii. pp. 111–220). It is abridged by Purchas in his *Pilgrimes*.[3]

YO EL REY.[4]

Another and briefer original Spanish account is the *Relacion del suceso de la jornada que hizo Hernando de Soto* of Luys Hernandez de Biedma, which long remained in manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville,[5] and was first published in a French

---

for the most part from memory, being vague in its descriptions and indefinite as to localities, distances, and other points." Field says it ranks second only to the Relation of Cabeza de Vaca as an early authority on the Indians of this region. There was a French edition by Citri de la Guette in 1685, which is supposed to have afforded a text for the English translation of 1686 entitled *A Relation of the Conquest of Florida by the Spaniards* (see Field's *Indian Bibliography*, nos. 325, 340). These editions are in Harvard College Library. Cf. Sabin, *Dictionary*, vi. 488, 491, 492; Stevens, *Historical Collections*, i. 844; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,274; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 1,324, 1,329; Arana, *Bibliografía de obras anónimas* (Santiago de Chile, 1882), no. 200. The Gentleman of Elvas is supposed by some to be Alvaro Fernandez; but it is a matter of much doubt (cf. Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 20). There is a Dutch version in Gottfried and Vander Aa's *Zee- und Landreizen* (1727), vol. vii. (Carter-Brown, iii. 117). — ED.]

[1] [Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 86; Murphy, no. 1,118. Rich (no. 110) priced it in 1832 at £2 2*s*. — ED.]

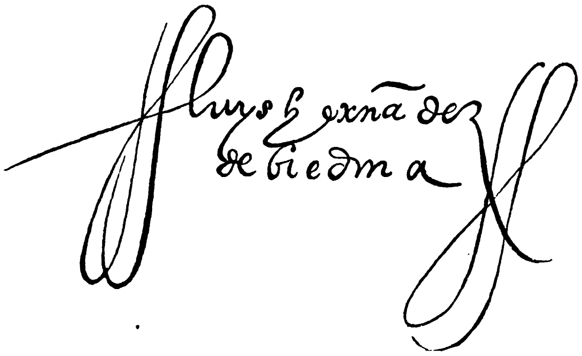
[2] Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,338.

[3] [It is also in Vander Aa's *Versameling* (Leyden, 1706). The *Relaçam* of the Gentleman of Elvas has, with the text of Garcilasso de la Vega and other of the accredited narratives of that day, contributed to the fiction which, being published under the sober title of *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles* (Rotterdam, 1658), passed for a long time as unimpeached history. The names of César de Rochefort and Louis de Poincy are connected with it as successive signers of the introductory matter. There were other editions of it in 1665, 1667, and 1681, with a title-edition in 1716. An English version, entitled *History of the Caribby Islands*, was printed in London in 1666. Cf. Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, supplement, p. 12; Leclerc, nos. 1,332–1,335, 2,134–2,137. — ED.]

[4] [The sign-manual of Charles V. to the *Asiento y Capitulacion* granted to De Soto, 1537, as given by B. Smith in his *Coleccion*, p. 146. — ED.]

[5] [A copy of the original Spanish manuscript is in the Lenox Library. — ED.]

version by Ternaux in 1841;[1] and from this William B. Rye translated it for the Hakluyt Society.[2] Finally, the original Spanish text, "Relación de la Isla de la Florida," was published by Buckingham Smith in 1857 in his *Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida.*[3]


Luys hernãdez de biedma

AUTOGRAPH OF BIEDMA.[4]

In 1866 Mr. Smith published translations of the narratives of the Gentleman of Elvas and of Biedma, in the fifth volume (125 copies) of the Bradford Club Series under the title of *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida, as told by a Knight of Elvas, and in a Relation* [presented 1544] *by Luys Hernandez de Biedma.*

The third of the original accounts is the *Florida del Ynca* of Garcilasso de la Vega, published at Lisbon in 1605,[5] which he wrote forty years after Soto's death, professedly to do his memory justice.[6] The spirit of exaggeration which prevails throughout the volume has deprived it of esteem as an historical authority, though Theodore Irving[7] and others have accepted it. It is based upon conversations with a noble Spaniard who had accompanied Soto as a volunteer, and upon the written but illiterate reports of two common soldiers, — Alonzo de Carmona, of Priego, and Juan Coles, of Zabra.[8] Herrera largely embodied it in his *Historia general.*

---

[1] *Recueil des pièces sur la Floride.*

[2] In the volume already cited, including Hakluyt's version of the Elvas narrative. It is abridged in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, apparently from the same source.

[3] Pages 47-64. Irving describes it as "the confused statement of an illiterate soldier." Cf. *Documentos inèditos*, iii. 414.

[4] From the *Coleccion*, p. 64, of Buckingham Smith.

[5] [Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 42; Sunderland, vol. v. no. 12,815; Leclerc, no. 881, at 350 francs; Field, *Indian Bibliography* no. 587; Brinley, no. 4,353. Rich (no. 102) priced it in 1832 at £2 2*s*. — ED.]

[6] [Brinton (*Floridian Peninsula*, p. 23) thinks Garcilasso had never seen the Elvas narrative; but Sparks (*Marquette*, in *American Biography*, vol. x.) intimates that it was Garcilasso's only written source. — ED.]

[7] [Theodore Irving, *The Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto*, New York, 1851. The first edition appeared in 1835, and there were editions printed in London in 1835 and 1850. The book is a clever popularizing of the original sources, with main dependence on Garcilasso (cf. Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 765), whom its author believes he can better trust, especially as regards the purposes of De Soto, wherein he differs most from the Gentleman of Elvas. Irving's championship of the Inca has not been unchallenged; cf. Rye's Introduction to the Hakluyt Society's volume. The Inca's account is more than twice as long as that of the Gentleman of Elvas, while Biedma's is very brief, — a dozen pages or so. Davis (*Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 25) is in error in saying that Garcilasso accompanied De Soto. — ED.]

[8] [There was an amended edition published by Barcia at Madrid in 1723 (Carter-Brown, iii. 328; Leclerc, no. 882, at 25 francs); again in 1803; and a French version by Pierre Richelet, *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride*, was published in 1670, 1709, 1711, 1731, 1735, and 1737 (Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,050; vol. iii. nos. 132, 470; *O'Callaghan Catalogue*, no. 965). A German translation by H. L. Meier, *Geschichte der Eroberung von Florida*, was printed at Zelle in 1753 (Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 997) with many notes, and again at Nordhausen in 1785. The only English version is that embodied in Bernard Shipp's *History of Hernando de Soto and Florida* (p. 229, etc.), — a stout octavo, published in Philadelphia in 1881. Shipp uses, not the original, but Richelet's version, the Lisle edition of 1711, and prints it with very few notes. His book covers the expeditions to North America between 1512 and 1568, taking Florida in its con-

Still another account of the expedition is the official Report which Rodrigo Ranjel, the secretary of Soto, based upon his Diary kept on the march. It was written after reaching Mexico, whence he transmitted it to the Spanish Government. It remained unpublished in that part of Oviedo's *History* which was preserved in manuscript till Amadór de los Rios issued his edition of Oviedo in 1851. Oviedo seems to have begun to give the text of Ranjel as he found it; but later in the progress of the story he abridges it greatly, and two chapters at least are missing, which must have given the wanderings of Soto from Autiamque, with his death, and the adventures of the survivors under Mosçoso. The original text of Ranjel is not known.

These independent narratives of the Gentlemen of Elvas, Biedma, and Ranjel, as well as those used by Garcilasso de la Vega, agree remarkably, not only in the main narrative as to course and events, but also as to the names of the places.

There is also a letter of Soto, dated July 9, 1539, describing his voyage and landing, which was published by Buckingham Smith in 1854 at Washington,[1] following a transcript (in the Lenox Library) of a document in the Archives at Simancas, and attested by Muñoz. It is addressed to the municipality of Santiago de Cuba, and was first made known in Ternaux's *Recueil des pièces sur la Floride.* B. F. French gave the first English version of it in his *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part ii. pp. 89–93 (1850).[2]

The route of De Soto is, of course, a question for a variety of views.[3] We have in the preceding narrative followed for the track through Georgia a paper read by Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr., before the Georgia Historical Society, and printed in Savannah in 1880,[4] and for that through Alabama the data given by Pickett in his *History of Alabama*,[5] whose local knowledge adds weight to his opinion.[6] As to the point of De Soto's crossing the

---

tinental sense; but as De Soto is his main hero, he follows him through his Peruvian career. Shipp's method is to give large extracts from the most accessible early writers, with linking abstracts, making his book one mainly of compilation. — ED.]

[1] *Letter of Hernando de Soto, and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda.* [The transcript of the Fontaneda Memoir is marked by Muñoz "as a very good account, although it is by a man who did not understand the art of writing, and therefore many sentences are incomplete. On the margin of the original [at Simancas] are points made by the hand of Herrera, who doubtless drew on this for that part [of his *Historia general*] about the River Jordan which he says was sought by Ponce de Leon." This memoir on Florida and its natives was written in Spain about 1575. It is also given in English in French's *Historical Collection of Louisiana* (1875), p. 235, from the French of Ternaux; cf. Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 26. The Editor appends various notes and a comparative statement of the authorities relative to the landing of De Soto and his subsequent movements, and adds a list of the original authorities on De Soto's expedition and a map of a part of the Floridian peninsula. The authorities are also reviewed by Rye in the Introduction to the Hakluyt Society's volume. Smith also printed the will of De Soto in the *Hist. Mag.* (May, 1861), v. 134. — ED.]

[2] [A memorial of Alonzo Vasquez (1560), asking for privileges in Florida, and giving evidences of his services under De Soto, is translated in the *Historical Magazine* (September, 1860), iv. 257. — ED.]

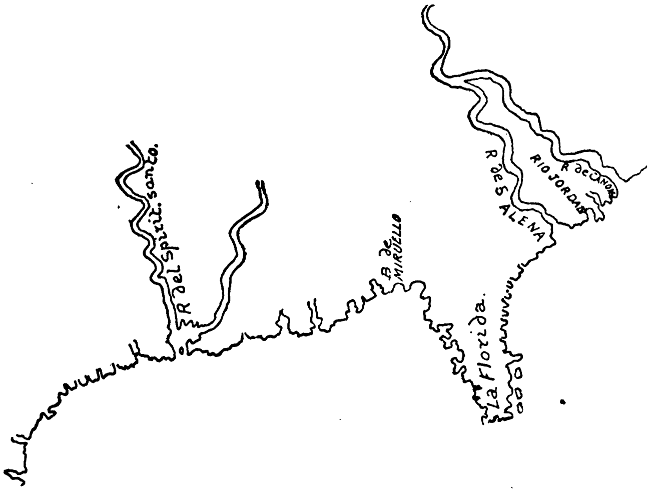
[3] [Buckingham Smith has considered the question of De Soto's landing in a paper, "Espiritu Santo," appended to his *Letter of De Soto* (Washington, 1854), p. 51. — ED.]

[4] [Colonel Jones epitomizes the march through Georgia in chap. ii. of his *History of Georgia* (Boston, 1883). In the *Annual Report* of the Smithsonian Institution, 1881, p. 619, he figures and describes two silver crosses which were taken in 1832 from an Indian mound in Murray County, Georgia, at a spot where he believed De Soto to have encamped (June, 1540), and which he inclines to associate with that explorer. Stevens (*History of Georgia*, i. 26) thinks but little positive knowledge can be made out regarding De Soto's route. — ED.]

[5] [Pages 25–41. Pickett in 1849 printed the first chapter of his proposed work in a tract called, *Invasion of the Territory of Alabama by One Thousand Spaniards under Ferdinand de Soto in* 1540 (Montgomery, 1849). Pickett says he got confirmatory information respecting the route from Indian traditions among the Creeks. — ED.]

[6] "We are satisfied that the Mauvila, the scene of Soto's bloody fight, was upon the north bank of the Alabama, at a place now called Choctaw Bluff, in the County of Clarke, about twenty-five miles above the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigbee" (Pickett, i. 27). The name of this town is written "Mauilla" by the Gentleman of Elvas, "Mavilla" by Biedma, but "Mabile"

Mississippi, there is a very general agreement on the lowest Chickasaw Bluff.[1] We are without the means, in any of the original sources, to determine beyond dispute the most northerly point reached by Soto. He had evidently approached, but had learned nothing of, the Missouri River. Almost at the same time that Soto, with the naked, starving remnant of his army, was at Pacaha, another Spanish force under Vasquez de Coronado, well handled and perfectly equipped, must in July and August, 1541, have been encamped so near that an Indian runner in a few days might have carried tidings between them. Coronado actually heard of his countryman, and sent him a letter; but his messenger failed to find Soto's party.[3] But, strangely enough, the cruel, useless expedition of Soto finds ample space in history, while the well-managed march of Coronado's careful exploration finds scant mention.[4] No greater contrast exists in our history than that between these two campaigns.



THE MISSISSIPPI, SIXTEENTH CENTURY.[2]

A sufficient indication has been given, in the notes of the preceding narrative, of the sources of information concerning the futile attempts of the Spaniards at colonization on the Atlantic coast up to the time of the occupation of Port Royal by Ribault in 1562. Of the consequent bloody struggle between the Spanish Catholics and the French Huguenots there are original sources on both sides.

by Ranjel. The *u* and *v* were interchangeable letters in Spanish printing, and readily changed to *b*. (Irving, second edition, p. 261).

[1] Bancroft, *United States*, i. 51; Pickett, *Alabama*, vol. i.; Martin's *Louisiana*, i. 12; Nuttall's *Travels into Arkansas* (1819), p. 248; Fairbanks's *History of Florida*, chap. v.; Ellicott's *Journal*, p. 125; Belknap, *American Biography*, i. 192. [Whether this passage of the Mississippi makes De Soto its discoverer, or whether Cabeza de Vaca's account of his wandering is to be interpreted as bringing him, first of Europeans, to its banks, when on the 30th of October, 1528, he crossed one of its mouths, is a question in dispute, even if we do not accept the view that Alonzo de Pineda found its mouth in 1519 and called it Rio del Espiritu Santo (Navarrete, iii. 64). The arguments pro and con are examined by Rye in the Hakluyt Society's volume. Cf., besides the authorities above named, French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana;* Sparks's *Marquette;* Gayarré's *Louisiana;* Theodore Irving's *Conquest of Florida;* Gravier's *La Salle*, chap. i., and his "Route du Mississipi" in *Congrès des Américanistes* (1877), vol. i.; De Bow's *Commercial Review*, 1849 and 1850; *Southern Literary Messenger*, December, 1848; *North American Review*, July, 1847. — Ed.]

[2] [This sketch is from a copy in the Kohl Washington Collection, after a manuscript atlas in the Bodleian. It is without date, but seemingly of about the middle of the sixteenth century. The "B. de Miruello" seems to commemorate a pilot of Ponce de Leon's day. The sketch of the Atlantic coast made by Chaves in 1536 is preserved to us only in the description given by Oviedo, of which an English version will be found in the *Historical Magazine*, x. 371. — Ed.]

[3] Jaramillo, in Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 160.

[4] [See chap. vii. on "Early Explorations of New Mexico." — Ed.]

On the Spanish part we have the *Cartas escritas al rey* of Pedro Menendez (Sept. 11, Oct. 15, and Dec. 5, 1565), which are preserved in the Archives at Seville, and have been used by Parkman,[1] and the *Memoria del buen suceso i buen viage* of the chaplain of the expedition, Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales.[2] Barcia's *Ensayo cronológico* is the most comprehensive of the Spanish accounts, and he gives a large part of the *Memorial de las jornadas* of Solis de Meras, a brother-in-law of Menendez. It has never been printed separately; but Charlevoix used Barcia's extract, and it is translated from Barcia in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (vol. ii. p. 216). Barcia seems also to have had access to the papers of Menendez,[3] and to have received this Journal of Solis directly from his family.

On the French side, for the first expedition of Ribault in 1562 we have the very scarce text of the *Histoire de l'expédition Française en Floride*, published in London in 1563, which Hakluyt refers to as being in print "in French and English" when he wrote his *Westerne Planting*.[4] Sparks[5] could not find that it was ever published in French; nor was Winter Jones aware of the existence of this 1563 edition when he prepared for the Hakluyt Society an issue of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* (1582), in which that collector had included an English version of it as *The True and Last Discoverie of Florida, translated into Englishe by one Thomas Hackit*, being the same text which appeared separately in 1563 as the *Whole and True Discovery of Terra Florida*.[6]

At Paris in 1586 appeared a volume, dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, entitled, *L'histoire notable de la Floride, . . . contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines et pilotes François descrits par le Capitaine Laudonnière, . . . à laquelle a esté adjousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le Capitaine Gourgues, Mise en lumiere par M. Basanier*. This was a comprehensive account, or rather compilation, of the four several French expeditions, — 1562, 1564, 1565, 1567, — covering the letters of Laudonnière for the first three, and an anonymous account, perhaps by the editor Basanier, of the fourth. Hakluyt, who had induced the French publication, gave the whole an English dress in his *Notable History, translated by R. H.*, printed in London in 1587,[7] and again in his *Principall Navigations*, vol. iii., the text of which is also to be found in the later edition and in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (1869), i. 165.[8]

---

[1] *Pioneers of France in the New World*; cf. Gaffarel, *La Floride Française*, p. 341.

[2] There is a French version in Ternaux' *Recueil de la Floride*, and an English one in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (1875), ii. 190. The original is somewhat diffuse, but is minute upon interesting points.

[3] Cf. Sparks, *Ribault*, p. 155; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, p. 20. Fairbanks in his *History of St. Augustine* tells the story, mainly from the Spanish side.

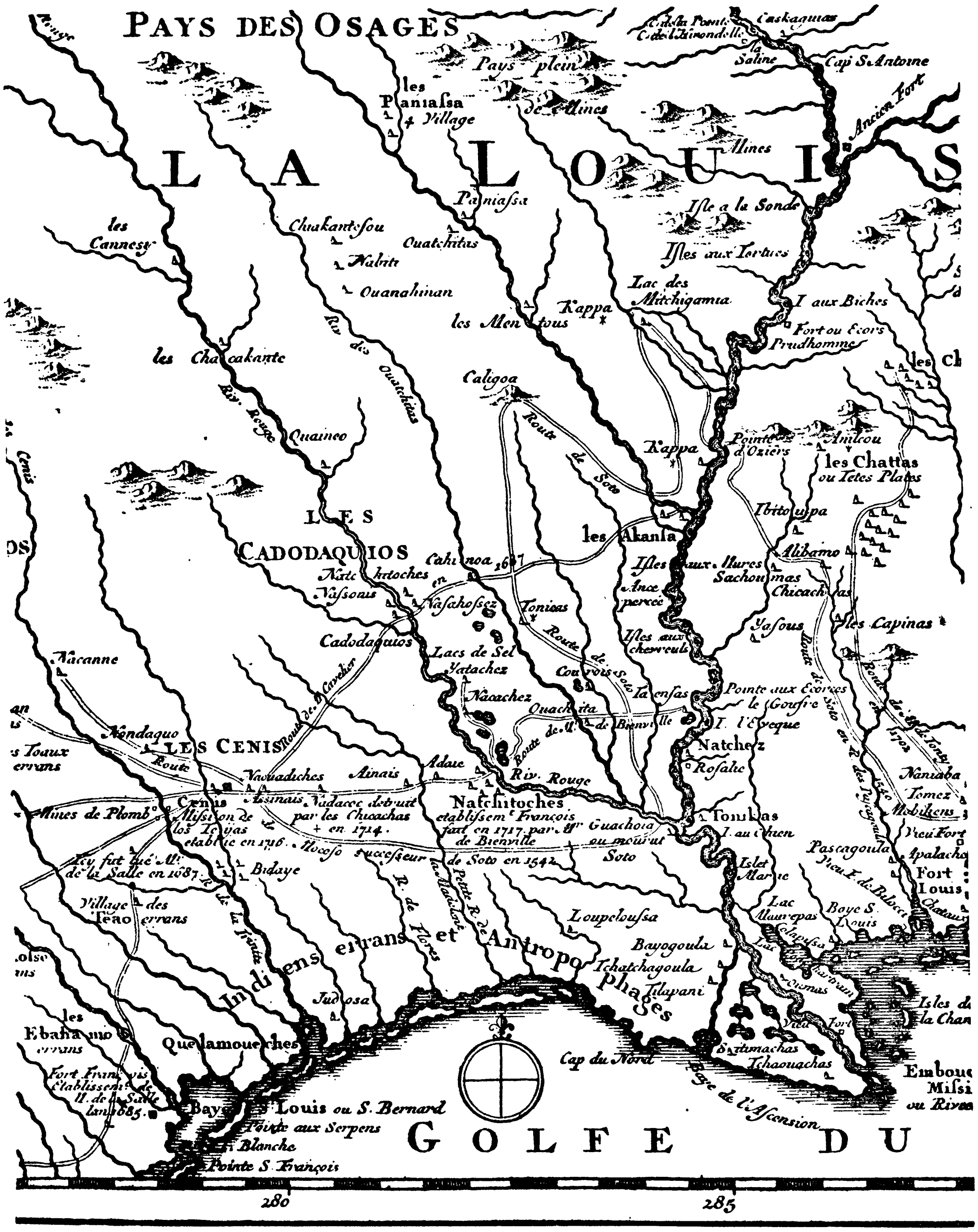
[4] Edited by Charles Deane for the Maine Historical Society, pp. 20, 195, 213.

[5] *Life of Ribault*, p. 147.

[6] [This original English edition (a tract of 42 pages) is extremely scarce. There is a copy in the British Museum, from which Rich had transcripts made, one of which is now in Harvard College Library, and another is in the Carter-Brown Collection (cf. Rich, 1832, no. 40; Carter-Brown, i. 244). The text, as in the *Divers Voyages*, is reprinted in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (1875), p. 159. Ribault supposed that in determining to cross the ocean in a direct westerly course, he was the first to make such an attempt, not knowing that Verrazano had already done so. Cf. Brevoort, *Verrazano*, p. 110; Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, edition by J. W. Jones, p. 95. See also Vol. III. p. 172. — Ed.]

[7] [This is the rarest of Hakluyt's publications, the only copy known in America being in the Lenox Library (Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,236) — Ed.]

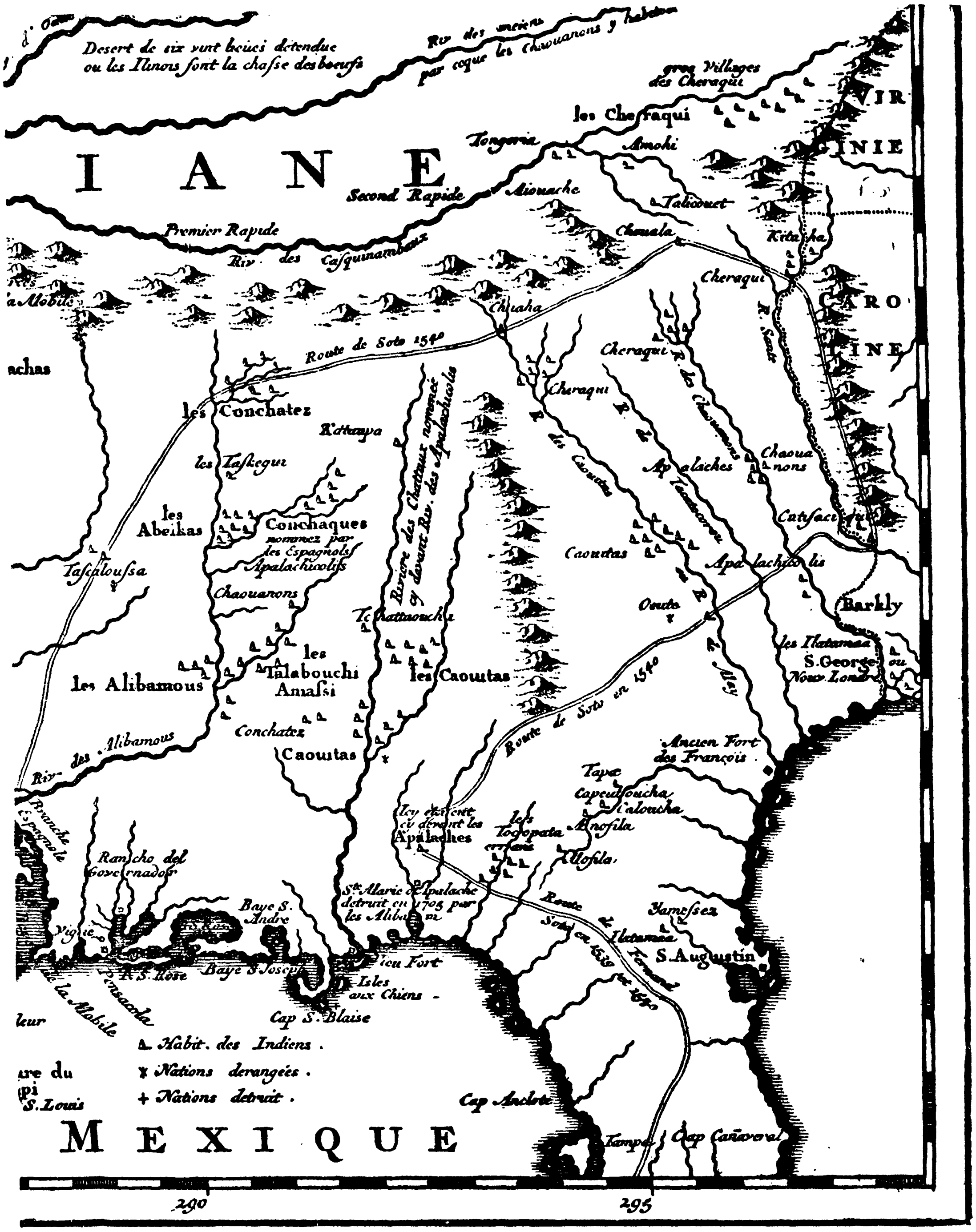
[8] [Brinton, *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 39. The original French text was reprinted in Paris in 1853 in the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne;* and this edition is worth about 30 francs (Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 97; Sabin, vol. x. no. (39,235). The edition of 1586 was priced by Rich in 1832 at £5 5*s*., and has been sold of late years for $250, £63, and 1,500 francs. Cf. Leclerc, no. 2,662; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,234; Carter-Brown, i. 366; Court, nos. 27, 28; Murphy, no. 1,442; Brinley, vol. iii. no. 4,357; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, p. 24. Gaffarel in his *La Floride Française* (p. 347) gives the first letter entire, and parts of the second and third, following the 1586 edition. — Ed.]



ROUTE OF DE SOTO (*after Delisle*), — WESTERLY PART.[1]

---

[1] [This map of Delisle, issued originally at Paris, is given in the Amsterdam (1707) edition of Garcilasso de la Vega's *Histoire des Incas et de la conquête de la Floride*, vol. ii; cf. *Voyages au nord*, vol. v., and Delisle's *Atlas nouveau.* The map is also reproduced in French's *Historical*



ROUTE OF DE SOTO (*after Delisle*),—EASTERLY PART.

Collections of Louisiana, and Gravier's *La Salle* (1870). Other maps of the route are given by Rye, McCulloch, and Irving; by J. C. Brevoort in Smith's *Narratives of Hernando de Soto*, and in Paul Chaix' *Bassin du Missisipi au seizième siècle*. Besides the references already noted, the ques-

Jacques Lemoyne de Morgues, an artist accompanying Laudonnière, wrote some years later an account, and made maps and drawings, with notes describing them. De Bry made a visit to London in 1587 to see Lemoyne, who was then in Raleigh's service; but Lemoyne resisted all persuasions to part with his papers.[1] After Lemoyne's death De Bry bought them of his widow (1588), and published them in 1591, in the second part of his *Grands voyages*, as *Brevis narratio*.[2]

One Nicolas le Challeux, or Challus, a carpenter, a man of sixty, who was an eyewitness of the events at Fort Caroline, and who for the experiences of Ribault's party took the statements of Dieppe sailors and of Christopher le Breton, published a simple narrative at Dieppe in 1566 under the title of *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride*, which was issued twice, — once with fifty-four, and a second time with sixty-two, pages,[3] and the same year reprinted, with some variations, at Lyons as *Histoire mémorable du dernier voyage fait par le Capitaine Iean Ribaut en l'an MDLXV* (pp. 56).[4]

---

tion of his route has been discussed, to a greater or less extent, in Charlevoix' *Nouvelle France;* in Warden's *Chronologie historique de l'Amérique*, where the views of the geographer Homann are cited; in Albert Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes" in the *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii.; in Nuttall's *Travels in Arkansas* (1819 and 1821); in Williams's *Florida* (New York, 1837); in McCulloch's *Antiquarian Researches in America* (Baltimore, 1829); in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, vol. iii.; in Paul Chaix' *Bassin du Mississipi au seizième siècle;* in J. W. Monette's *Valley of the Mississippi* (1846); in Pickett's *Alabama;* in Gayarré's *Louisiana;* in Martin's *Louisiana;* in *Historical Magazine*, v. 8; in *Knickerbocker Magazine*, lxiii. 457; in *Sharpe's Magazine*, xlii. 265; and in Lambert A. Wilmer's *Life of De Soto* (1858). Although Dr. Belknap in his *American Biography* (1794, vol. i. p. 189), had sought to establish a few points of De Soto's march, the earliest attempt to track his steps closely was made by Alexander Meek, in a paper published at Tuscaloosa in 1839 in *The Southron*, and reprinted as "The Pilgrimage of De Soto," in his *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History* (Mobile, 1857), p. 213. Irving, in the revised edition of his *Conquest of Florida*, depended largely upon the assistance of Fairbanks and Smith, and agrees mainly with Meek and Pickett. In his appendix he epitomizes the indications of the route according to Garcilasso and the Portuguese gentleman. Rye collates the statements of McCulloch and Monette regarding the route beyond the Mississippi, and infers that the identifying of the localities is almost impossible. Chaix (*Bassin du Mississipi*) also traces this part. — ED.]

[1] Cf. Stevens *Bibliotheca historica* (1870,) p. 224; Brinton, *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 32.

[2] *Brevis narratio eorum quæ in Florida Americæ provĩcia Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam Navigatione, duce Renato de Laudoñiere classis Præfecto: anno MDLXIIII. Quæ est secunda pars Americæ. Additæ figuræ et Incolarum eicones ibidem ad vivũ expressæ, brevis etiam declaratio religionis, rituum, vivendique ratione ipsorum. Auctore Iacobo Le Moyne, cui cognomen de Morgues, Laudoñierum in ea Navigatione Sequnto.* [There was a second edition of the Latin (1609) and two editions in German (1591 and 1603), with the same plates. Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 399, 414; Court, no. 243; Brinley, vol. iii. no. 4,359. The original Latin of 1591 is also found separately, with its own pagination, and is usually in this condition priced at about 100 francs. It is supposed to have preceded the issue as a part of De Bry (Dufossé, 1878, nos. 3,691, 3,692).

The engravings were reproduced in heliotypes; and with the text translated by Frederick B. Perkins, it was published in Boston in 1875 as the *Narrative of Le Moyne, an Artist who accompanied the French Expedition to Florida under Laudonnière*, 1564. These engravings have been in part reproduced several times since their issue, as in the *Magazin pittoresque*, in *L'univers pittoresque*, in Pickett's *Alabama*, etc. — ED.]

[3] Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,631–32; Carter-Brown, i. 262.

[4] [Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,634; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 263. An English translation, following the Lyons text, was issued in London in 1566 as *A True and Perfect Description of the Last Voyage of Ribaut*, of which only two copies are reported by Sabin, — one in the Carter-Brown Library (vol. i. no. 264), and the other in the British Museum. This same Lyons text was included in Ternaux' *Reçueil de pièces sur la Floride* and in Gaffarel's *La Floride Française*, p. 457 (cf. also pp. 337–339), and it is in part given in Cimber and Danjon's *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1835), vi. 200. The original Dieppe text was reprinted at Rouen in 1872 for the Société Rouennaise de Bibliophiles, and edited by Gravier under the title: *Deuxième voyage du Dieppois Jean Ribaut à la Floride en* 1565, *précédé d'une notice historique et bibliographique*. Cf. Brinton, *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 30. — ED.]

It is thought that Thevet in his *Cosmographie universelle* (1575) may have had access to Laudonnière's papers; and some details from Thevet are embodied in what is mainly a translation of Le Challeux, the *De Gallorum expeditione in Floridam anno MDLXV brevis historia*, which was added (p. 427) by Urbain Chauveton, or Calveton, to the Latin edition of Benzoni, — *Novæ novi orbis historiæ tres libri*, printed at Geneva in 1578 and 1581,[1] and reproduced under different titles in the French versions, published likewise at Geneva in 1579, 1588, and 1589.[2] There is a separate issue of it from the 1579 edition.[3]

It was not long before exaggerated statements were circulated, based upon the representations made in *Une requête au roi* (Charles IX.) of the widows and orphans of the victims of Menendez, in which the number of the slain is reported at the impossible figure of nine hundred.[4]

Respecting the expedition of De Gourgues there are no Spanish accounts whatever, Barcia[5] merely taking in the main the French narrative, — in which, says Parkman, "it must be admitted there is a savor of romance."[6] That Gourgues was merely a slaver is evident from this full French account. Garibay notes his attempt to capture at least one Spanish vessel; and he certainly had on reaching Florida two barks, which he must have captured on his way. Basanier and many who follow him suppress entirely the slaver episode in this voyage. All the De Gourgues narratives ignore entirely the existence of St. Augustine, and make the three pretended forts on the St. John to have been of stone; and Prévost, to heighten the picture, invents the story of the flaying of Ribault, of which there is no trace in the earlier French accounts.

There are two French narratives. One of them, *La reprinse de la Floride*, exists, according to Gaffarel,[7] in five different manuscript texts.[8] The other French narrative

---

[1] [O'Callaghan, no. 463; Rich (1832), no. 60. There was an edition at Cologne in 1612 (Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 2,300; Carter-Brown, ii. 123). Sparks (*Life of Ribault*, p. 152) reports a *De navigatione Gallorum in terram Floridam* in connection with an Antwerp (1568) edition of Levinus Apollonius. It also appears in the same connection in the joint German edition of Benzoni, Peter Martyr, and Levinus printed at Basle in 1582 (Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 344). It may have been merely a translation of Challeux or Ribault (Brinton, *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 36) — ED.].

[2] Murphy, nos. 564, 2,853.

[3] Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,630; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 330; Dufossé, no. 4,211.

[4] This petition is known as the *Epistola supplicatoria*, and is embodied in the original text in Chauveton's French edition of Benzoni. It is also given in Cimber and Danjon's *Archives curieuses*, vi. 232, and in Gaffarel's *Floride Française*, p. 477; and in Latin in De Bry, parts ii. and vi. (cf. Sparks's *Ribault*, appendix). [There are other contemporary accounts or illustrations in the "Lettres et papiers d'état du Sieur de Forquevaulx," for the most part unprinted, and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which were used by Du Prat in his *Histoire d'Élisabeth de Valois* (1859), and some of which are printed in Gaffarel, p. 409. The nearly contemporary accounts of Popelinière in his *Trois mondes* (1582) and in the *Histoire universelle* of De Thou, represent the French current belief. The volume of Ternaux' *Voyages* known as *Recueil de pièces sur la Floride inédites*, contains, among eleven documents, one called *Coppie d'une lettre venant de la Floride, . . . ensemble le plan et portraict du fort que les François y ont faict* (1564), which is reprinted in Gaffarel and in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, vol. iii. This tract, with a plan of the fort on the sixth leaf, *recto*, was originally printed at Paris in 1565 (Carter-Brown, i. 256). None of the reprints give the engravings. It was seemingly written in the summer of 1564, and is the earliest account which was printed. — ED.]

[5] *Ensayo cronológico*.

[6] [Parkman, however, inclines to believe that Barcia's acceptance is a kind of admission of its "broad basis of truth." — ED.]

[7] Page 340. Cf. *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, iv. 72.

[8] [They are: *a*. Preserved in the Château de Vayres, belonging to M. de Bony, which is presumably that given as belonging to the Gourgues family, of which a copy, owned by Bancroft, was used by Parkman. It was printed at Mont-de-Marsan, 1851, 63 pages.

b. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 1,886. Printed by Ternaux-Compans in his *Recueil*, etc., p. 301, and by Gaffarel, p. 483, collated with the other manuscripts and translated into English in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and* is the last paper in the compilation of Basanier, already mentioned. Brinton[1] is inclined to believe that it is not an epitome of the *Reprinse*, but that it was written by Basanier himself from the floating accounts of his day, or from some unknown relater. Charlevoix mentions a manuscript in the possession of the De Gourgues family; but it is not clear which of these papers it was.

The story of the Huguenot colony passed naturally into the historical records of the seventeenth century;[2] but it got more special treatment in the next century, when Charlevoix issued his *Nouvelle France*.[3] The most considerable treatments of the present century have been by Jared Sparks in his *Life of Ribault*,[4] by Francis Parkman in his *Pioneers of France in the New World*,[5] and by Paul Gaffarel in his *Histoire de la Floride Française*.[6] The story has also necessarily passed into local and general histories of this period in America, and into the accounts of the Huguenots as a sect.[7]

John Gilmary Shea

Florida, ii. 267. This copy bears the name of Robert Prévost; but whether as author or copyist is not clear, says Parkman (p. 142).

c. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 2,145. Printed at Bordeaux in 1867 by Ph. Tamizey de Larroque, with preface and notes, and giving also the text marked *e* below.

d. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 3,384. Printed by Taschereau in the *Revue rétrospective* (1835), ii. 321.

e. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 6,124. See *c* above.

The account in the *Histoire notable* is called an abridgment by Sparks, and of this abridgment there is a Latin version in De Bry, part ii., — *De quarta Gallorum in Floridam navigatione sub Gourguesio*. See other abridgments in Popellinière, *Histoire des trois mondes* (1582), Lescarbot, and Charlevoix.

[1] *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 35.

[2] Such as Wytfliet's *Histoire des Indes*; D'Aubigné's *Histoire universelle* (1626); De Laet's *Novus orbis*, book iv.; Lescarbot's *Nouvelle France*; Champlain's *Voyages*; Brantôme's *Grands capitaines François* (also in his *Œuvres*). Faillon (*Colonie Française*, i. 543) bases his account on Lescarbot.

[3] Cf. Shea's edition with notes, where (vol. i. p. 71) Charlevoix characterizes the contemporary sources; and he points out how the Abbé du Fresnoy, in his *Méthode pour étudier la géographie*, falls into some errors.

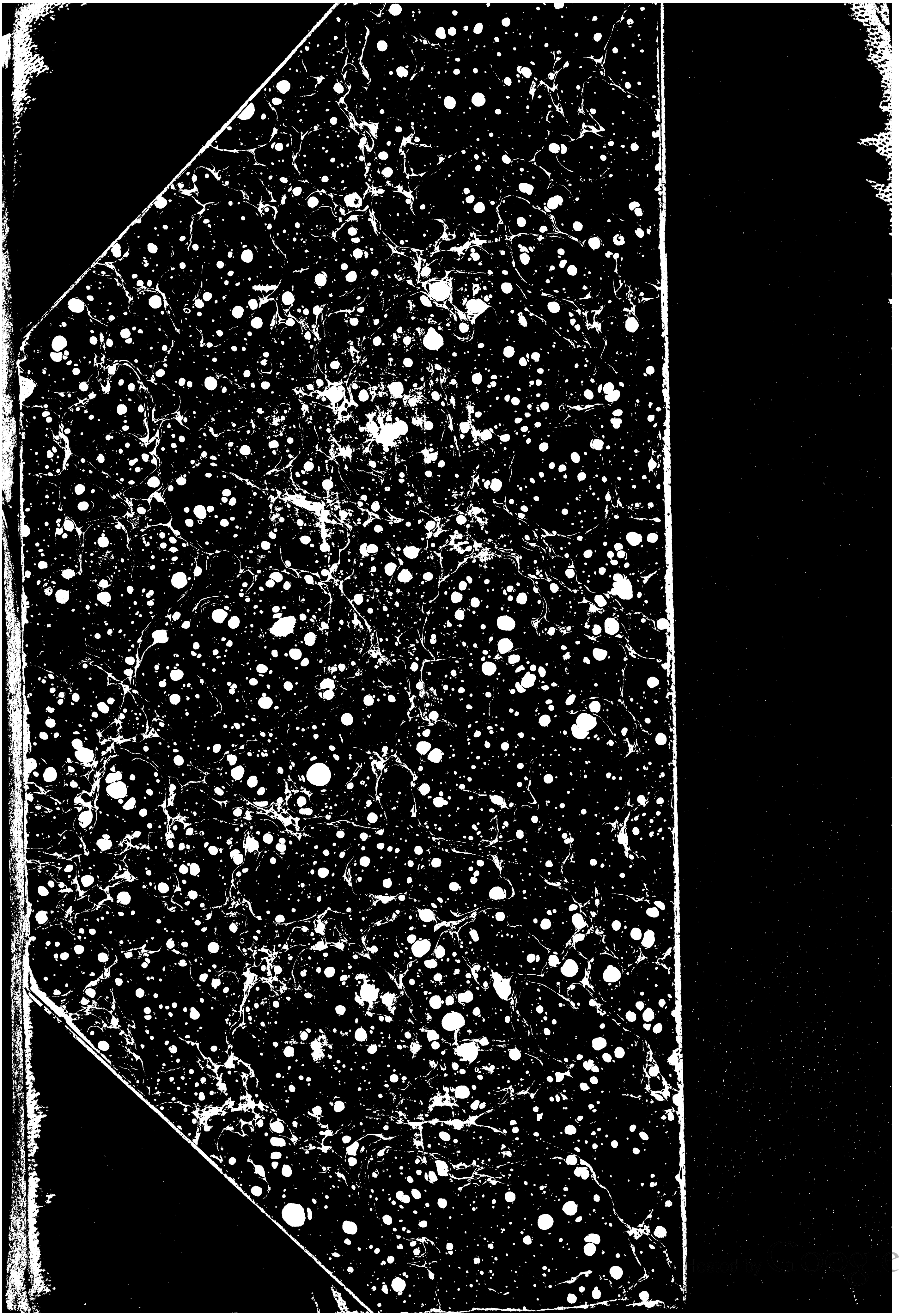
[4] *American Biography*, vol. vii. (new series).

[5] Boston, 1865. Mr. Parkman had already printed parts of this in the *Atlantic Monthly*, xii. 225, 536, and xiv. 530.

[6] Paris, 1875. He gives (p. 517) a succinct chronology of events.

[7] Cf., for instance, Bancroft's *United States*, chap. ii.; Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, chap. viii.; Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, app. xvi.; Conway Robinson's *Discoveries in the West*, ii. chap. xvii. *et seq*; Kohl's *Discovery of Maine*; Fairbanks's *Florida*; Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula*, — among American writers; and among the French, — Guérin, *Les navigateurs Français* (1846); Ferland, *Canada*; Martin, *Histoire de France*; Haag, *La France protestante*; Poussielgue, "Quatre mois en Floride," in *Le tour du monde*, 1869–1870; and the Lives of Coligny by Tessier, Besant, and Laborde. There are other references in Gaffarel, p. 344.

There is a curious article, "Dominique de Gourgues, the Avenger of the Huguenots in Florida, a Catholic," in the *Catholic World*, xxi 701.



Digitized by Google